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GUACANAGARI
MONTEZUMA
GUATIMOTZIN
POWHATAN
POCAHONTAS
SAMOSET
MASSASOIT
KING PHILIP
UNCAS
TEDYUSKUNG

PONTIAC
CAPTAIN PIPE
LOGAN
CORNPLANTER
JOSEPH BRANT
RED JACKET
LITTLE TURTLE
TECUMSEH
OSCEOLA
SEQUOYA
SHABONEE

BLACK HAWK
KEOKUK
SACAGAWEA
BENITO JUAREZ
MANGUS
COLORADAS
LITTLE CROW
SITTING BULL
CHIEF JOSEPH
GERONIMO

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Exchanges and other contributions to the Bureau should be addressed,

The DIRECTOR,

Bureau of American Ethnology,

Washington, D. C.,

U. S. A.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

TO THE

SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1892-93

BY

J. W. POWELL
DIRECTOR

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., July 1, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to submit my Fourteenth Annual Report as Director of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The preliminary portion comprises an exposition of the operations of the Bureau during the fiscal year; the remainder consists of a series of memoirs on anthropologic subjects, prepared by assistants, which illustrate the methods and results of the work of the Bureau.

Allow me to express my appreciation of your constant aid and your wise counsel relating to the work under my charge.

I am, with respect, your obedient servant,

J. W. Powell

Director

Honorable S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

By J. W. Powell, Director

INTRODUCTION

Researches among the American Indians were continued during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, in accordance with law.

The immediate purpose in instituting these researches and in organizing the Bureau in 1879 was the discovery of the relations among the native American tribes, to the end that amicable groups might be gathered on reservations. This practical demand for the early researches conducted by the Bureau led directly and unavoidably to an innovation in ethnic classification. In earlier classific systems mankind, like the lower animals, were classed by somatologic or physical characters—races were defined by color of skin and by structure and form of hair, while subdivisions of the primary races were defined by stature, conformation of skull, form of nose, attitude and color of eyes, etc. Anterior to the institution of the Bureau this method of classifying peoples came into vogue on the American continent, and a not inconsiderable part of the literature of the aborigines related to the somatologic features of their tribes and to supposed affinities indicated thereby; though it is just to say that the greater part of such literature originated abroad or in American centers far removed from the habitats of the aboriginal tribes. Even before the institution of the Bureau, yet still more during ensuing years, it was ascertained by observation among the American Indians that

whatever may be the meaning of somatologic characters they do not indicate affinity in arts and motives, ideas and sentiments, and other essentially human characteristics. Accordingly it was found futile even to begin grouping the Indians on reservations by somatologic characteristics; and the first result of the researches, even before the organization of the Bureau was complete, was to show that somatologic classification is utterly useless in practical ethnic work.

Failing completely in the attempt to classify the tribes somatologically—i. e., on a biotic basis,—efforts were at once directed toward devising a practical classification of the tribes resting on some other basis; and after examination of representative tribes in different parts of the country and study of the literature based on actual observation among the Indians, it was found feasible and indeed necessary for every purpose to define the tribes, clans, families, and other groups of the aborigines by purely human or demotic characters. Thus, while it was early ascertained that the human genus may be separated from the lower animals on strictly biotic grounds (and that the utility of this mode of classification for ethnic purposes goes no further), it was ascertained also that even this primary distinction is made stronger when human or demotic characters are considered; and it was ascertained at the same time that demotic characters form a satisfactory basis for subdivision of the genus Homo into families, clans or gentes, tribes, and confederacies. Among the demotic characters those connected with language are of prime importance, while governmental institutions, religion, industries, and arts are usually of almost equal importance.

On considering and testing the applicability of the demotic characters of the Indians, it was soon found that tribes speaking the same or similar languages are at peace more frequently than are tribes of diverse tongues; that similarity in language generally accompanies similarity in tribal organization and law, while similarity in language and law is commonly connected with similarity in beliefs and arts; and that peoples similar in these characteristics can be combined on reservations without engendering strife. Pursuing the system, it was

found that, in general, language alone served as a satisfactory basis for a practical classification of the Indians for use in grouping them on reservations, since clans of remote habitats speaking the same tongue soon find themselves dominated by a common or at least related law and religion constituting a self-evident bond of sympathy and ultimate union. Accordingly it was proposed to classify the American Indians for practical purposes on a linguistic basis, and on this basis they were grouped and from time to time assembled on reservations.

So the initial work of the Bureau was the development of a practical system of classifying primitive peoples, and the conditions were such as to permit an actual test of the classification and to compel the rejection of unnatural, illogical, or incongruous systems. Thus it was found absolutely necessary to abandon current systems of ethnic classification, and to devise and adopt a system based on purely human characteristics springing from intellectual activities.

Manifold results flowed from the adoption of the linguistic classification. In the first place, the enforced recognition of the importance of human characters tended to raise ethnic research to a higher plane, a plane on which intellectual attributes prevail, and on which motives and sentiments become normal and legitimate subjects of research—i. e., the tendency was to demark mankind from lower animals and define an essentially distinct science, the Science of Man. Again, the linguistic classification stimulated the study of language, and both directly and indirectly conduced to a better acquaintance with the tribesmen and thus to pacific relations between the red men and white. Moreover, the observed association of social organization and law with language promoted inquiry concerning the institutions of the Indians, and, as inquiry showed that most of the tribes are bound by highly elaborate systems of organization, research went on apace, both within and without the Bureau. Furthermore, the observed association between language and law on the one hand and belief on the other gave a new significance to the curious ceremonials of the Indians and gradually led to the discovery of highly

elaborate, albeit crude, religious systems among all the tribes. As time passed these tendencies interacted and each investigation stimulated cognate research, and the Science of Man expanded and grew definite and proved to have increasing interest and importance.

A general result flowing from the use of the linguistic classification was a method of research maturing in administrative policy; energy was withdrawn largely from the somatologic researches which had been found of no avail for practical ethnic purposes, and attention was given chiefly to study of those qualities of the aborigines which were found to be at the same time of the greatest practical use and of the deepest scientific significance. So the special lines of research taken up as the work progressed were those relating to linguistics or the arts of expression; to social organization and law; to myths and ceremonials, and to arts of both welfare and pleasure. These considerations were adjusted to practical conditions, including the means at the disposal of the Bureau, the qualifications of collaborators, etc; and in this way the course of the investigation and the history of the Bureau have been shaped. Since the institution of the work, efforts have constantly been made to increase and diffuse interest in ethnologic matters, not only through the publication of reports, but through correspondence and personal conference; and it is a source of great satisfaction to note the ever-increasing attention given to the Science of Man throughout the world and especially in this country. This is the youngest of the sciences; it can not even yet be said to be fully organized and recognized; but the organization is well advanced.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the cooperation of many investigators in different parts of the continent during the last year. Through the scientific zeal and kindly courtesy of these correspondents, valuable additions have been made to the rich collection of aboriginal records in the archives of the Bureau almost every month; and through these contributions researches have been facilitated, and special records have been enriched, and science has been promoted. It is earnestly hoped that this collaboration may continue; and students of

the American Indians are cordially invited to contribute to the Bureau archives. The edition of the reports published for distribution by the Bureau is used chiefly for exchange with correspondents sending material for the archives and library.

OPERATIONS IN FIELD AND OFFICE

WORK IN PICTOGRAPHY AND SIGN LANGUAGE

The chief arts of expression are speech and writing. These arts are intimately related and interact constantly so that each is in large measure dependent on the other for its utility in conveying human thought. Spoken language is evanescent and of limited range unless crystallized and garnered in graphic symbols, while an unspoken language is never in harmony with the spirit of the times and can be perpetuated and interpreted only by dint of great and ever increasing labor; and the successful languages are those in which phonetic and graphic symbols are so adjusted one to another that they can be spoken and written with equal facility. Viewed in sequence, each modern language is the product of constant effort to improve and extend expression, modified by the elimination of extravagant, redundant, or incongruous symbols, both phonetic and graphic; viewed in sequence, each primitive language is the product of effort to express thought in phonetic symbols, slightly modified by crude and incomplete elimination of the unsuitable and extravagant; and viewed in sequence, language in general may be considered the product of unceasing effort to express ever-growing human thought, modified by the elimination of incongruous and unnecessary features. All observation indicates that the early efforts to express thought, either in general or in special cases or along particular lines, are vague and indefinite, or chaotic, and that the art grows into system through small increments of the good, but especially through constant elimination of the bad; thus the early stages of any phase of the art of expression are of exceptional interest in that they indicate the laws of linguistic evolution. The beginning of spoken language is lost in antiquity and can never be recovered; but the beginning of written language may be

studied among many peoples now passing from the primitive condition toward civilization.

Numerous aboriginal tribes were at the threshold of writing when the American continent was discovered; a few were fairly entered on the domain of graphic expression, but most were still groping blindly and widely for definite methods; and their spontaneous and unguided essays toward the crystallization and perpetuation of thought in graphic symbols were remarkably curious and instructive. A common mode of recording thought among the Indians inhabiting the territory now forming the United States was that of crude inscription forming pictographs; accordingly these primitive essays toward graphic expression were subjected to study, and the research was found fruitful. Earlier than the attempt to annihilate time through a permanent record was the effort to bridge the chasm of space by thought symbols extending beyond the reach of sound; and thus nearly all primitive peoples, including most of the American tribes, devised systems of signaling by means of gestures, the waving of weapons and garments, fires and smokes, etc. In conjunction with signaling, many ill-organized groups of people, consisting of clans and tribes temporarily or permanently at peace yet speaking distinct dialects or tongues, devised systems of gestures or signs for conveying ideas; among some American tribes this mode of expression became highly developed. Together, signaling and gesture speaking constitute a distinct art of expression coordinate with speech and writing, though a nearly useless one after the invention and utilization of graphic symbolism; and the study of the art is especially significant since its stages of rise, culmination, and decadence were exemplified among different American tribes. It is for these reasons that the work of pictography and sign language was taken up in the Bureau, and the reasons have appeared only stronger and more definite as the study progressed.

Researches concerning the pictographs and gesture speech of the native American tribes were continued by Colonel Garrick Mallery, who spent a part of the year in the field in northern New England and contiguous territory in special work among the survivors of the Abnaki, Micmac, and other

Algonquian tribes. The work resulted in substantial additions to knowledge of the picture writing and gesture speech among these people. During the greater part of the year Colonel Mallery was occupied in the office first in preparing and afterward in revising and correcting the proof sheets of his extended report entitled "Picture writing of the American Indians," which forms the greater part of the tenth annual report of the Bureau. This elaborate treatise is a practically exhaustive monograph on the subject to which it relates. The plates and text illustrations, which together comprise nearly fourteen hundred figures, were collected with care and represent with fidelity the aboriginal picture writing of all portions of the country, while the significance and relations of the glyphs are discussed in detail in the text.

During the later portion of the year, in intervals of the work of proof revising, Colonel Mallery continued the collection and arrangement of material relating to the sign language of the American aborigines. A preliminary treatise on this subject was published in one of the early reports of the Bureau; but since that time, partly through the stimulus to study of the habits and customs of our native tribes afforded by that publication, a large amount of additional material has been obtained. It is the purpose to collate and discuss this material in a final monograph, which will be, it is believed, even more comprehensive than that on pictography, and Colonel Mallery has made satisfactory progress in this work.

Dr W. J. Hoffman, who has for some years been associated with the work on pictography and sign language, was occupied during the greater part of the year in collateral researches relating to the ceremonies of a secret society (the "Grand Medicine Society") of the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin. Beginning with the study of the pictographs and gestures of these Indians he gradually extended his investigations to other characteristics of the tribe, and for three years in succession attended the initiation of candidates into their most important secret society, and was thus enabled to obtain the archaic linguistic forms used only in the language employed in the esoteric ritual. The data collected were subsequently col-

lated and incorporated in a memoir on the Menomini Indians appended to this report. Some attention was given also to linguistic matter, including gesture speech, collected among the Absaroka or Crow Indians in Montana and the Leech Lake band of Ojibwa Indians in Minnesota.

WORK IN ARCHEOLOGY

An early result of contact between the aborigines and the white discoverers and pioneers was the beginning of a process of acculturation, or interchange of culture, in which the intellectually weaker race borrowed the more. Thus the Indians gradually acquired portions of the language of the white men, as well as some of the classific concepts expressed by the terms. Through the influence of missionaries they soon acquired more or less definite fiducial concepts by which their own beliefs were sometimes modified or replaced, though more frequently glossed over without material change; and through contact in peace and war, barter and industries, and in other ways, the Indians gradually learned something of the social organization and law of the white men and came haltingly under legal domination. In these directions the acculturation of the Indian was slow, but in the directions of the arts of welfare and pleasure the change was rapid; metallic cutlery was sought with avidity after the first test of its excellence; the horse was taken, bred, and trained by the plains tribes; firearms were quickly appreciated and obtained, and in various other ways the arts of peace and war among the aborigines were transformed within a remarkably short period—indeed, a wave of European culture spread over the continent from the Atlantic and Gulf coasts long before the pioneer settlers pushed their way westward, so that many tribes were already riding horses and some were using metal when first seen by the white men. So rapid and complete was this industrial acculturation that it has always been difficult to obtain trustworthy information concerning the strictly aboriginal arts of the Indians. The earliest records of explorers and other observers have been studiously examined only to find in many cases that acculturation was under way

before observation began, so that it became necessary, as knowledge gradually increased, to sift the statements and winnow the chaff of the acquired from the harvest of the aboriginal; and to this end it was soon found advantageous to check even the earliest observations on the industries of the Indians by comparing the implements and weapons found in use with those obtainable from demonstrably prehistoric accumulations.

Partly to check observation in this way, and thus to obtain accurate information concerning the aboriginal arts of welfare and pleasure, partly because of the inherent interest of the subject, archeologic researches have been carried forward in different parts of the country. In each district special attention has been given to the characteristic relics constituting records of the prehistoric past; in eastern United States scattered implements and utensils have been studied, aboriginal quarries have been examined, house remains have been investigated, and village sites have been surveyed; in the interior the characteristic mounds and earthworks have received special attention, and in western United States ancient pueblos, cliff houses, cavate lodges, and other relics of the aboriginal inhabitants have been surveyed, and their features reproduced in description and illustration.

During the last year archeologic researches were actively continued by Professor W. H. Holmes, with several collaborators and assistants, in different eastern states and in the interior. The work in eastern United States has been notably rich in results of scientific value. Professor Holmes examined in detail the novaculite quarries of Arkansas, the pipestone quarries of Minnesota, and the ancient copper mines of Isle Royale, Michigan. He also made important studies at various points in the valleys of Potomac, Genesee, and Ohio rivers, and his surveys and examinations in Delaware valley, particularly about Trenton, were especially extended. At the last-named locality advantage was taken of the excavation of a broad and deep trench parallel with the river front at Trenton to study carefully the late glacial gravels commonly supposed to yield human relics. For a period of six weeks the excellent exposures made in this trench, 25 to 35 feet deep, were constantly

watched by Professor Holmes and Mr William Dinwiddie, without, however, the finding of a single artificial object in the previously undisturbed gravels. This negative result is believed to be of great importance to American archeology. Special examinations, frequently requiring excavations, were made of the ancient soapstone quarries of the District of Columbia and in Virginia, Mr Dinwiddie and Mr Gerard Fowke aiding in the work; and toward the close of the year Mr De Lancey W. Gill, of the United States Geological Survey, was detailed to make an examination of the ancient mica mines of North Carolina. Valuable collections of material representing aboriginal arts and industries grew out of this work.

In December Professor Holmes was placed in charge of the exhibit of the Bureau of Ethnology for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and several months were occupied mainly in preparing, classifying, labeling, and arranging the exhibit, which includes (1) a series of collections illustrating aboriginal quarrying, mining, and implement-making industries; (2) various collections of ethnologic material made chiefly by collaborators of the Bureau; and (3) a series of life-size figures illustrating the domestic life, arts, and industries of the aborigines. It is a pleasure to observe that this exhibit attracted great attention among visitors to the Exposition. Messrs Henry W. Henshaw, James Mooney, F. H. Cushing, and Gerard Fowke aided in the preparation of this exhibit.

At intervals throughout the year Professor Holmes continued researches concerning the development of the shaping arts. Hitherto, American archeologists have in general been content to accept the classification of prehistoric peoples into culture stages based on the products of art work in stone, the classification being derived from European studies. During the last decade different archeologists have devoted much attention to the development of pristine culture as indicated by the artificial stone implements, weapons, and other objects found in many parts of this country, and have come to question the applicability of the European classification. While the investigation can not be regarded as complete, it is worthy of note that a

large body of data has been brought together which seem to afford a basis for an indigenous classification of primitive American art products. This classification will, it is believed, eventually give character to that branch of American archeology which deals with art in stone.

The researches concerning the ancient Indian mounds distributed over many portions of the country, particularly the Mississippi valley, have been continued by Dr Cyrus Thomas. The chief work during the year has been the preparation of matter for publication and the revision of proofs of text and illustrations. The principal results of Dr Thomas' researches are incorporated in a monograph of over 700 pages in the twelfth annual report. Several minor papers relating to different classes of articles collected from mounds are also in various stages of preparation, two being ready for publication.

In addition to his special work on the Indian mounds, Dr Thomas was able to devote some time to the study of Mexican codices of exceptional archeologic interest. Considerable progress has been made in analyzing the characters of the Maya codices, and it is believed that these highly significant inscriptions may ultimately be deciphered by means of the methods devised and pursued by him.

Mr Cosmos Mindeleff continued his study of the Pueblo relics and prepared an elaborate treatise on the subject for the press. This work, under the title "Aboriginal Remains in Verde Valley, Arizona," is now completed, and forms part of the thirteenth annual report. It illustrates in detail the architecture and various industrial arts recorded in the ruined cities of pre-Columbian tribes in the southwest.

In addition to the surveys and researches already noted, Mr Gerard Fowke was employed for several months in archeologic explorations in Ohio. He was able to obtain much valuable material.

WORK IN SOCIOLOGY

As indicated on earlier pages, the demotic relations of the Indian tribes are of great significance; for not only was it found necessary to classify the Indians on a demotic basis, but

it was ascertained that the institutions of several tribes are wonderfully elaborate and reveal the germ of higher systems of social organization. Albeit unwritten, primitive law is hardly less definite than that of civilized nations governed by statutes, and is frequently better understood by the people. The institutions are often highly complex, yet they are maintained and rendered definite by a variety of ingenious devices, while custom and etiquette, which appear meaningless to the casual observer, often express the experience of generations and carry the force of law. The researches concerning the social organization and institutions of the Indians have been eminently productive.

During the last year the work on the sociology of the American Indians was continued by Mr H. W. Henshaw. Throughout the earlier months he was occupied in collecting sociologic and linguistic materials among the Indians of Butte, Mendocino, and San Diego counties, California, the records of his work being duly transmitted to the office at Washington.

It is greatly to be regretted that early in 1893 Mr Henshaw was compelled by ill health to ask for indefinite leave of absence. For several years he had been engaged in researches relating to the social customs and organizations of the Indian tribes, and had accumulated in the Bureau archives a large body of valuable information which he was engaged in preparing for the press when his health began to fail, and he was transferred to field work. In addition to his scientific researches he had also aided constantly in the administrative work of the office. While the material accumulated by his years of labor remains in the office, it is not in form for immediate publication; and both author and Bureau suffer disappointment and loss in the interruption of the work at this important stage. Ethnologic students everywhere will doubtless share the hope that Mr Henshaw's recovery and resumption of scientific work may not long be delayed.

About the middle of June Mr W J McGee entered the Bureau as Ethnologist in charge, and commenced researches concerning the relation of primitive arts and institutions to environment.

Mr James Mooney spent the greater part of the year in the field collecting information concerning the ghost dance of the Sioux, and regarding the habits, customs, and social relations of the Kiowa and other tribes, visiting the Sioux Indians at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, the Shoshoni and northern Arapaho in Wyoming, and the Cheyenne, southern Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and associated tribes in Oklahoma. The ghost dance study was pushed to completion, and a memoir on the subject was prepared to accompany this report. In addition to valuable literary material, he made important collections of objects representing aboriginal life, including a series of Kiowa shield models with illustrative pictography affording data for a study of primitive heraldry, and three important calendars.

In December Mr Mooney was commissioned to make collections among the Navaho and Hopi of New Mexico and Arizona for exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition. This work resulted in a remarkable collection of unique material from two of our most interesting native tribes, including the products of industrial arts, costumery, etc, as well as the photographs and materials needed for preparing and exhibiting a series of groups of life-size figures illustrating domestic life, industries, and ceremonies. In addition an unprecedentedly extensive collection of Indian food products was obtained for the National Museum.

WORK IN LINGUISTICS

With a view to rendering the classification of the Indian tribes so nearly exhaustive as practicable, it is the policy of the Bureau to utilize every opportunity for the collection of linguistic material among the aborigines. A part of the collaborators are expert linguists who are employed in collecting, comparing, classifying, and arranging vocabularies and grammars; in addition, much valuable material is obtained through correspondence with travelers and local students, and especially from teachers and missionaries employed among the Indians. All such material is suitably arranged in fireproof vaults and kept constantly accessible for study. It is not considered desirable to publish minor linguistic collections, partly

because they are commonly fragmentary, partly because it is found that the arrangement of the material is improved and its significance made clearer with each new addition; it is the policy to publish extended and well arranged linguistic collections from time to time, and one such monograph, on the Dakota language, was sent to press during the year as volume IX of the Contributions to North American Ethnology. With the increase in linguistic data new relations are found among dialects, and the definition of the linguistic stocks is found to grow more trenchant; at the same time it becomes possible to trace more clearly the history and laws of the development of the dialects and stocks and the comparisons and the principles discovered thereby throw much light on the general subject of linguistic development. Thus the linguistic researches have been found remarkably fruitful.

During the year linguistic researches were continued by the Director, with the collaboration of Messrs J. Owen Dorsey, Albert S. Gatschet, and J. N. B. Hewitt.

Mr Dorsey was occupied in part with the preparation of the work on Indian synonymy, in connection with which he made a thorough study of the Catawba tribes and their habitats. He also resumed work on the Biloxi language, at first using the material collected during the previous year, arranging the Biloxi verbs in fourteen conjugations, making a list of Biloxi onomatopes, and compiling a Biloxi-English vocabulary of about two thousand entries together with a catalog of Biloxi roots. For the purpose of carrying this investigation to completion, he visited Lecompte, Louisiana, during the winter and spent two months with the survivors of this interesting tribe. In addition, he practically finished the work of editing the manuscript of Riggs' "Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography," which constitutes volume IX of the series of Contributions to North American Ethnology. Proofs of this work were revised during the later portion of the year.

The earlier part of the year was spent by Dr Gatschet in the study of the Wichita language at the Educational Home for Indian Boys in Philadelphia. Special attention was given to the Wichita verb, which, like the verb of all the Caddoan

languages, is highly complex in its inflections and in the permutability of its consonants. From October 1 to the end of April Dr Gatschet was occupied in the study of the Peoria, Shawano, Arapaho, and Cheyenne languages in Indian Territory. Eight weeks were devoted to the Peoria language, during which period over three thousand terms and a corresponding number of phrases and sentences were collected and revised This study is deemed of exceptional interest, since no texts of the Peoria language are known to have appeared in print.

The Shawano language was next taken up. Assisted in the field by good interpreters, Dr Gatschet obtained copies and reliable material in texts of the phraseology and terms of the Shawano language, a number of verbal and nominal paradigms, and a choice selection of instances showing the multiplicity of duplication.

Subsequently Dr Gatschet took up the Arapaho and Cheyenne languages. Both are nasalized and are spoken in several dialects differing but little from one another. Ample collections were made of lexic and phraseologic material, with texts and some poetic specimens. The ethnographic study of these genuine prairie Indians is highly interesting, since they have had but a few years of intercourse with the white man and his civilizing influences.

Mr Hewitt continued his work on the Iroquoian languages, with which he is thoroughly familiar. He was able to ascertain and formulate the principles or canons governing the number, kind, and position of notional stems in symphrases or word-sentences. Six rules are formulated which establish and govern the morphologic groundplan of words and word-sentences. These are as follows:

First. The simple or the compound stem of a notional word of a word-sentence may not be employed as an element of discourse without a prefixed simple or complex personal pronoun, or sign or flexion denotive of gender, the prefixion of the latter taking place with nouns only.

Second. Only two notional stems may be combined in the same word-sentence, and they must belong respectively to different parts of speech.

WORK IN MYTHOLOGY

As indicated in earlier reports, many of the pioneer observers of the Indians fell into not unnatural errors concerning the religious beliefs and ceremonials of the Indians, some of the observers considering formal ceremonies as nothing more than sportive extravagancies, and others finding therein supposed evidences of definite spiritual and theistic concepts. As investigation progressed it was ascertained that the various tribes possess more or less definite religious systems comprising belief and ceremonial; and that the beliefs are interwoven with the social organization and institutions, their influence even extending far into everyday occupations and pastimes. The researches in this direction have been richly repaid by interesting and important results.

The researches in mythology, by Mr Frank Hamilton Cushing and Mrs Matilda Coxe Stevenson, were continued throughout the year. Mr Cushing was occupied chiefly in arranging and collating material previously collected, with a view to publication. An important result of his work is the demonstration of the fact that the mythic concepts, which form so large a part of the intellectual life of primitive peoples, are greatly modified by the bodily organs and functions exercised in their expression. In some cases this relation between organ or function on the one hand and concept on the other is so intimate as to justify the ascription of the modern concept to dual causes, of which the first is intellectual, while the hardly less essential second cause is physiologic; for example, it may be shown conclusively that the decimal system forming the basis of the arithmetic of certain southwestern tribes is essentially indigenous and has grown up through successive generations from counting on the fingers in certain definite ways. This relation between concepts and physiologic structure is especially significant in its bearing on the development of primitive mythology.

Mrs Stevenson was occupied during a part of the year in revising for the press her report entitled "The Sia," which forms one of the accompanying papers in the eleventh annual report of the Bureau, now in the hands of the printer. She

was also engaged for several months in the preparation of a memoir on the secret societies and ceremonials of the Zuñi Indians. Mrs Stevenson's researches among the southwestern tribes have not only resulted in important contributions to knowledge of the primitive beliefs by which the daily life of these peoples was governed, but have thrown light on the migrations and ethnic relations of their ancestors. The monograph on this subject, which is illustrated by numerous graphic representations, is approaching completion.

WORK ON THE SYNONYMY OF INDIAN TRIBES

The preparation of this work, which has engaged the attention of nearly all the collaborators of the Bureau at various times, is well advanced. During the year Messrs H. W. Henshaw, F. W. Hodge, James Mooney, and J. Owen Dorsey have contributed to the work. The portions of the synonymy relating to the tribes of the following stocks are ready for publication:

Attacapan, Beothukan, Kalapooian, Karankawan, Kusan, Lutuamian, Muskhogean, Natchesan, Skittagetan, Timuquanan, Tonikan, Uchean, Yakonan, and Yuman.

In addition, the Algonquian and Iroquoian families—two of the largest and most important—require comparatively little elaboration by Mr Mooney (to whom these stocks were originally assigned) to make them ready for press.

When his other duties permitted, Mr Hodge devoted attention to the elaboration of material pertaining to the Piman family, as well as that of the Pueblo stocks (Zuñian, Keresan, Tañoan, and the Tusayan division of the Shoshonean). Very little work is now required to complete for publication the material relating to these tribes. In addition, Mr Hodge introduced into the descriptions formerly made of some twenty stocks (principally in California) a large body of new material made known by recent investigations.

WORK IN PSYCHOLOGY

Within recent years it has come to be recognized by many ethnologists that the mythic concepts, and through these the

social institutions, of primitive peoples are dependent on a limited number of factors, including (1) individual and tribal environment, and (2) individual and collective modes and habits of thought. Now, the first of these factors has received the attention of nearly all investigators, while the second has received much less consideration and is frequently ignored. Accordingly, it has been thought desirable to undertake the investigation of intellectual method for the purpose of developing the principles of psychology, and thus affording a more definite basis for the researches in mythology and sociology. To this subject the Director has devoted a considerable part of the year, and a tentative system of psychology, which promises to guide further researches, has been formulated.

EXPLORATION

The Director spent several weeks in ethnologic exploration on the Northern Pacific slope. The territory lying between the Sierra Nevada and the Pacific is of exceptional interest to ethnologists by reason of the remarkable number of independent linguistic stocks crowded into a relatively small area; three-fourths of the distinct groups of peoples in this country, and fully half of all known on the western hemisphere, are found in this territory. The northern part of the tract has never been explored by students; and in the hope of discovering additional stocks among the remaining tribes, as well as in the hope of gaining additional knowledge concerning the origin of this remarkable diversity of languages, an exploratory trip was planned. The results of the observations are incorporated in reports now in course of preparation for the press. Mr Henshaw, in southern California, and Mr Mooney, in the northern Rocky Mountain region, also penetrated areas and encountered Indians not previously seen by scientific students.

MISCELLANEOUS WORK

As incidentally noted in preceding paragraphs, some time and thought have been given to the installation of an ethnologic exhibit in the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.

This exhibit occupies the southern portion of the government building. It comprises a large amount of material of popular as well as scientific interest, derived from various sections of the country, a considerable part of this material having been collected or prepared especially for the exposition. Most of the collaborators of the Bureau have contributed directly or indirectly to this exhibit.

The work of the modeling department has been continued. The chief work has lain in the restoration and repair of models previously constructed and exhibited at the expositions in New Orleans and Madrid. A number of new models and several replicas of models already constructed have, however, been prepared, chiefly for use in the Columbian Exposition.

During the year an exceptional number of applications for definite information concerning our native tribes have been received from the publishers of encyclopedias, dictionaries, physical geographies, and other standard works, and in view of the educational value of these publications and the manifest public advantage to be gained from the diffusion of the results of the latest scientific researches, it has been deemed important to respond to such applications so fully as possible. Much information has been disseminated in this way during the year, and several encyclopedia articles have been prepared by the Director and different collaborators of the Bureau.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The work connected with the illustration of reports has been continued under the supervision of Mr De Lancey W. Gill, chief of the division of illustrations of the Geological Survey, the actual labor of executing drawings being performed in large part by Miss Mary Irvin Wright and Miss Mary M. Mitchell. Most of the work done by the former artist is highly elaborate, comprising drawings of Pueblo life and ceremonials and representations of scenes in the ceremonials of the ghost dance. The chief work of the latter has been the preparation of drawings of Indian implements, principally objects of stone. Two hundred and fifty-seven original drawings

designed for reproduction by various processes were executed during the year.

One thousand three hundred and forty-four engraved proofs have been received from the Public Printer during the fiscal year and have been examined, revised or approved, and returned. The printed editions of all chromolithographs used in the publications of the Bureau have also been examined and the imperfect sheets rejected.

The photographic work of the Bureau has been ably directed, as in previous years, by Mr J. K. Hillers. The following statement includes the work done in the photographic laboratory during the year:

Size	Negatives	Prints
28 by 34 inches	42	137
22 by 28 inches	5	10
20 by 24 inches	26	83
14 by 17 inches	65	309
11 by 14 inches	42	85
8 by 10 inches	26	172
5 by 8 inches	----------	629
4 by 5 inches	----------	1,153

PUBLICATIONS

The following publications were issued during the year:

(1) Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1886–87, by J. W. Powell, Director. This document is a royal octavo volume of xxxvi + 298 pages, illustrated by 123 plates and 118 figures. In addition to the administrative report, it contains two special monographs, viz: A Study of Pueblo Architecture: Tusayan and Cibola, by Victor Mindeleff, and Ceremonial of Hasjelti Dailjis and Mythical Sand Painting of the Navajo Indians, by James Stevenson (revised and elaborated by Matilda Coxe Stevenson).

(2) Bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology, Bibliography of the Athapascan Languages, by James Constantine Pilling. This

document comprises xiii + 125 pages (including 4 pages of facsimiles).

(3) Bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology, Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages (including the Chinook Jargon), by James Constantine Pilling. This is an exhaustive volume comprising xiii + 81 pages (including 3 pages of facsimiles).

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Appropriation by Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, "For continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including salaries or compensation of all necessary employees" (sundry civil act, approved August 5, 1892)		$40,000.00	
Balance July 1, 1892, as per last annual report		15,008.06	
			$55,008.06
Salaries or compensation		36,985.01	
Traveling expenses	$3,281.36		
Field expenses	311.50		
Drawings	970.25		
Stationery	159.05		
Freight	229.53		
Field material	137.73		
Supplies	1,711.14		
Publications	399.36		
Specimens	3.00		
Miscellaneous	310.84		
		7,513.76	
			44,498.77
Balance July 1, 1893			10,509.29

CHARACTERIZATION OF ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

SUBJECTS TREATED

Three special papers illustrating the methods and results of operations in the Bureau are appended to this report. The first of these is a monograph on the Menomini Indians, prepared by Dr W. J. Hoffman; it represents the results of studies of this tribe carried forward in connection with other duties during the years 1890, 1891, and 1892. The second paper is a literal reproduction of the only authentic copy known of Castañeda's account of the Coronado expedition through the territory now included in northern Mexico and southwestern United States, together with an English translation by Mr George Parker Winship, of Harvard University. These two papers are incorporated in this volume. The third paper, which forms part 2 of this report, is an extended account of the so-called "ghost-dance religion" which prevailed widely among the Indians of the United States, particularly during the winter of 1891–92; it was prepared by Mr James Mooney, after visiting most of the tribes affected by this remarkable mental epidemic.

The range in subject-matter of the accompanying papers is broad. One renders accessible for the first time the earliest trustworthy observations of the Indians of the southwest; another presents a clear picture of an interesting interior tribe, and connects the living persons, customs, institutions, and beliefs with their natural ancestry back to the first coming of white men and the beginning of history in their region; the third depicts in strong colors certain characteristics of the primitive beliefs persisting among the Indians down to the present.

THE MENOMINI INDIANS

This interesting tribe, a branch of the great Algonquian stock, has been known by white men since the middle of the seventeenth century. From the beginning they were the "rice-

men" of the Green bay region, for they were known as gatherers and consumers of the wild rice growing abundantly about the lakelets and marshes left by the retreating ice sheets of the Pleistocene, and their custom gave origin to the name by which they were known among other Indian tribes and subsequently among their white neighbors. Partly no doubt by reason of this custom, the Menomini Indians were notably sedentary, and they were also peaceful; for pacific disposition normally accompanies sedentary habit. Accordingly the tribesmen withstood the shock of Caucasian conquest better than the roving warriors of neighboring tribes, so that their descendants still occupy the ancient hunting grounds and rice fields, now inclosed in an important reservation. The various stages in the civilizing (exoterically, at least) of the Menomini Indians, the treaties with the Federal Government, etc, are indicated with considerable fullness in the memoir.

Dr Hoffman's account of the tribal government, totemic institutions, and genealogy of the chiefs illustrates some of the characteristic features of primitive social organization, as exemplified among the American Indians. The chieftaincy is hereditary, within vaguely defined limits of fitness; yet divination or sorcery plays an important rôle in shaping standards of fitness, and the civic institutions, howsoever definite, tangible, and well adapted to current needs, are assumed and generally believed to be "mysterious" or supernatural in origin, and the penumbra of "mystery" approaches very near unto, and even partially eclipses, rational mentation on the part of everyday actors in the political drama. Thus the arts and institutions of tribal government are confusingly entangled with mysticism and esoteric ceremonial, in which sorcery holds conspicuous place. If the Menomini alone were considered, it might be impossible to separate the tangible from the mysterious, the real from the unreal, but through comparison of the ideas prevailing in many tribes it is possible not only to segregate the mysticism but to analyze its components and discover the stages and principles of its development.

Dr Hoffman's description of the cult societies and ceremonials, and Mr Mooney's description of the temporary ghost cult

illustrate the strong hold of mysticism on the primitive imagination. The human mind is preeminently characterized by a desire for knowledge; so the novel and unusual are ever attractive to normal eyes, and as knowledge progresses the normal observer strives to learn more and more of the attractive object, and when the limit of observation is reached, the observer is impelled to enter the fields of generalization and inference in order that he may conceive that which he can not directly perceive. In these respects all men, savage or civilized, illiterate or cultured, are alike in kind, though there is a difference in degree, for among civilized and cultured peoples the thirst for knowledge is the more acute, while the powers of observing and reasoning are trained toward accuracy and trustworthiness. When the civilized observer encounters an unfamiliar fact, his first impulse is to explain it, and an explanation is sought in terms of experience, and he is able to draw not only on his own stock of individual experience but on the experience of others as crystallized in custom, craft, and literature; and the test of the explanation is found in its conformity to experience, individual and general. When a primitive observer encounters an unfamiliar fact, he normally seeks to explain it in like manner in terms of experience, but he is handicapped by feeble intellectual grasp, by poverty in that general experience which is stored up and made available only by means of letters, and by the slovenly fashion of appeal to the mystical; and if the fact lies beyond the borders of everyday experience there is no test for the explanation other than comparison with a body of explanations of which all may be equally incompetent. Herein lies the essential difference between the scientific hypothesis and the primitive hypothesis; the one is formulated and expressed in terms of experience, the other rests on appeal to the unknown; and it is to be remembered that partly for this reason the ratio of hypothesis to observation is much larger among the primitive and illiterate than among the cultured So the typical Indian explanation of things involves appeal to the unknown, and through habit the unknown itself has come to be formulated in terms of the mysterious. The explanation of the color bands of the raccoon,

by saying that he painted his face and body with bands of black and white in response to an injunction received in a vision, is a typical Indian hypothesis, and the hypothesis that the head of the catfish was flattened by the trampling of a mythical moose is also typical. It is by the invention of such hypotheses, by perpetuating them in tradition and arranging them in myths, that primitive philosophy is developed.

One of the consequences of primitive reasoning is abnormal credulity; for where there is no experiential test of probability the improbable is accepted no less readily than the probable. This weakness in primitive mental operation gives origin to sorcery; for ever is credulity the soil whence deception springs and feeds. There is a certain symmetry in the crude philosophy of the Menomini Indians. By reason of limited experience their hypotheses appeal to the unknown; through habitual appeal to the unknown they have organized a system of mysteries which is in a measure a counterpart of the actual objects, forces, and sequences of the real world. By reason of the absence of tests for truth, in conjunction with the habit of appealing to the unknown, they are credulous as children, and by reason of their credulity, in conjunction with their mystical philosophy, they have come to be ridden by sorcery and priestcraft. Thus the dominant intellectual characteristics of the people are due to the interaction and cumulative development of certain intellectual tendencies which are measurably common to all primitive peoples.

On considering the sorcery and related customs of the Indians, it is not to be supposed that the tribes consist of dupes and knaves, or that there is any wide intellectual and moral difference between the active sorcerers and their passive coadjutors; nor is it to be supposed that any considerable part of the thaumaturgic ceremonial represents intentional or even self-conscious deception. It should be remembered that the whole intellectual fabric of the primitive thinker is affected by his habitual modes of thought, that the real and the unreal are constantly and invariably confused, and that mystical influences are believed to dominate every action of self and others, particularly in the ceremonial where such influences

are specially sought. It is to this mental attitude that many features of the primitive ceremonial are to be ascribed; indeed it is to this wide-prevailing attitude among primitive peoples that the remarkable development of jugglery, so refined as to deceive the eyes and judgment even of trained observers, must be attributed.

Some of the games observed among the Menomini Indians, like most of those played by primitive peoples, are in part divinatory; and it is probable that all of those now played for diversion alone have been modified through acculturation. Much of the interest attaching to the games of the Indians springs from their divinatory function. Dominated by habitual assumption of mysterious influence, the tribesman is unable to systemize action, whether for welfare or amusement, without constant reference to occult powers; so the hazard of chance is interpreted as expressing the favor or disfavor of capricious potencies, and the habitually played game of chance soon becomes an invocation. Primarily, primitive games, like those of more advanced culture, involve quickness of perception, strength, and skill, and the unorganized gambols of children and spontaneous antics of adults are mainly or wholly diversional; but the divinatory tendency is ever present and commonly prevalent, and to this tendency the multiplication and persistence of set games among the Indian tribes may be ascribed.

The double vocabulary appended to the memoir affords a typical example of the simpler aboriginal tongues. It is published as an illustration of primitive ideation and expression, and is a feature in the general description of the tribe rather than a finished linguistic study.

THE CORONADO EXPEDITION, 1540-1542

Scientific researches concerning the aborigines were not undertaken until most of the tribes were affected in greater or less degree by acculturation. Especially was this true of the industrial arts, as already set forth. Again, the movements of nomadic and migratory tribes were affected by the advent of the white men so that some of their relations among one another

and to their environment were obscured to scientific observation. For this and other reasons it has been found peculiarly advantageous to scrutinize the accounts of the discoverers and earliest explorers of different portions of the continent. Some of the explorers were illiterate or indifferent and left no record; others recorded the events in their journeys, usually giving much space to the strange and striking race found in possession of the soil. Most of these early records have been lost; a few have fallen into the hands of scholars and have been published in this country and abroad; it is probable that others lie buried in state and mission archives scattered throughout this country, Canada, and Mexico.

There were no keener observers of the Indian than the early Spanish explorers and missionaries who penetrated the unknown land stretching far north of Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The narratives of De Soto, Ayllon, Ponce de Leon, Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and many others who with cross and sword explored the wilds now composing the southern half of the United States, are stories of marvelous intrepidity and suffering; yet they seemed never to lack courage, and only rarely were they too closely pursued by hunger or by the Indian to record with surprising fidelity whatsoever came under their observation.

It is to one of these expeditions that the memoir by Mr George Parker Winship is devoted. Mainly to the narrative of Pedro de Castañeda, a subordinate follower of Coronado's expedition, are we indebted for an account of the natives through whose country the army passed during its two years' journey from Culiacan in western Mexico to the buffalo plains of Kansas, and back to the lakes of Tezcuco.

The original manuscript of Castañeda's *relacion*, prepared at Culiacan about twenty years after the events which it narrates, is not known to exist, the Spanish archives at Simancas, Seville, and Madrid having been searched for it in vain. The copy from which was prepared the Spanish text, now for the first time published, was made at Seville in 1596, and is in possession of the Lenox Library, New York City, through the courtesy of whose trustees and librarian the present publication

has been permitted. A French translation from the 1596 copy was published at Paris in 1838 by Henri Ternaux-Compans; it contains a number of errors which have misled students of the expedition and of the Indian tribes encountered by it, and which are now brought to light. No English translation of the narrative has hitherto been published.

In his historical introduction Mr Winship presents an elaborate account of the reasons for the Coronado expedition, reviewing the results of the ill-fated expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez and the wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, its sole survivors, for nearly eight years among the tribes west of the Mississippi and in northern Mexico, and their final arrival at the Mexican capital. A detailed account is given also of the condition of affairs in Mexico between 1536, the date of Cabeza de Vaca's return, and the journey of Friar Marcos, of Nice, to the cities of Cibola in 1539. It is to this remarkable friar that the discovery of Arizona and New Mexico is to be attributed, and to his narrative, the truth of which has been attested by Bandelier, that some of our knowledge of the early character of the natives of the extreme southwest has been gained.

It is singular that so little has popularly been known of the Coronado expedition, for it is doubtful if such an array of splendor has since been beheld by savage eyes. Two hundred and sixty horsemen, 70 footmen, and more than 1,000 friendly Indians and Indian servants, according to one authority, composed the army, accompanying which, as a part of its food supply, were 5,000 sheep and 150 cattle, from which the live-stock of the southwest has sprung. "The young cavaliers curbed the picked horses from the large stock farms of the viceroy, each resplendent in long blankets flowing to the ground. Each rider held his lance erect, while his sword and other weapons hung in their proper places at his side. Some were arrayed in coats of mail, polished to shine like that of their general, whose gilded armor with its brilliant trappings was to bring him many hard blows a few months later. Others wore iron helmets or visored headpieces of the tough bullhide for which the country has ever been famous. The footmen

carried crossbows and harquebuses, while some of them were armed with sword and shield."

Thus equipped did Coronado, on April 22, 1540, start forth on his two years' journey from Culiacan, taking as an advance guard about 75 horsemen and a few footmen. Passing the Indian settlements of Sonora and Arizpe, he reached the massive ruin of Chichilticalli within the limits of Arizona, and on July 7 reached Hawikuh, the first of the cities of Cibola or Zuñi, which he named Granada. As the natives had fortified themselves, the village was assaulted and at once captured, the inhabitants retiring to Thunder mountain. Coronado remained at Zuñi about two months, in the meantime sending out small parties for the exploration of the adjacent country. One of these, under Pedro de Tovar, proceeded to Tusayan, or the seven Hopi pueblos, in northeastern Arizona, where they learned of the Grand Canyon of Colorado river, which Lopez de Cardenas was afterward sent to explore. Hernando de Alvarado was dispatched eastward to the Tiwa villages of the Rio Grande and to the buffalo plains. In September Coronado and his immediate followers pressed on to the Rio Grande, visiting en route the pueblo of Acoma, which stands today on the famous peñol it then occupied. Meanwhile the main army arrived at Cibola and proceeded to Tiguex, on the Rio Grande, where winter quarters were established.

It was during this winter that Castañeda gained most of his information regarding the pueblos of the Rio Grande. For at least seven months he was in constant touch with the ancestors of the Tiwa of the present villages of Isleta and Sandia on the Rio Grande, and, as will be seen by the narrative, his opportunities were not neglected.

In April of 1541 the entire force under Coronado left Tiguex for Pecos, proceeding thence across the great plains through herds of buffalo extending as far as the eye could reach, guided by an Indian of the mysterious Quivira, whom the Spaniards had named Turk. The description of the route of Coronado being quite vague, students of southwestern ethnology have, up to this time, been at a loss to trace with exactness the line of travel of the Spanish force, or satisfactorily to identify the tribes

of Indians encountered on the way. With the publication of the Spanish text, however, it is believed that more light on these questions will now be cast.

So far as results beneficial to Coronado, to his loyal followers, or to New Spain were concerned, this celebrated expedition was, in the words of Mr Winship, "a total, dismal, ruinous failure." But to the ethnologist and the historian it forms the beginning of known events in the vast southwest, and furnishes information of the aborigines of that section as they existed over three and a half centuries ago that otherwise could never have been known.

In addition to the Castañeda narrative, Mr Winship presents translations of other accounts of the Coronado expedition and its achievements. These include the letters of the viceroy Mendoza and of Coronado to the King, one of those of the latter being written from Zuñi; the *Traslado de las Nuevas*, the *Relacion del Suceso*, the *Relación Postrera de Sívola*, the narrative of Jaramillo, one of Coronado's captains; the report by Alvarado of his journey from Cibola to Tiguex and the buffalo plains, and the testimony concerning those who went on the expedition.

The memoir is made more intelligible by a series of ancient maps reproduced from their originals, showing the geographic knowledge of the times, particularly after the important additions growing out of Coronado's work; it is also enriched by a number of illustrations of the new country, strange people, and novel structures which greeted the eyes of Coronado and his men and shaped their conceptions. These illustrations, and a number of the ethnologic notes by which the scientific value of the document is enhanced, were contributed by Mr F. W. Hodge.

THE GHOST-DANCE RELIGION

The remarkable religious fantasy which overspread western United States during the years 1889–92, and the lamentable Sioux outbreak connected with it, were so recent and so widely heralded by the press as to require no introduction to the reading public. Fortunately a collaborator of the Bureau of Eth-

nology, Mr James Mooney, was already engaged in researches concerning some of the tribes affected by the fantasy, and he was commissioned to make detailed inquiries concerning its rise, spread, and decadence. The accompanying memoir comprises the results of these inquiries.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the ghost religion is the rapidity with which it extended from tribe to tribe and from stock to stock over an area including nearly one-third of the United States; and this feature appears the more striking when it is considered that the cult was propagated through personal contact among representatives of a primitive race traveling in primitive ways and little more rapidly than they might have traveled before the advent of white men. Another striking feature of the cult was its potent influence on character and conduct of its devotees; individuals were seized with ecstasy so complete as to suspend normal mental processes and dominate bodily functions for hours and days; docile and contented Indians became morose, suspicious, bloodthirsty; peaceful tribes plunged into conspiracy and open rebellion against the guardian nation—indeed the influence of partially acquired culture, of partially recognized and habitually obeyed law, of hereditary association with the superior race was swept away and temporarily forgotten, and thousands of tribesmen reverted to a primitive condition save that it was made worse and lower by reason of the increased capacity of its victims. The record of this curious evanescent cult, which seems rather a travesty on religion than an expression of the most exalted concepts within human grasp, is a dark chapter in the history of the aborigines.

The rapid spread and potent influence of the ghost cult indicate a remarkable receptivity on the part of the Indians who became its devotees; the reason for this receptivity is to be found in the peculiar mode of thought characteristic of the Indian mind, as already set forth. Habitual appeal to the unknown for the explanation of simple facts; habitual assumption of ill-defined mysterious doubles of all real things; habitual materialization of natural forces in strained imagination; habitual peopling of the air, the earth, and the waters with

shadowy images; habitual indulgence in visionary revery, coupled with occasional, vision-producing fasts—in short, habitual warping of imagination and weakening of judgment in a variety of ways tended to produce liability to mental infection of the kind displayed in connection with the ghost dance. This memorable fantasy is a striking illustration of one of the dangers attending mental development under primitive conditions, and its testimony is in harmony with innumerable less striking examples.

One of Mr Mooney's chapters is devoted to other fantasies and more definite religious movements of historical note. His aim in preparing this chapter was to place before students the data for detailed comparison; and so far as practicable the original accounts are given verbatim, without comment. It may be observed that caution should be exercised in comparing or contrasting religious movements among civilized peoples with such fantasies as that described in the memoir; for while interesting and suggestive analogies may be found, the essential features of the movements are not homologous. Most of the primitive peoples of the earth, including the greater part of the American Indians, represent the prescriptorial stage of culture (some of the characteristics of which were set forth in the last report), while white men represent the scriptorial stage. Now, the passage from the earlier of these stages to the later, albeit partially accomplished among different peoples, probably marks the most important transition in the development of human culture or the history of the race; so that in mode of thought and in coordination between thought and action, red men and white men are separated by a chasm so broad and deep that few representatives of either race are ever able clearly to see its further side Again, there are several stages in the development of religious belief which have been set forth elsewhere; the earliest of these is hecastotheism, in which powers are imputed to animals, vegetals, and minerals; the second is physitheism, in which the natural forces and agencies are deified, and the third is psychotheism, in which the spiritual concept is for the first time formulated; and the primitive peoples of the earth, including the American Indians, are

in the first or the second of these stages, and nothing more than a feeble germ of the third stage is found among them. Now, studies of mythologic and religious systems indicate that the earlier two stages overlap among different peoples, and also that the psychotheism of the more advanced among the primitive peoples is closely akin to enlightened religious concepts, but that the second and third stages are more widely distinct. Accordingly, red men and white are separated by the broadest known chasm in the development of belief, a chasm so broad that few representatives of either race are able definitely to bridge it in thought. Thus, many of the movements described in this chapter were among people separated from the ghost dance enthusiasts by the widest known cultural break as well as by the widest known break in fiducial development; and whatever the superficial resemblance in the movements, there is a strong presumption against their essential homology.

In its extent and intensity the ghost-dance fantasy of 1889–1892 is a unique illustration of one of the characteristics of the aborigines which has long been under investigation in the Bureau of Ethnology, and the accompanying memoir is a contribution toward the final results of these researches.

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

THE MENOMINI INDIANS

BY

WALTER JAMES HOFFMAN, M. D.

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THE MENOMINI INDIANS

By Walter James Hoffman, M. D.

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF THE INVESTIGATION

The circumstances under which the materials for the accompanying memoir were procured are as follows:

Having succeeded, in the years 1887–1890, in obtaining from the Ojibwa Indians of northern Minnesota instruction in the ritual and ceremonials of initiation into the Midē′wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of that tribe, together with copies of hitherto unknown mnemonic charts and songs, on birch bark, relating to their genesis and cosmogony, the results were published in the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

In consequence of this exposition of what was to them a secret of vital importance, the attention of some Menomini shamans, who visited Washington during the first three months of 1890, was gained, and, after protracted conferences, the proposition was made by the chief, Nio′pet, that a visit to their reservation, at Keshena, Wisconsin, be made; that, after proper instruction by some shamans to be appointed, due initiation into their society, termed the Mitä′wit, would be conferred, in order that their version of the traditions and dramatized forms of initiation could be studied and preserved "for the information of future generations of the Menomini," these arrangements being made in anticipation of the consent of the chiefs of the society.

The first visit was therefore made to Keshena in 1890, followed by four subsequent visits, to attend to the necessary instruction and ceremonials of the society. It was during these visits that other new and interesting facts were obtained—material relating to their mythology, social organization and government, customs, industries, and gentile system and division into gentes and phratries, together with linguistic data germane to the subject in general.

These facts were believed to be entirely new to ethnology, as the Menomini had not hitherto received careful attention by students, the

fugitive papers relating to this tribe being exceedingly brief, and often difficult of access to the general reader.

HABITAT OF THE TRIBE

The Menomini Indians are located on a reservation in the northeastern part of Wisconsin, and occupy almost the same territory in which they were found by Nicollet in 1634. Their history is intimately connected with that of the Winnebago, as they have lived with or beside that tribe from very early times, although their language shows them to belong to the Algonquian stock, and more nearly related to the Ojibwa than to any other.

THE TRIBAL NAME

The word Menomini is from Omä′nominĕ′ŭᵛ (mänoʹme, rice, and inä′neuᵛ or inäʹni, man). Shea[1] says the "name is the Algonquin term for the grain *Zizania aquatica*—in English, Wild Rice. The French called both the grain and tribe Fol Avoin—Wild Oats."

The tribe has been designated in literature under a variety of synonyms, of which the following are a list, together with the authorities therefor, and such additional notes of the respective authors as may be deemed of interest. Some of the changes in orthography are due to misprints, but still have a certain value in identification. The people of the tribe designate themselves "Menomini," or "Menomoni" giving preference to the latter, in which the sound of o is heard, although the letter i of the former term is more in harmony with the etymology of the word.

Synonymy

Addle-Heads.—Jeffreys, Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America, pt. 1, London, 1761, p. 48.

Falsavoins.—(Johnson, London Doc. xxxvi, 1763) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vii, Albany, 1856, p. 583. (Probably that portion of the tribe living near Green bay; enumerates 110 as belonging to Ottawa confederacy.)

Falsovoins.—(Harrison, 1814) Drake, Life of Tecumseh, and of his Brother, the Prophet, etc, Cincinnati, 1852, p. 162.

Felles avoins.—(State of British Plantations in America, in 1721) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. v, Albany, 1855, p. 622.

Folle Avoine.—Relations des Jésuites (1671), tome iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 25.

Folle Avoines.—(Mem. of 1718) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. ix, Albany, 1855, p. 889.

Folles, Les.—Featherstonhaugh, A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor, etc, vol. i, London, 1847, p. 174.

Follesavoine.—(Vaudreuil, 1720) Margry, Découvertes, tome vi, Paris, 1866, p. 511.

Folles Avoines.—(Cadillac, 1695) Margry, Découvertes, tome v, Paris, 1883, p. 121.

Fols, Les.—(Baden, 1830) Ann. de la Prop. de la Foi . . . , tome iv, Lyons, 1853, p. 537.

Fols Avoin.—Pike, An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc, Philadelphia, 1810, p. 13.

Fols Avoines.—Brown, Western Gazetteer, Auburn, 1817, p. 265.

Folsavoins.—(Johnson, 1763) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vii, Albany, 1856, p. 583.

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin, vol. iii, for 1856, Madison, 1857, p. 134.

Fols-avoise.—(Schermerhorn, 1812) Col. Massachusetts Soc., vol. ii, 2d ser., Boston, 1814, p. 10.

Fulawin.—(Dalton, 1783) Col. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., vol. x, 1st ser., Boston, 1809, p. 123.

Macomilé.—(La Chesnaye) Margry, Découvertes, tome vi, Paris, 1886, p. 6.

Mahnomonie.—James in Tanner's Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures, etc, New York, 1830, p. 326.

Malhomines.—Charlevoix (1721), vol. ii, London, 1761, p. 61.

Malhoming.—Bacqueville de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, tome ii, Paris, 1753, p. 90.

Malhominis.—Ibid., p. 70.

Malhomins.—La Potherie, op. cit., tome i, p. 206.

Malhominy.—(Cadillac, 1695) Margry, Découvertes, tome v, Paris, 1883, p. 121; La Potherie, op. cit., tome ii, p. 49.

Malhommes.—Jeffreys' Natural and Civil History, op. cit., p. 48.

Malhommis.—(Perrot, 1720) Mémoire sur les Mœurs, coustumes et relligion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale, Leipzig and Paris, 1864, p. 127.

Malomenis.—(Frontenac, 1682) Docs. Col. Hist. New York, Albany, 1855, p. 182.

Malomimis.—La Hontan, New Voyages to North America, vol. i, London, 1703, p. 231.

Malomines.—Garcilaso, La Florida del Inca, etc, Madrid, 1723, vol. ii, p. 290. (Quotes—erroneously—from La Hontan.)

Malominese.—Blue Jacket (1807) in Drake, Life of Tecumseh, etc, op. cit., p. 94.

Malominis.—La Hontan, op. cit., p. 104.

Malouin.—Sagard (1615), Histoire du Canada, etc, tome ii, Paris, 1866, p. 424.

Malouminek.—Relations des Jésuites (1658), op. cit., p. 21.

Maloumines.—Warren (1852), Col. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1855, p. 33. (So designated by the French.)

Manōmanee.—Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, etc, London, 1859, p. 29.

Manomines.—Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, etc, New York, 1809, p. 107.

Maroumine.—Relations des Jésuites (1640), tome i, Quebec, 1858, p. 35.

Mathomenis.—La Potherie, op. cit., tome ii, 1753, p. 70.

Mathominis.—Ibid., p. 81.

Melhominys.—(Croghorn, 1759) Proud, History of Pennsylvania, in North America, etc, vol. ii, Philadelphia, 1797–98, p. 296.

Melominees.—Perkins and Peck, Ann. of the West, St. Louis, 1850, p. 713.

Memonomier.—Vater, Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde, pt. iii, sec. 3, Berlin, 1806–17, p. 406.

Mennominies.—(Goldthwait, 1766) Col. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 1st ser., vol. x, Boston, 1809, p. 121.

Menomenes.—(Pike, 1806) Schoolcraft, Inf. Respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1853, p. 262.

Menomenies.—Brown, Western Gazetteer, Auburn, 1817, p. 265.

Menominees.—(Treaty of 1825) U. S. Ind. Treaties, Washington, D. C., 1837, p. 376.

Menominie.—(Treaty of 1826) U. S. Ind. Treaties, Washington, D. C., 1837, p. 155.

Menominny.—Featherstonhaugh, A Canoe Voyage, etc, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 25.

Menomoee.—Gale, Map of the Upper Mississippi, 1867.

Menomonees.—(Edwards, 1788) Col. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 2d ser., vol. x, Boston, 1823, p. 86.

Menomonei.—McKenney, Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., Washington, D. C., 1825, p. 90.

Menomones.—Long's Narrative of an Expedition to Source of St. Peter's River, vol. ii, London, 1825, p. 171.

Menomonies.—Boudinot, Star in the West, Trenton, 1816, p. 100.

Menomonys.—Lapham, Indians of Wisconsin, map, 1870.

Menonomees.—(La Pointe Treaty, 1842) Col. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1855, p. 494.

Menonomies.—Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia, Charleston, 1852, p. 436.
Meynomenys.—(Johnson, London Doc. xxxvi, 1763) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vii, Albany, 1856, p. 583. (Mentions 110 as belonging to the Ottawa confederacy.)
Meynomineys.—(Johnson, 1764) Ibid., p. 648.
Mineamies.—(James Madison, MS., 1778) Schoolcraft, Inf. respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1853, p. 560.
Miniamis.—Keane, in Stanford's Compendium, London, 1878, p. 522.
Minominees.—Jones, History of the Ojibway Indians, London, 1861, p. 39.
Minomonees.—(Edwards, 1788) Coll. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 1st ser., vol. ix, Boston, 1804, p. 92.
Minonimies.—(Warren, 1852) Coll. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1885, p. 33.
Minoniones.—Boudinot, Star in the West, Trenton, 1816, p. 107.
Minoomenee.—Jones, History of the Ojibway Indians, London, 1861, p. 178.
Monomins.—Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada, etc, New York, 1809, p. 107.
Monomonees.—Schoolcraft, Inf. respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. v, Philadelphia, 1855, p. 145.
Monomony.—Long, Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter, London, 1791, map.
Monomunies.—(Lindesay, 1749) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. vi, Albany, 1855, p. 538.
Moon-calves.—Jeffreys, Natural and Civil History, op. cit., p. 48.
Mynomamies.—Imlay, A Topograph. Descrip. of the Western Territory of North America, London, 1797, p. 292.
Mynomanies.—(Hutchins, 1778) Schoolcraft, Inf. Respecting Ind. Tribes, vol. vi, Philadelphia, 1857, p. 714.
Omanomineu.—Father Zephyrin, Prayer Book in Menomoni, St. Louis, 1882.
Omanomini.—Kelton, Annals of Fort Mackinac, Chicago, 1882, p. 149. (So called by the Ojibwa.)
O-mun-o-min-eeg.—(Warren, 1852) Coll. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, St. Paul, 1885, p. 33.
Oumalominis.—(Prise de Possession, 1671) Margry, Découvertes, tome i, Paris, 1875, p. 97.
Oumaloüminek.—Relations des Jésuites (1670), iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 94.
Oumaloumines.—Relations des Jésuites (1671), iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 25.
Oumalouminetz.—Relations des Jésuites (1670), iii, Quebec, 1858, p. 100.
Oumaominiecs.—(Du Chesneau, 1681) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. ix, Albany, 1855, p. 161.
Ounaboims.—(Prise de Possession, 1671) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, op. cit., p. 803.
Walhominies.—McKenney and Hall, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, etc, vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 79.
White Indians.—Long, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, etc, vol. ii, Philadelphia, 1824, p. 175.
Wild Oats (*Nation of the*).—Of various authors.
Wild Rice.—(Doc. of 1701) Doc. Col. Hist. New York, vol. ix, Albany, 1855, p. 722.
Wild Rice Eaters.—Lapham, A Paper on the number . . . of the Indians of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 1870, p. 3.

DISCOVERY AND EARLY HISTORY

Although the Jesuits had early penetrated the country west of Lake Michigan, and although La Salle had, in 1682, taken formal possession of the valley of the Mississippi in the name of Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, it was not until 1699 that Lemoine d'Iberville planted the germ whence sprang the colony of Louisiana.[1] Thenceforward various posts were established at remote points, to facilitate intercourse between the outlying missions and settlements and to guard

[1] Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. i, Boston, 1886, p. 61.

against invasion along the several waterways. Detroit guarded the approach from Lake Erie; Michilimackinac protected the entrance to Lake Michigan; while the forts at St. Joseph and at the head of Green bay (called La bay) commanded the routes between the lakes and the Mississippi.

Sieur Jean Nicollet arrived on the "Baie des Puants," or Green bay,[1] about the year 1634, although the account of his voyage thither was not recorded by Père Barthelemy Vimont until 1643.

Nicollet's arrival in the land of the Menomini was heralded by some young Winnebago Indians, who had been sent ahead; so that when he landed "this marvelous man" must necessarily have made a profound impression, appearing as he did in a robe of China damask profusely decked with flowers and birds of various colors, and "carrying thunder in his hands." This gaudy display, together with the firing of pistols, caused the terror-stricken women and children to flee. Between 4,000 and 5,000 people partook of the feasts, at one of which, it is recorded, 120 beavers were consumed.[2]

In the notice of the discovery of the Menomini by Nicollet, no accurate information is given as to their geographic position. Père Gabriel Dreuillettes, who enumerated the several tribes located on Green bay, says that the first "nation," or the nearest to the village or town of St. Michel, was called in Algonquian, Oupouteouatimik (Potawatomi), and comprised about 700 men or 3,000 souls, including 100 men of the "Nation of the Petun," or Tobacco nation. The second nation was that of the Noukek, the Ouinipegouek (Winnebago), and the Malouminek (Menomini). These people, located a short distance only from the Potawatomi, gathered a certain reed which grew naturally on their prairies and which was deemed equal to Indian corn. There were also 200 Algonkin, who formerly resided on the rivers and along the northern coast of Lake Huron, but who had here sought refuge.[3]

The enumeration of tribes by Père Dreuillettes continues, placing the Maskotin out on the prairie, distant three days' journey by water; and various southward tribes are enumerated, with extravagant population—for instance, the Alinouek (Illinois), living in 60 villages, were said to number 20,000 men, or in the vicinity of 100,000 souls.

The Noukek of this record were no doubt identical with the Nouquet, or Noquette, who lived on the northern extremity of Green bay on what today is designated the Bay of Noquet. Under this name, also, were the Menomini referred to in some old accounts; but no tribe at present

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[1] From the French designation, "la grande baie."

[2] . . . On depescha plusieurs ieunes gens pour aller au deuant du Manitouiriniou, c'est à dire de l'homme merueilleux; on y vient, on le conduit, on porte tout son bagage. Il estoit reuestu d'vne grande robe de damas de la Chine, toute parsemée de fleurs et d'oyseaux de diuerses couleurs. Si tost qu'on l'apperceut, toutes les femmes et les enfans s'enfuïrent, voyant vn homme porter le tonnerre en ses deux mains (c'est ainsi qu'ils nommient deux pistolets qu'il tenoit). La nouuelle de sa venuë s'espandit incontinent aux lieux circonuoisins: il se fit vne assemblée de quatre ou cinq mille hommes; chacun des principaux fit son festin, en l'vn desquels on seruit au moins six-vingts Castors.—Relations des Jésuites, 1643, pp. 3, 4.

[3] Relation des Jésuites, 1658, p. 21.

existing preserves this designation, the absorption of the group into some other body being probably the cause of the disappearance of the name.

The Fox Indians occupied the valley of Fox river in 1714, when a French expedition under de Louvigny invaded their territory, without result; but their final expulsion from that country occurred in 1746, when their allies, the Sauk tribe, with whom they appear to have had a common origin, were also forced to leave.

The Menomini finally appear to have concentrated about the head of Green bay and along Menomini and Fox rivers, but nothing of interest concerning them is found for some years, though they and other tribes appear to have distinguished themselves at intervals in war expeditions. The Menomini, together with the Ottawa, Winnebago, Potawatomi, and other northwestern tribes, rendered conspicuous service in the defeat of Braddock, in 1755, at Fort du Quesne, where they were led and commanded by Sieur Charles de Langlade. They also participated in the battle before Quebec on the Plains of Abraham. Glode (son of Old Carron), Osauwishkeno (the Yellow Bird), Kachakawasheka (the Notch-maker), and the elder Carron, were present at the fall of Montcalm.[1]

On June 7, 1726, peace was effected between M. de Ligney and the chief of the Fox, Sauk, and Winnebago tribes ("Pauns a la Baie"); and to make this peace "certain and stable" it was thought proper to grant to the chief of the first-named tribe his request that a French officer be stationed in that country, to aid him in "restraining his young men from bad thoughts and actions."[2] In consequence of this amicable arrangement a detachment of French troops was sent to garrison La Bay (afterward called Fort Edward Augustus), which post was thenceforward occupied by the French until 1761. This, like many other posts throughout the French possessions, was not strictly of a military character, from the fact that numbers of French settlers had congregated near there for protection; not on account of agricultural pursuits—for such were greatly neglected—but chiefly to establish and maintain traffic with the natives, furs being the chief product desired. These settlers were generally under the government of the commandant. The relations between these French settlers and the natives were undoubtedly of an amiable character, as the general attitude and conduct of the French were rather of a conciliatory nature, whereby their representatives gained unusual confidence and good will among the natives—an attachment which was furthermore strengthened through the frequent selection by the French of Menomini wives.

After the British and colonial forces had attained the conquest of Canada and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor-general, had sur-

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, pp. 212–214.

[2] From translation of M. de Ligney's memoir of June 7, 1726, in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, p. 21.

rendered, the victors began to take possession of the western posts. Thus, in 1761, Green bay was governed by a small force of 17 men of the Sixtieth (or Royal American) regiment, in command of Lieutenant Gorrell. This party arrived at Green bay on October 12, at a time of the year when it was customary for the Indians to be off on their annual hunting expedition; so that there was but one family remaining at the post.[1] Lieutenant Gorrell states that he had found in his orders very little regarding the Indians, so that when leaving he applied to Captain Donald Campbell, at Detroit, for further instructions; the latter referred him to Sir William Johnson, then present, who told him orally that unless he did his best to please the Indians he had better not go there.

On account of the absence of the Indians, no council was held with the tribes until May 23, 1762; at this time the chiefs of the Menomini and Winnebago were present and received strings of wampum in return for prisoners. According to Gorrell's journal, the number of Indian warriors dependent on the post was 39,100. The number of Menomini warriors specified is only 150, which would indicate a total population of about 800.

After the peace of 1763, when the French troops were withdrawn and their places filled by the English, discontent among the Indians became apparent, and gradually became more and more hostile and in time developed into a conspiracy for the extermination of the English throughout the entire western frontier. This hostility was due to a variety of circumstances. The French had been the fast friends of the Indians, had been judicious and lavish in the distribution of gifts, and had liberally supplied all who desired arms, ammunition, and clothing, until the tribesmen had almost forgotten their aboriginal modes of living and had become dependent on the garrisons and trading establishments; but with the advent of the English all this was changed, and the penuriousness with which these now necessary articles were dealt out—when they were not entirely withheld—caused great distress and consequent dissatisfaction.[2] Another source of trouble was the immigration of settlers and the occupancy of Indian lands by white men, while suspicion and anger were engendered by false reports carried from place to place by the "couriers de bois" or bushrangers—degraded itinerants who traversed the forest in search of furs and peltries which they carried to the trading posts, reaping profits which they felt would become greatly reduced should the traders themselves penetrate the wilds. The Indians, becoming alarmed at the rumored advent of the traders, who were said to be exacting and of murderous disposition, made preparations to defend themselves, and finally concluded to take the initiative and, if possible, prevent intrusion by a people who

[1] Gorrell's Journal, Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, p. 25 et. seq.
[2] Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, Boston, vol. i, 1886, pp. 172 et seq.

were enemies of the French. A short time later, Pontiac made felt his power in the northwest; and although the destruction of many posts and settlements resulted, the French inhabitants were usually spared. In 1673, when the attack on Michilimackinac was planned, some Menomini joined the expedition; and they were present at, although they were not participants in, the massacre.

It had been the plan of Pontiac to capture also the fort at Green Bay, and a band of Indians at Milwaukee, consisting chiefly of Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi, was detailed for the work. But the Menomini Indians were friendly to the English and prevented the attack, and when instructions were received by Lieutenant Gorrell to abandon the post, Carron and his Menomini tribesmen conducted the party to Mackinaw. "For his faithful adherence to the English and rejection of the councils of Pontiac, Carron was subsequently presented with a large silver medal by the British authorities, with a certificate of his chieftainship and good services."[1]

When, in 1764, Sir William Johnson sent messengers to the various tribes of the Great Lakes, calling them to a council to be held at Niagara for the purpose of urging them to remain friendly to the English, a delegation of 499 Menomini went from Green bay,[2] confident of deserving recognition for their services to Gorrell and his band of soldiers. They were received with cordiality and greeted as brothers, and on the adjournment of the council they departed well pleased with their experience.[3]

The English did not again occupy the post on Green bay, and the Menomini did not render service to them until at the outbreak of the Revolution, when a party under Charles de Langlade, in company with another large Indian force, went to Montreal and there held a council. About 1780, Captain Dalton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the United States, in an estimate of the Indian tribes employed by the British in the Revolutionary war, estimated that the Fulawin (Menomini) had furnished about 150 warriors.[4]

Grignon, in his Recollections of Wisconsin,[5] states that "The Green bay settlement, from its inception in 1745 to 1785, a period of forty years, had made but little progress." Carver, who visited the locality in 1766, found that there had been no garrison since its abandonment in 1763, and that the fort had not been kept in repair. There were but two trading establishments in 1785, the only stores at Green Bay prior to 1812.

In 1810 messengers arrived from Tecumseh and the Prophet, inviting the Menomini to join the Indian confederacy against the Americans;

[1] Grignon, in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, pp. 226–227.
[2] Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. x, Boston, 1809, p. 122.
[3] Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, p. 165 et seq.
[4] Coll. Massachusetts Hist. Soc., vol. x, Boston, 1809, p. 123 (from an account published in Philadelphia, August 5, 1783).
[5] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, p. 241.

but they responded in the negative and joined the British in the war of 1812–14. They served under Colonel Robert Dickson, who had arrived at Green Bay with a party of Sioux Indians; for although there was a traditional feeling of hatred by the Sioux against the Menomini and Ojibwa, still, when circumstances demanded union against a common enemy under one standard for attack or defense, all tribal differences were for the time set aside. The party under Dickson participated in the attack on the Americans at Mackinaw, but they were not actively engaged in the battle.

The Winnebago, who may properly be termed the head of the Siouan family, were from the earliest historical times near neighbors of the Menomini and on friendly terms with them and also with the Ojibwa, who until 1795 or later occupied the country as far east as Lake Shawano. The Winnebago warriors occasionally came to Green Bay on a spree, passing through the Menomini and Ojibwa territory on their way. It was because of this constant commingling that representatives of all of these tribes were generally found together in their war excursions.

The expulsion of the Fox and Sauk Indians from the country on Fox river and the head of Green bay (already referred to) is specially mentioned by Jedidiah Morse[1] in his report to the Secretary of War in 1822, in the following words:

> Major Irwin informed me, on the authority of Colonel Bowyer and an old Ottawa chief, living at *Ma-nitou-wauk, the river of bad spirits,* that more than a century ago, the Fox and Sac Indians, who then inhabited the country on Green bay and Fox river, were conquered and driven away by the Menominees, aided by the Ottawas and Chippewas; that the Menominees hold this country by conquest, and that their title is admitted to be good by the Sacs, Foxes, Chippawas, and Ottawas.

This statement no doubt originated from Charlevoix's remarks (1) that the Fox Indians were the original possessors of the land adjoining Fox river, and (2) that their principal settlement was about 60 miles up that river. They had made some depredations on French traders and exacted tribute of them, whereon the French commandant of the post took a party of his men in covered boats and, while distracting the attention of the Indians, opened fire on them at the same time that his Menomini allies attacked the village from the rear. Those who survived the slaughter removed to Mississippi river.

Carver[2] reached Green bay in 1766, and on his map of that date two Menomini settlements are located; the northern one on the western shore of the bay, near the present site of Oconto, while the southern camp or "castle" is on the western bank of Fox river, a short distance south of "Fort la Bay." South of these towns the country is marked as occupied by the Winnebago, while that immediately westward is designated as "Saukies Land."

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[1] Report to Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 57.

[2] Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, London, 1778, map.

The traditions relating to the origin of the totems of the Menomini refer to Menomini river (near the mouth) as the place where the Bear emerged from the ground, and also to Wisconsin river as the place of the subsequent meeting of this anthropomorphic being with the Wolf. These streams appear to bound the earliest traditional locality claimed by the Menomini; so, too, other mythic transactions connected with the origin of other totems relate to the same region. Further information on this subject will be found in connection with the description of the Menomini totems.

TREATIES WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Menomini had been in the service of the British in past years, and as the war of 1812–14 found them still true to their old allies, it became necessary to establish a treaty of peace between the United States and the tribe. So commissioners were duly appointed on behalf of the Federal Government, and after conference with the headmen of the tribe the following was adopted March 30, 1817.[1]

A treaty of peace and friendship made and concluded by and between William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners on the part and behalf of the United States of America, of the one part, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, deputed by the Monomenee tribe or nation of Indians, on the part and behalf of their said tribe or nation, of the other part.

The parties, being desirous of re-establishing peace and friendship between the United States and the said tribe or nation, and of being placed in all things, and in every respect, on the same footing upon which they stood before the late war, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. Every injury, or act of hostility, by one or either of the contracting parties, against the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forgot.

Art. 2. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States and all the individuals composing the said Menomenee tribe or nation.

Art. 3. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, on the part and behalf of their said tribe or nation, do, by these presents, confirm to the United States all and every cession of land heretofore made by their tribe or nation to the British, French, or Spanish government, within the limits of the United States, or their territories; and also, all and every treaty, contract, and agreement, heretofore concluded between the said United States and the said tribe or nation.

Art. 4. The contracting parties do hereby agree, promise and oblige themselves, reciprocally, to deliver up all prisoners now in their hands, (by what means soever the same may have come into their possession,) to the officer commanding at Prairie du Chien, to be by him restored to the respective parties hereto, as soon as it may be practicable.

Art. 5. The undersigned chiefs and warriors as aforesaid, for themselves and those they represent, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other nation, power, or sovereign, whatsoever.

In witness whereof, the commissioners aforesaid, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, as aforesaid, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight

[1] Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837, Washington, D. C., 1837, pp. 205, 206.

hundred and seventeen, and of the independence of the United States the forty-first.

William Clark,	L. S.
Ninian Edwards,	L. S.
Auguste Chouteau,	L. S.
Towanapee, Roaring Thunder, his x mark,	L. S.
Weekay, the Calumet Eagle, his x mark,	L. S.
Muequomota, the Fat of the Bear, his x mark,	L. S.
Wacaquon, or Shomin, his x mark,	L. S.
Warbano, the Dawn, his x mark,	L. S.
Inemikee, Thunderer, his x mark,	L. S.
Lebarnaco, the Bear, his x mark,	L. S.
Karkundego, his x mark,	L. S.
Shashamanee, the Elk, his x mark,	L. S.
Penoname, the Running Wolf, his x mark,	L. S.

Done at St. Louis, in the presence of

R. Wash, *Secretary to the Commissioners,*
R. Graham, *U. S. I. A. for Illinois Territory,*
T. Harrison,
Nimrod H. Moore,
S. Gantt, *Lieut. U. S. Army,*
C. M. Price,
Richard T. McKenney,
Amos Kibbe,
Nathaniel Mills,
Samuel Solomon.

Dr Morse, who made an official visit to Green bay in 1820, says:

The Menominees claim the whole of the waters of Green-Bay, with its islands. On its north-west shores, and on Fox river, they claim from the entrance of Menomine river, in length, one hundred and twenty miles, south-west and north-east; and in breadth sixty miles. On the south-east shore of the Bay, and on Fox river, from the river Rouge, on Red river, to the Grand Cockalaw, a distance of forty-five miles, and twenty-four in breadth.[1]

Roughly estimated, this area would embrace over 8,000 square miles.

The true extent of the territory claimed by the Menomini, or recognized as theirs by the surrounding tribes, is not positively known; though the assertion has been made that the western boundary was Mississippi river. The Winnebago, who had always been friendly with the Menomini, were no doubt coclaimants to at least a portion of the lands in the eastern or Green bay section, as may be inferred from the fact of their being a party to the treaties of relinquishment.

To make intelligible the reason for the sale by these Indians of some of their lands, it is necessary to present a short sketch of the Holland Land Company of New York, which had for many years held a preemptive right of purchase from the Indians, covering most of the lands of western New York, this right having originated through the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and having been confirmed subsequently by the state of New York. A large purchase was made from the Indians by Phelps and Gorman, embracing nearly all the lands east of Genesee river. Of the remaining portion, lying west of the river, a large cession was made to the Holland Land Company at a council of the Seneca Indians held in Geneseo in September, 1797, certain large reservations of choice land being excepted.

[1] Op. cit., pp. 51, 52.

General Albert G. Ellis,[1] in his "Account of the advent of the New York Indians into Wisconsin," says:

In 1810, the Holland Land Company sold all their pre-emptive right to the Indian reservations to David A. Ogden, for fifty cents per acre. Mr. Ogden and his associates in this purchase were afterward known as the "Ogden Company." Up to 1817, they had succeeded in extinguishing but a part of the Indian title; the large reservations of Cattaraugus, Alleghany, Tonnewanda, Tuscarora, and Buffalo, still remaining. The anxiety of the company to effect the extinguishment of the Indian title to these reservations, and the removal of the Indians, had exhibited itself in various forms, and sundry unsuccessful efforts, for years. In this year, a new plan was conceived, and its accomplishment set on foot, to wit:—to secure in the West, by consent and aid of the General Government, an extensive grant of lands from the western tribes, as a home or hunting ground for the several tribes holding the reservations in Western New York. This plan was pondered with great care, thoroughly matured, decided and acted upon by the Ogden company, with equal skill and vigor. One of the first steps, was to secure the consent and co-operation of the War Department, which was obtained.

A band of Indians, known as the Stockbridges—more properly the Mo-he-kun-nucks—had moved from Massachusetts at an early day, having obtained a cession of some five by seven miles square from the Oneidas, on the southern border of their reservation, in the county of Oneida, N. Y. The Mo-he-kun-nucks sold off a small tract on their southern border, to a few associated Indians from the remnants of various bands of New England tribes, now known as the *Brothertowns*. These two tribes had resided for several years on their new possessions near the Oneidas.

About the year 1817, a young leader, chief of the Mo-he-kun-nucks, Solomon U. Hendrick, a man of much more than ordinary energy and talent among the Indians, succeeded to the head of affairs. He regarded the languishing condition of his people as a reproach to the former name and glory of the old Mo-he-kun-nucks, and used all his eloquence to persuade the young men to arouse, and make at least one effort to retrieve their name and character. He argued, with equal force and sound reason, that their then paralyzed condition was owing to their confinement to a small space of ground, and being surrounded and preyed upon, by the white inhabitants, from whose pernicious contact and example, especially with regard to drunkenness, they were sustaining a loss of all moral and physical energy and action; and urged, that their only hope for the future lay in *emigration westward*, and the securing of such an extent of country, as would enable them to form new settlements, at such distance from the whites, as to escape from grog-shops and whiskey.

Their resident missionary, Rev. John Sergeant, fell in with and seconded the views of the young chief. In a short time the whole tribe was indoctrinated with the new scheme, and anxious for its consummation. The American Board of Missions gave their influence and aid; through whose suggestions the late Dr. Jedediah [*sic*] Morse, of New Haven, became deeply interested in the plan. This gentleman counselled the Indians and their friends to take immediate measures to have a visit paid, by some discreet agents, to the Western tribes, to select a proper point for location, and open negotiations for a cession of lands. Dr. Morse himself was thought to be the very person to undertake such a mission. Application being made to the Secretary of War, Dr. Morse was commissioned to make a general tour among the North-Western Indians, with a view to forming a better understanding between those tribes and the Government. Under this appointment, this gentleman spent the summer of 1820 in visiting several of the North-Western tribes. Whatever other purposes may have occupied the attention of this commissioner, it is certain that of securing a western retreat for the Stockbridges and other New York Indian tribes was a leading one; though the writer has no evidence of any collusion in the matter, at this date, with the Ogden Land Company. Green Bay was a point specially visited by Dr.

[1] Rep. and Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. ii, Madison, 1856, pp. 415–417.

Morse, where he spent nearly three weeks, and preached the first protestant sermon ever delivered at that place.

During the year 1816–17 a remarkable personage appeared among the Oneida Indians; this was no other than Eleazer Williams, a descendant of Reverend John Williams, of Deerfield memory, but who claimed to be the Dauphin of France—Louis XVII. General Ellis[1] says of him:

In the summer of 1816, he made a tour in the State of New York, among the several tribes of the Six Nations. The Oneidas received him with kindness and attention. They were more inclined to civilization, and a party of them to christianity, than any other tribe of the Six Nations.

Whether Mr. Williams borrowed the idea from Dr. Morse, the Mo-he-kun-nucks, or the Ogden Land Company, or whether it was, as he stoutly maintained, original in his own mind, certain it is, that some time in 1818, he began to broach cautiously among his Indian people a proposition of removing all the Indians of that State, as well as many of those of Canada, and the Senecas at Sandusky, to the neighborhood of Green Bay, and there unite them in one grand confederacy of cantons, but all under one federal head; the government to be a mixture of civil, military, and ecclesiastic, the latter to be pre eminent. . . .

Having secured this point among the Oneidas, he visited the other tribes of the Six Nations, and by holding out dazzling promises of future glory and aggrandizement, he enticed a few young men of each tribe to enter into his scheme. He next addressed the War Department, in imitation of the Stockbridges, soliciting its countenance and assistance to enable a delegation of twenty from the several tribes of the Six Nations to visit the Western tribes, for the purpose of obtaining a cession of country for a new home. The response of the Department was favorable, having doubtless been influenced by other parties moving for the same objects.

Thus, it is to be observed, that whether singular or not, there was a combination of influences, dissimilar in motive but perfectly consonant in purpose, all operating at the same moment in urging a removal of the New York Indians to Green Bay. Each one of the parties claimed the eclat of originating the scheme: we incline to the belief, however, that they all, the Land Company, the Mo-he-kun-nucks and Mr. Williams, might, and probably did conceive, at pretty near the same period of time, the idea of a new home for these Indians in the West.

The late Honorable Lyman C. Draper,[2] formerly secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, referring to this subject, says:

Rev. Eleazer Williams, with a deputation of the Oneidas, first visited the Green Bay region with a view of finding a new home, in the summer of 1820. Reporting favorably, in August, 1821, Williams again repaired to Green Bay, himself as the deputy of the St. Regis Indians, accompanied by a delegation of Oneidas, Stockbridges, Onondagoes, Senecas, and Munsees, who made a treaty with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and purchased a considerable territory from them. In September, 1822, this territory was largely increased by an additional purchase. The New York Indians emigrated from time to time in bands, and settled on their purchase.

There has recently been called to my attention an editorial notice of Eleazar Williams, in The Nation (N. Y.) for May 31, 1894, which elicited a communication to the same periodical for June 14, 1894. After a few preliminary remarks, the letter continues:

As early as 1810, Eleazar Williams called himself "Count de Lorraine" and wore a large tinsel star. My grandfather was acquainted with the man and fully

[1] Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 418, 419.

[2] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, p. 68, footnote.

impressed with his ignorance and pretence. The subsequent developments of his fiction brought him to the notice of the family, and it was with this knowledge that my father, Dr. Williams of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, happened to be in Caughnawaga when those of the tribe who knew of the childhood of Eleazar were questioned regarding his origin. Dr. Williams was then locating and laying the railroad through the Indian reservation, and was not only intimately acquainted with Oronhiatekha (De Lorimier), the head chief, with Taiaike (Jean Baptiste Rice, better known as "Grand Baptiste"), the pilot of the Lachine rapids, and other subordinate chiefs, but was adopted by the tribe, and is still remembered by the older members as "Raristeseres."

In the fall of 1851 two gentlemen came to Caughnawaga to investigate the story of Eleazar Williams. It was on a Sunday afternoon that De Lorimier summoned the mother of Eleazar, Mary Ann Rice (Kanontewanteta), and an old man and woman who were with the parents at the time of his birth, as well as others who could tell of his youth. It may be well to say here that Eleazar was in bad odor with the tribe. This fact has been made much of by the upholders of the French origin, and has been stated by them as due to the lapse of the man from the Romish faith, and an attempt to avenge on him the slighted creed. The real facts are that the Romish Church, if it had any feeling in the matter, rejoiced in getting rid of a black sheep, as Eleazar had made his tribe the victims of a favorite habit of his—the collection of money for a specific purpose, and its immediate conversion to his own use.

All the persons gathered on that Sunday afternoon knew of the character of the man, and that was all. They were then entirely ignorant of his pretensions, and spoke only Iroquois and a French *patois*. They were taken singly into the room where they were to be questioned, and a Scotchman named McNab, who was a notary and greatly trusted by the Indians, acted as interrogator and interpreter. The old woman first told how she was present at the birth of Eleazar, and that he was the son of Mary Ann (Rice) Williams, and that the birth took place at Lake George, New York, where the party had gone on a fishing excursion. It was immediately after the Revolution. The old man followed and said that the birth took place as stated, and he further told how Eleazar had fallen from high rocks when a boy and received injuries to his legs and knees that had left scars. The mother then told her story in corroboration of what had been told. After all the testimony had been taken, there was no one present but felt that Eleazar Williams was an Indian. Mr. McNab then translated to them the printed account of the pretended French origin of the man. It made the mother cry, and she said that she knew that Eleazar had done many bad things, but she did not think he would deny his own mother. The matter was talked over by the tribe, and they did not hesitate to call him a liar. The peculiar (?) Bourbon features of Eleazar were possessed by De Lorimier, Francis Mount—by all, in fact, who were descended from white captives.

Father Marcoux stated to my father that the early mission records were very incomplete, and, in general, those children born outside of the mission had no place on the record. This seems to cover the whole case.—*Edward H. Williams, jr., Wentworth, June 4, 1894.*

Returning to a period before the consummation of the treaty of 1821, another phase of the subject may be noted. General Ellis continues:

The Menomonees and Winnebagoes having been apprised of the intended visit of their *grandfathers*, the *Not-ta-ways*, but a few days delay occurred before they appeared on the bank of Fox river, to meet their eastern brethren. The reception of the delegates was cordial by the Menomonees and Winnebagoes; and had there not been a third party to interfere, the New York Indians would probably very soon have accomplished their object. The French inhabitants and half breeds settled at Green Bay, numbered about five hundred souls; their alliance with the Indians, particularly the Menomonees, was very close, and their influence with them very strong,

almost potential. Some of the more shrewd among them very soon penetrated the ambitious design of Williams, which was no less than a total subjugation of the whole country, and the establishment of an Indian government, of which he was to be the sole dictator. The French and traders immediately organized into an opposition to the whole programme of the delegates. They were familiar with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, present at their debates, counselled and advised with them in their deliberations, and when the answer of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes was given, it was a deliberate and decided refusal to cede them an inch of soil west of Lake Michigan. It was plain to all, that the French and half breeds had answered, and not the Indians. The delegates expressed as much in their reply and affectionately requested their brothers to re-consider the matter, and answer for themselves, independent of the French and half breeds.

Several days were spent by both parties in out-door discussions. The French and half breed interest, finding their position not safely tenable, counselled a kind of compromise, which being adopted, resulted in proposing a cession to their eastern brethren, the Not-ta-ways, of a strip of land five miles in width, running across the Fox river at Little Chute as a centre, and thence to the north-west and south-east, equi-distant with their claims or possessions. In offering this cession to the delegates as their ultimatum, these tribes urged their limited possessions, the poverty of their hunting grounds, and their inability in consequence to subsist their people! The possessions of the Menomonees then reached from the mouth of Green Bay to the Milwaukee River, North and South, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, South-east and North-west. Those of the Winnebagoes included all the remainder of what is now known as southern Wisconsin, except the inconsiderable tract west of Sugar River, claimed by the Sauks and Foxes. They were very much crowded, of course! The delegates saw that the object was, by placing them on a great thoroughfare, the Fox River, between these two tribes, to establish such a surveillance over them as effectually to prevent any design or movement the New York Indians might ever attempt, contrary to the wishes or interests of the grantees, or the French inhabitants. After much deliberation, and a good deal of hesitation, it was concluded on the advice chiefly of Hendrick, the Mo-he-kun-nuck chief, to accept the grant. A treaty was accordingly drawn up by Mr. Trowbridge, and signed by the parties on the 18th of August, and witnessed by the citizens and U. S. officers at the post. Five hundred dollars were paid the Menomonees and Winnebagoes at the time, and fifteen hundred dollars stipulated to be paid in goods the following year, in full for the cession.

* * * * * * *

In about ten days the Menomonees and Winnebagoes assembled to greet their new friends the *Not-ta-ways*, as they called the New York Indians, and to receive the $1,500 payment, in goods, on the cession of 1821. Such an assemblage of wild Indians, young and old, women and papooses, was seldom seen. Of the two tribes, there could not have been less than five thousand souls, besides the New Yorkers, the French, half breeds, and Americans. The best specimen of Indian character, and especially of a war dance, ever seen by the writer, was there given for several days. The Winnebagoes, of that day at least, exhibited the largest, most perfectly formed set of both men and women, almost ever seen anywhere. The great display of action and muscle in these dances, struck the beholder with admiration and terror. The ring round the dancers contained several thousand, all singing in chorus to the lead of the chief drummer; the voices of the Winnebago women prevailing in clarion tones above the whole.

The payment of the fifteen hundred dollars worth of goods, was made with as much ceremony as possible by the delegates, accompanied by a set speech setting forth the great advantages that would be derived to their western brethren by their settling among them. After the payment and the proper receipts of acknowledgment on the treaties, followed feasting, dancing, and a general hilarity for two days. The delegates then invited the Menomonees and Winnebagoes to a formal council, and renewed the effort for a further extension of territory. Every argument

and a most liberal offer in the shape of annuities for ten years, were proposed in vain. The Winnebagoes gave the answer, stoutly refusing further negotiations. That tribe soon left in a body to repair to their hunts. The Menomonees lingered, and were again got into council with the delegates, which conference continued for several days, and finally resulted in the great transaction which gave the New York Indians the foothold on Fox River, which they have in part maintained to this day. The Menomonees, for a trifling consideration, ceded to the New York Indians a *right in common* to the whole of their lands. Although some two of the principal chiefs were not present to join in this important cession, this treaty, as well as the one of the previous year, were approved by the President, and the New York Indians thereby recognized as joint owners with the Menomonees of all their immense territories comprising nearly half of the State of Wisconsin.[1]

The several tribes of the New York Indians now hoped to be able to occupy, without further hindrance or trouble, their new homes, jointly with the Menomonees; but subsequent events proved their wishes but half attained. The whites and traders at Green Bay saw that the Menomonees had been grossly over-reached by their new friends, the New York Indians, in a bargain. They very soon showed that tribe, that in making the *Not-ta-ways* equal owners with them in their country, they could no longer control their own affairs, especially in the great business of treating with their great Father; that the New York Indians, if their treaties were to stand, would, in a short time, out-general them in tactics, and probably in numbers, and put them completely in the back ground in all public matters. The arguments had their effect, and in a short time the Menomonees repented of the bargain, and sought means to invalidate the treaties. The same ingenuity which had helped them to a dislike found a ready pretext for denying and repudiating the treaties, especially the last one. It was said, that at the treaty of 1822, several of the chiefs highest in authority were not present, which, being true, gave the tribe a good reason for denying and with-holding sanction to the arrangement. As usual in such cases, the Menomonees separated into two parties, the one adhering to the treaties and the interest of the New York Indians, the other denying them and resisting their rights to any part of the country. The adverse party had the support of all the trading interest, together with most of the half breeds, and soon became the strongest, both in point of influence and numbers.

[1]This treaty or purchase included all the country, beginning at the Grand Kakalin, on Fox River, thence east on the lower line of the purchase of the New York Indians of the preceding year, to or equi-distant with the Man-a-wah-ki-ah (Milwaukee) river; thence down said river to its mouth; thence northerly, on the borders of Lake Michigan, to and across the mouth of Green Bay, so as to include all the islands of the Grand Traverse; thence from the mouth of Green Bay northerly, to the Bay de Noque, on Lake Michigan; thence a westerly course, on the height of land separating the waters of Lake Superior and Michigan, to the head of the Menomonee river; thence continuing nearly the same course until it strikes the north-eastern boundary line of the land purchased by the New York Indians the year preceding, and thence south-easterly to the place of beginning. This appears to have been a complete cession of "all the right, title, interest, and claim" of the Menomonees, to the country described, reserving, however, "the free permission and privilege of occupying and residing upon the lands herein ceded, in common with them—the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis and Munsee nations; *Provided nevertheless*, That they, the Menomonee nation, shall not in any manner infringe upon any settlements or improvements whatever, which may be in any manner made by the said Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis, or Munsee nations." The consideration was one thousand dollars in goods to be paid in hand, and one thousand dollars more in goods the next year, and a similar amount the year following. This treaty was concluded September 23d, 1822. But President Monroe did not approve, to its full extent, this purchase; his approval, bearing date March 13th, 1823, is thus qualified: "The aforegoing instrument is approved so far as it conveys to the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis, and Munsee tribes or nations of Indians, that portion of the country therein described, which lies between Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Fox River, that part of the former purchase made by said tribes or nations of Indians of the Menomonee and Winnebago Indians, on the 8th of August, 1821, which lies south of Fox River, and a line drawn from the south-eastern extremity of said purchase to the head of Sturgeon Bay, and no further; that quantity being deemed sufficient for the use of the first before-mentioned tribes or nations of Indians." This treaty, and that of the preceding year, may be found in full, appended to the address of Hon. Morgan L. Martin before the Wisconsin State Historical Society, January 21, 1851.

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The dissatisfaction among some of the Menomini respecting these treaties increased with time, and things were extremely discouraging for the success of Williams' plans and the views of the Ogden Company, until the year 1827, when the following treaty was made, viz:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at the Butte des Morts, on Fox river, in the Territory of Michigan, between Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKenney, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Chippeway, Menomonie, and Winnebago tribes of Indians.

Art. 1. Whereas, the southern boundary of the Chippeway country, from the Plover Portage of the Ouisconsin easterly, was left undefined by the treaty concluded at Prairie du Chien, August 19, 1825, in consequence of the non-attendance of some of the principal Menomonie chiefs; and, whereas, it was provided by the said treaty, that, whenever the President of the United States might think proper, such of the tribes, parties to the said treaty, as might be interested in any particular line, should be convened, in order to agree upon its establishment:

Therefore, in pursuance of the said provision, it is agreed between the Chippeways, Menomonies, and Winnebagoes, that the southern boundary of the Chippeway country shall run as follows, namely: From the Plover Portage of the Ouisconsin, on a northeasterly course, to a point on Wolf river, equidistant from the Ashawano and Post lakes of said river; thence, to the falls of the Pashaytig river of Green Bay; thence, to the junction of the Neesau Kootag or Burnt-wood river, with the Menomonie; thence, to the big island of the Shoskinaubic or Smooth Rock river; thence, following the channel of the said river to Green Bay, which it strikes between the little and the great Bay de Noquet.

Art. 2. Much difficulty having arisen from the negotiations between the Menomonie and Winnebago tribes and the various tribes and portions of tribes of Indians of the State of New York, and the claims of the respective parties being much contested, as well with relation to the tenure and boundaries of the two tracts, claimed by the said New York Indians, west of lake Michigan, as to the authority of the persons who signed the agreement on the part of the Menomonies, and the whole subject having been fully examined at the council this day concluded, and the allegations, proofs, and statements, of the respective parties having been entered upon the journal of the commissioners, so that the same can be decided by the President of the United States; it is agreed by the Menomonies and Winnebagoes, that so far as respects their interest in the premises, the whole matter shall be referred to the President of the United States, whose decision shall be final. And the President is authorized, on their parts, to establish such boundaries between them and the New York Indians as he may consider equitable and just.

Art. 3. It being important to the settlement of Green Bay, that definite boundaries should be established between the tract claimed by the former French and British governments, and the lands of the Indians, as well to avoid future disputes as to settle the question of jurisdiction. It is therefore agreed between the Menomonie tribe and the United States, that the boundaries of the said tracts, the jurisdiction and title of which are hereby acknowledged to be in the United States, shall be as follows, namely:—Beginning on the shore of Green Bay, six miles due north from the parallel of the mouth of Fox river, and running thence in a straight line, but with the general course of the said river, and six miles therefrom to the intersection of the continuation of the westerly boundary of the tract at the Grand Kaukaulin, claimed by Augustin Grignion; thence, on a line with the said boundary to the same; thence, with the same to Fox river; thence, on the same course, six miles; thence, in a direct line to the southwestern boundary of the tract, marked on the plan of the claims at Green Bay, as the settlement at the bottom of the bay; thence, with the southerly boundary of the said tract to the southeasterly corner thereof; and thence with the easterly boundary of the said tract to Green Bay. Provided, that if the President of the United States should be of opinion that the boundaries

thus established interfere with any just claims of the New York Indians, the President may then change the said boundaries in any manner he may think proper, so that the quantity of land contained in the said tract be not greater than by the boundaries herein defined. And provided also, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to have any effect upon the land claims at Green bay; but the same shall remain as though this treaty had not been formed.

Art. 4. In consideration of the liberal establishment of the boundaries as herein provided for, the commissioners of the United States have this day caused to be distributed among the Indians, goods to the amount of fifteen thousand six hundred and eighty-two dollars, payment for which shall be made by the United States.

Art. 5. The sum of one thousand dollars shall be annually appropriated for the term of three years; and the sum of fifteen hundred dollars shall be annually thereafter appropriated as long as Congress think proper, for the education of the children of the tribes, parties hereto, and of the New York Indians, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States.

Art. 6. The United States shall be at liberty, notwithstanding the Winnebagoes are parties to this treaty, to pursue such measures as they may think proper for the punishment of the perpetrators of the recent outrages at Prairie du Chien, and upon the Mississippi, and for the prevention of such acts hereafter.

Art. 7. This treaty shall be obligatory after its ratification by the President and the Senate of the United States.

Done at the Butte des Mortes, on Fox river, in the Territory of Michigan, this eleventh day of August, 1827.

Lewis Cass,
Thomas L. McKenney.

Chippeways.

Shinguaba Wossin, his x mark,
Wayishkee, his x mark,
Sheewanbeketoan, his x mark,
Mozobodo, his x mark,
Gitshee Waubezhaas, his x mark,
Moazoninee, his x mark,
Mishaukewett, his x mark,
Monominee Cashee, his x mark,
Attikumaag, his x mark,
Umbwaygeezhig, his x mark,
Moneeto Penaysee, his x mark,
Akkeewaysee, his x mark,
Sheegad, his x mark,
Wauwaunishkau, his x mark,
Anamikee Waba, his x mark,
Ockewazee, his x mark.

Menomonies.

Oskashe, his x mark,
Josette Caron, his x mark,
Kominikey, jun. his x mark,
Kimiown, his x mark,
Kominikey, sen. his x mark,
Keshiminey, his x mark,
Woiniss-atte, his x mark,
Powoiysnoit, his x mark,
Manbasseaux, his x mark,
Myanmechetnabewat, his x mark,
Pemabeme, his x mark,
Kegisse, his x mark,
L'Espagnol, his x mark,
Kichiaemtort, his x mark,
Hoo Tshoop, (or four legs,) his x mark,
Tshayro-tshoan Kaw, his x mark,
Karry-Man-nee, (walking turtle,) his x mark,
Sau-say-man-nee, his x mark,
Maunk-hay-raith, (tattood breast,) his x mark,
Shoank Skaw, (white dog,) his x mark,
Shoank-tshunksiap, (black wolf,) his x mark,
Kaw-Kaw-say-kaw, his x mark,
Wheank-Kaw, (big duck,) his x mark,
Shoank-ay-paw-kaw, (dog head,) his x mark,
Sar-ray-num-nee, (walking mat,) his x mark,
Waunk-tshay-hee-sootsh, (red devil,) his x mark,
Wau-kaun-hoa-noa-nick, (little snake,) his x mark,
Kaw-nee-shaw, (white crow,) his x mark.

Witnesses:

Philip B. Key, *Secretary,*
E. Boardman, *Captain 2d U. S. Infantry,*
Henry R. Schoolcraft, *U. States Indian Agent,*
Henry B. Brevoort, *U. S. I. Agt.,*

Thomas Rowland,
D. G. Jones,
R. A. Forsyth,
S. Conant,
E. A. Brush,

Jn. Bpt. Fcois Fauvel, *Clergyman*,
Jesse Miner,
Henry Conner, *Interpreter*,
John Kinzie, Jun.[1]

NOTE.—The above treaty was ratified with the proviso, "That the said treaty shall not impair or affect any right or claim which the New York Indians, or any of them, have to the lands, or any of the lands, mentioned in the said treaty."

The action of the United States Senate, in its ratification of this treaty, known as the "Treaty of Butte des Morts," failed to bring about a satisfactory condition of affairs, and new commissioners were appointed in 1830 to endeavor to bring about a satisfactory conclusion of the matter. The leading Menomini were inflexible, stating that their chief men had not been consulted in the previous treaties, unauthorized or uninfluential Indians assuming such authority without any right thereto. The expression of opposition was that the New York Indians were simply regarded as tenants at will and in no sense considered as owners or controllers of the soil.

The commission failed to effect anything, and it was not until 1831 that the treaty, since familiarly known as the Stambaugh treaty, was definitely concluded, and signed by the parties. Mr Ellis[2] remarks:

The New York Indians were not parties to the treaty. In order to a proper understanding of the subject, it is necessary to make copious extracts. The treaty sets forth the boundaries as claimed by the Menomonees, taking all the lands east of Fox River, Green Bay, and Lake Winnebago, and from Fond du Lac south-easterly to the sources of the Milwaukee River, and down the same to its mouth—this tract was ceded to the United States. They claimed westerly and north-westerly, everything west of Green Bay from the Shoskonabie (Es-co-na-ba) River to the upper forks of the Menomonee, thence to Plover Portage of the Wisconsin, and thence up that river to Soft Maple River; west to Plume River of the Chippewa, thence down the Chippewa 30 miles; thence easterly to the fork of the Monoy or Lemonweir River, and down that river to its mouth; thence to the Wisconsin Portage, thence down the Fox to Lake Winnebago.

The first article of the treaty relates exclusively to the New York Indians, and is in the following words: The Menomonee tribe of Indians declare themselves the friends and allies of the United States, under whose parental care and protection they desire to continue; and though always protesting that they are under no obligation to recognize any claim of the New York Indians to any portion of their country; that they neither sold, nor received any value, for the land claimed by these tribes; yet, at the solicitation of their Great Father, the President of the United States, and as an evidence of their love and veneration for him, they agree that such part of the land described, being within the following boundaries, as he may direct, may be set apart as a home to the several tribes of the New York Indians, who may remove to, and settle upon the same, within three years from the date of this agreement, viz.: Beginning on the west side of Fox River, near the "Little Kackalin," at a point known as the "Old Mill Dam," thence north-west forty miles; thence north-east to the Oconto creek, falling into Green Bay; thence down said Oconto creek to Green Bay; thence up and along Green Bay and Fox River to the place of beginning; excluding there-

[1] Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian tribes, from 1778 to 1837, Washington, 1837, pp. 412–415.
[2] Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 435, 436.

from all private claims confirmed, and also the following reservation for military purposes: Beginning on the Fox River, at the mouth of the first creek above Fort Howard, thence north sixty-four degrees west to Duck Creek; thence down said Duck Creek to its mouth; thence up and along Green Bay and Fox River to the place of beginning. The Menomonee Indians also reserve, for the use of the U. States, from the country herein designated for the New York Indians, timber and firewood for the United States garrison, and as much land as may be deemed necessary for public highways to be located by the direction and at the discretion of the President of the United States. The country hereby ceded to the United States, for the benefit of the New York Indians, contains by estimation, about five hundred thousand acres, and includes all their improvements on the west side of Fox River.

In consequence of this treaty the hopes of Eleazer Williams were crushed, and those of the Ogden Land Company were not encouraged. The land set apart for the New York Indians was evidently too limited for agricultural purposes. Colonel Stambaugh feared that his treaty would not be adopted by the Senate, and also that his appointment as Indian agent—which had not yet been acted upon—would not be confirmed; so he again had the Menomini called before the commissioners and some supplements made to the treaty, by which two of the most objectionable features were remedied. The Senate refused to take up the treaty at the ensuing session, and it was not till 1832 that it was in shape for promulgation. Even then the Menomini opposed the plan of the New York Indians to put a fort on the land south of the Little Kakalin, and their assent was necessary, so that an amicable settlement was not reached till 1832.

In 1838 another treaty was made between the Oneida Indians and the United States regarding some money which they wanted, as sole representatives of the large cession of the treaty of 1831, by the Menomini on the western side of Fox river. The following extracts will serve to indicate the chief points upon which the Oneida were advised, by their missionary, to base their claim, viz:

Art. 1. The First Christian and Orchard parties of Indians, cede to the United States all their title and interest in the land set apart for them in the first article of the treaty with the Menomonees, of February 8th, 1831, and the second article of the treaty with the same tribe, October 27th, 1832.

Art. 2. From the foregoing cession there shall be reserved to the said Indians, to be held as other Indian lands are held, a tract of land containing one hundred acres, for each individual, and the lines shall be so run as to include all their settlements and improvements in the vicinity of Green Bay.

Art. 3. In consideration of the cession contained in the first article of this treaty, the United States agree to pay to the Orchard party of the Oneida Indians three thousand dollars, and to the First Christian party of Oneida Indians thirty thousand and five hundred dollars, of which last sum three thousand dollars may be expended, under the supervision of the Rev. Solomon Davis, in the erection of a church and parsonage house, and the residue apportioned, under the direction of the President, among the persons having just claims thereto; it being understood that said aggregate sum of thirty thousand and five hundred dollars is designed to be in reimbursement of monies expended by said Indians, and in remuneration of the services of their chiefs and agents, in purchasing and securing a title to the

land ceded in the 1st article. The United States further agree, to cause the tracts reserved in the 2nd article, to be surveyed as soon as practicable.[1]

There are several other articles to this treaty, but they are unimportant and are therefore omitted. The treaty was ratified by the Senate and promulgated on May 17, 1838, and by it the possessions of the Six Nations in Wisconsin were reduced to the present reservation of the Oneida on Duck creek, near Green bay, containing about 61,000 acres.

By a treaty made October 18, 1848, between the United States and the Menomini Indians, the latter agreed to cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States "all their lands in the State of Wisconsin, wherever situated." For this they were to receive certain lands ceded to the United States by the Ojibwa Indians of the Mississippi and Lake Superior in the treaty of August 2, 1847, as well as some other lands ceded (and not yet assigned) to the Winnebago, land which was guaranteed to comprise not less than 600,000 acres. There was also a money consideration. This treaty was ratified January 23, 1849. Another treaty supplemental to this was made May 12, 1854, because of the desire of the Menomini to remain in the state of Wisconsin, and their special unwillingness to remove to the Ojibwa country west of Mississippi river which had been assigned them. Consequently, all lands which had been granted to them by the treaty of 1848 were relinquished, and in consideration thereof the United States gave them "for a home, to be held as Indian lands are held, that tract of country lying upon the Wolf river in the State of Wisconsin, commencing at the southwest corner of township 28 north, of range 16 east, of the fourth principal meridian, running west twenty-four miles, thence north eighteen miles, thence east twenty-four miles, thence south eighteen miles, to the place of beginning, the same being townships 28, 29, and 30, of ranges 13, 14, 15, and 16, according to the public surveys." This treaty was assented to by Osh'kosh and Keshena, and was proclaimed August 2, 1854.

On February 11, 1856, another treaty was made by which the Menomini ceded to the United States a tract of land, not exceeding two townships in extent, and selected from the western part of their reservation, for the purpose of giving a reservation to the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians. This treaty was proclaimed April 24, 1856.

PRESENT LOCATION

Under the treaties with the United States, the Oneida, the Stockbridge and Munsee, and the Menomini have each their respective reservations. The Oneida, numbering over 1,200, have a reservation of 60,800 acres near Green bay; the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians, numbering about 250, occupy a reservation southwest of the Menomini, containing 60,800 acres, while the Menomini are located on a reservation of ten townships, equal in round numbers to 360 square miles or

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin for 1855, vol. ii, 1856, p. 447.

230,400 acres.[1] The reservation is located in the northeastern interior of the state of Wisconsin. The tract embraced within its limits is well wooded and is filled with lakes and rivers, affording an abundance of game and fish (see plate I).

The Indians removed to their present home in October, 1852, most of them ascending Wolf river in canoes; yet today a canoe is looked upon by them with as much interest and curiosity as it would be in an eastern city, so rarely is one found.

By an act of Congress of February 13, 1871, provision was made for the sale of a portion of the Menomini reservation, but as the consent of the Indians was not obtained, no portion of their lands have yet been disposed of.[2]

POPULATION AND CHARACTERISTICS

According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1892, the "whole number of Menomini reported on the reservation is 1,335, with 343 children of school age." To this should be added about 300 representatives of the tribe scattered throughout the country east of the reservation, at Oconto, Menomonee, and several other places. This would raise the aggregate population to 1,635, which corresponds with the number estimated during the summer of 1893.

But little is known of the early population of the Menomini tribe, inasmuch as in most instances reference is made to villages, or simply to the warriors. If an estimate is to be based on the number of fighting men, various processes may be adopted to determine the approximate population of the entire tribe.

In the Paris documents of 1718, number VII,[3] the statement is made that "The Puans and the Folle Avoines are not numerous; each nation may number 80 or 100 men. . . . All these tribes are very industrious, and the women are four times more numerous than the men." Here we have a specific comparison of numbers between the males and females, but when Charlevoix arrived at the mouth of Menomonee river, in 1721, he found a village of this tribe, and says: "The whole nation consists of this village, and that not very numerous."[4]

Lieutenant Gorrell, commandant of La Bay (Green Bay) in 1761, states that "There are, by both French and Indian accounts, 39,100 Indian warriors, besides women and children, depending on this post for supplies."[5] Among the tribes enumerated he mentions 150 warriors of the Folles Avoines, occupying two towns at La Bay. According to numerous comparisons made, as pertain to other tribes, this would place the entire population at about 750 souls, thus allowing five to

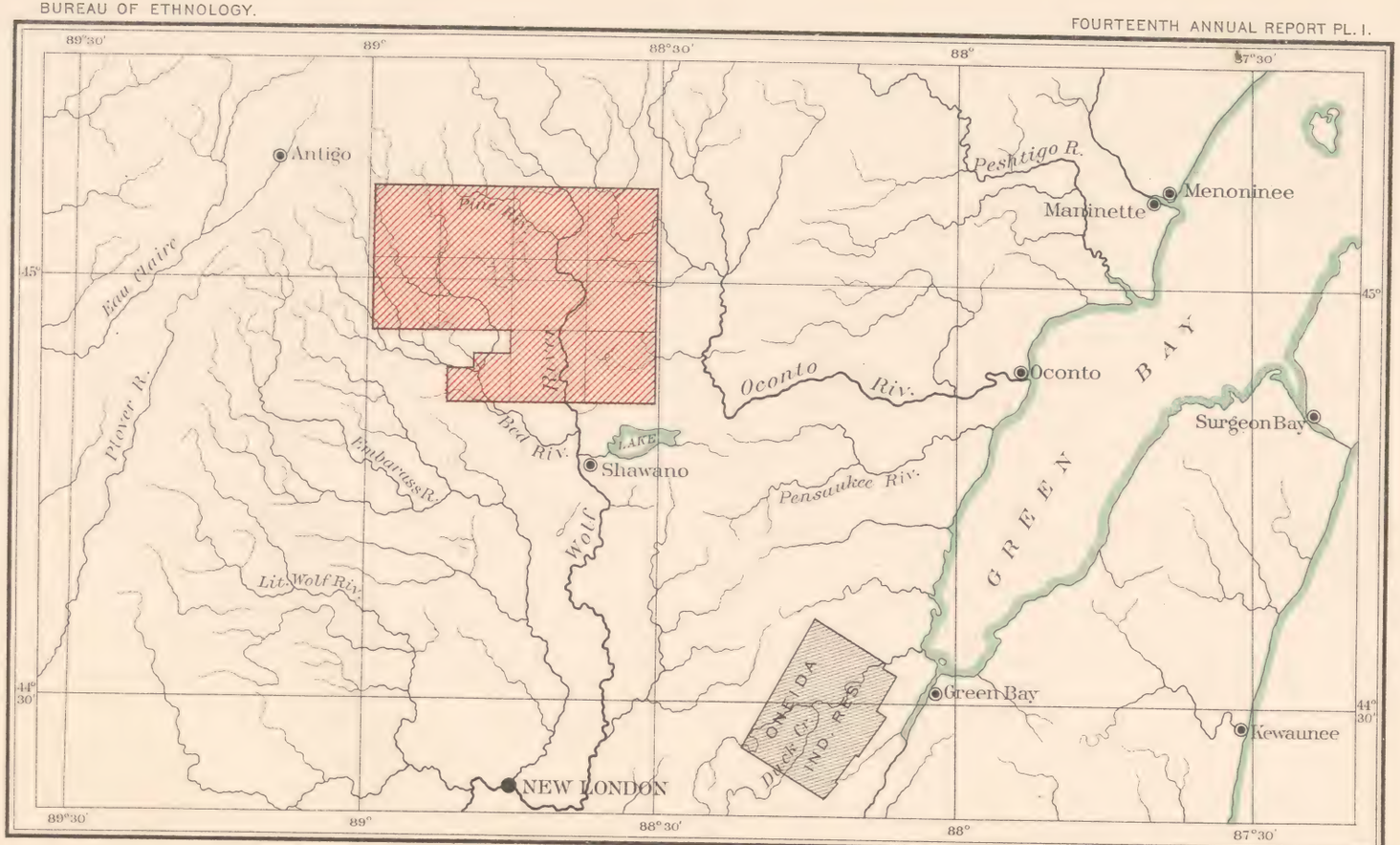
[1] According to the land surveys, about 10,000 acres additional are embraced in lakes and meandered streams.

[2] Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1872, Washington, 1872, p. 20.

[3] Docs. Coll. Hist. New York, vol. ix, Albany, 1855, p. 889.

[4] Journal of a Voyage to North America, vol. ii, London, 1781, p. 61.

[5] Gorrell's Journal, Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. i, 1854, p. 32.



PART OF WISCONSIN SHOWING LOCATION OF MENOMINEE RESERVATION.

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each warrior. In Purcell's enumeration of "warriors, gun-men,"[1] etc, the Creek and Seminole Indians had about one warrior in three of the population; the Chickasaw one in four, the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Catawba one in three. If the same ratio should be applied in the enumeration of the Menomini, the population of that tribe would be nearer 600.

There appears to have been a rapid increase in the population subsequently if we may credit Dr Morse,[2] who visited Green bay in 1820, with reference to the subject of removing to that country the New York Indians. He says, "The Menominees, or Folles Avoines, have 600 warriors, 900 women, 2,400 children, total 3,900; they live in ten villages, north-west of Green Bay, on Menomine river, which is their north-east boundary, but chiefly on Fox river, on and near Winnebago lake." A few are mentioned, also, as scattered at other places. In this enumeration the proportion of warriors to the whole number would be about one to six and a half.

According to an enumeration made in September, 1842, the population was found to be 2,464,[3] but in 1850 they were estimated at only 500 souls.[4] In 1856 the number reported was 1,930, while in 1857 the total number was given as 1,697, comprising 358 men, 425 women, and 914 children; the discrepancy being doubtless due to inaccuracy in counting and not to death. Great difficulty has been experienced at various times in endeavoring to obtain an accurate census, as Indians are frequently governed in their statements and conduct by the motive which they conceive to prompt the agents or other authorities in procuring such enumeration. When, for instance, they believe that it is to their advantage to exaggerate their population, women have been known to report themselves with their family, and to increase the latter by borrowing an infant to swell the number; when, a few moments later, the same infant, wrapped in another blanket, would be brought forward by another woman to add to her household. On the contrary, if the question of population be such that it would be advantageous for the Indians to report as small a number as possible, scarcely any infants could be readily found.

The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1863 places the Menomini population at 1,724 souls, while some years later (in 1872) the population on the reservation was 1,362. The report of the same officer for the year 1882 places the population at 1,500; for the year 1884 at 1,400; for 1890 at 1,311, and for the year 1892, as above stated, the total is given as 1,335, not including those residing at and in the vicinity of Oconto, who number about 300.

The Menomini Indians are rapidly adopting the pursuits of civilized people, considering the comparatively short period of time since they

[1] Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. IV, 1795 pp. 99–100.
[2] Report to the Sec. of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 51.
[3] Report Commissioner Ind. Aff., Washington, 1843, p 440
[4] History of the Catholic Missions, John Gilmary Shea, New York (1854?).

wore blankets and subsisted almost exclusively by the chase. But little hunting is done at this day, although deer, bear, and smaller animals are abundant. This tribe has always been friendly to the whites, and their reception of strangers is hospitable. Major Zebulon Montgomery Pike, in his "Expeditions," mentions a meeting in Minnesota with Shawano and his band, who had gone hunting, and after recounting the statements concerning the personal appearance of the people, says:

> From my own observation, I had sufficient reason to confirm their information as respected the males; for they were all straight and well made, about the middle size; their complexions generally fair for savages, their teeth good, their eyes large and rather languishing; they have a mild but independent expression of countenance, that charms at first sight; in short, they would be considered any where, as handsome men.[1]

Charlevoix, after referring to the single village which he found, and remarking that the nation was not numerous, says: "'Tis really great pity, they being the finest and handsomest men in all Canada."[2] It is to be regretted that this statement can not now be substantiated.

Colonel Charles Whittlesey, in his Recollections of a Tour through Wisconsin in 1832, says of the Menomini:

> In person they are a thick-set frame, less tall, and in better condition than most Indians, and at least equally indolent. The thief is not so common a character with them as with many other tribes. Their attachment to the United States has not been exceeded by any Indian people.[3]

Mr Grignon,[4] whose authority regarding the Menomini is beyond question, since he was himself connected with this tribe by blood and was a life-long resident among them, remarks:

> The Menomonees were less warlike than the Sauks and Foxes; they, at least, did not get embroiled in wars with other Indian nations as much as the other tribes . . . My grandfather remarked, that he regarded the Menomonees as the most peaceful, brave, and faithful of all the tribes who ever served under him. This was a high compliment, but in my opinion richly merited. They have ever proved, as a nation, friendly to the whites; and in the general Indian plot of Pontiac, in 1763, the Menomonees alone kept aloof, and rendered signal services to Lieut. Gorrell and party at Green bay.

Of the aggregate population of 1,635, 1,000 are reported as members of the church, services being conducted by the Franciscan fathers; while the two schools accommodate over 300 pupils, who are making satisfactory progress in education. Drunkenness is the most serious evil from which the Indians suffer, though the number of instances of intoxication is not so great as on many reservations more favorably situated for obtaining liquor. Crime is rare among the Menomini; during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1892, only six criminals were convicted by the Indian court. This court, which is a model of its kind,

[1] Acct. of Expeds. to the Sources of the Mississippi, Phil'a, 1810, p. 83.
[2] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 61.
[3] Recol. of a Tour Through Wis. in 1832; in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsion for 1854, vol. i, 1855, p. 69.
[4] Augustin Grignon, Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wis. for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, p. 265.

is composed of Nio′pet, Chickeny (Mä′tshikinĕu^{v}), and Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, three worthy representatives of the Menomini, the former being at the same time civil chief of the tribe, while the last named is second chief.

During the early part of the present century Indian captives were held as slaves. Augustin Grignon[1] is responsible for the following statement:

> During the constant wars of the Indians, several of the Wisconsin tribes were in the habit of making captives of the Pawnees, Osages, Missouries, and even of the distant Mandans, and these were consigned to servitude. I know that the Ottawas and Sauks made such captives; but am not certain about the Menomonees, Chippewas, Pottawottamies, Foxes and Winnebagoes. The Menomonees, with a few individual exceptions, did not engage in these distant forays. The Menomonees, and probably other tribes, had Pawnee slaves, which they obtained by purchase of the Ottawas, Sauks and others who captured them; but I never knew the Menomonees to have any by capture, and but a few by purchase. For convenience sake, I suppose, they were all denominated Pawnees, when some of them were certainly of other Missouri tribes, as I have already mentioned, for I have known three Osages, two Missouries, and one Mandan among these Indian slaves. Of the fourteen whom I have personally known, six were males and eight females, and the most of them were captured while young. I have no recollection as to the pecuniary value of these slaves or servants, but I have known two females sold, at different times, each for one hundred dollars.

Speaking of the treatment of slaves by their owners, Mr Grignon continues:[2]

> When these Pawnee slaves had Indian masters, they were generally treated with great severity. . . . A female slave owned by a Menomonee woman, while sick, was directed by her unfeeling mistress to take off her over-dress, and she then deliberately stabbed and killed her; and this without a cause or provocation, and not in the least attributable to liquor. It should also be mentioned, on the other hand, that Mas-caw, a Pawnee among the Menomonees, was not treated or regarded as a slave, and married a chief's daughter, and lived with them till his death, and has now a gray-headed son living at Lake Shawanaw.

It has already been stated that Osh′kosh, fifty years ago, publicly asserted that his family was without doubt the only one of pure Menomini blood. From an examination of the genealogies of many of the old men, this statement does not seem at all incredible, and it may be questioned if at this day there remains a single individual free from the taint of foreign blood, either white or Indian. Concerning this Dr Morse makes the following statement:

> Judge Reaume, an Indian Trader, who has resided at Green Bay thirty years, said to me—"The Menomonees, in great part, are of mixed blood, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Sacs, and Foxes, with whom they intermarry. There is an intimate intercourse between all these tribes, who have a common language, (the Chippewa), which they all understand, and many of them hunt together in the interior of the N. W. territory, on the headwaters of the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers."[3]

The better informed men of the tribe at the present time are aware of the intermixture of blood, and marriages are frequently formed with

[1] Seventy-two years' Recol. of Wis.; in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wis. for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, p. 256.
[2] Ibid., p. 258.
[3] Report to Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, pp. 57, 58.

Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and other Indian tribes, as well as with whites. This may be one of the reasons for the imperfect grammatic structure of the language as well as for its rather limited vocabulary.

Reverend Alfred Brunson,[1] in his account of the early history of Wisconsin, refers to this tribe as follows:

> The Menomonees were the next tribe, in point of importance, though of prior date to some others, among the first Aboriginal occupants of what is now the State of Wisconsin. They were of the Algonquin race, but appear to have quarreled with, or rebelled against the national authorities of the Chippewas, and were probably driven from Canada on account of it, and took shelter with other straggling and adventurous bands on the common battle-field between the Algic and Dahkota races, in the vicinity of Green Bay.

Charlevoix visited Green bay in 1721, and after relating his experience in navigating down the western shore, says:

> We found ourselves abreast of a little island, which lies near the western side of the bay, and which concealed from our view, the mouth of a river, on which stands the village of the Malhomines Indians, called by our French *Folles Avoines* or Wild Oat Indians, probably from their living chiefly on this sort of grain. The whole nation consists only of this village, and that too not very numerous. 'Tis really great pity, they being the finest and handsomest men in all Canada. They are even of a larger stature than the Poutewatamies. I have been assured that they had the same original and nearly the same languages with the Noquets, and the Indians at the Falls. But they add that they have likewise a language peculiar to themselves, which they never communicate. I have also been told several stories of them, as of a serpent which visits their village every year and is received with much ceremony, which makes me believe them a little addicted to witchcraft.[2]

The Noquets are also mentioned by Charlevoix as not a numerous nation, living on a bay or gulf of the Noquets. They originally "came from the coasts of Lake Superior, and of which there remain only a few scattered families, who have no fixed residence."

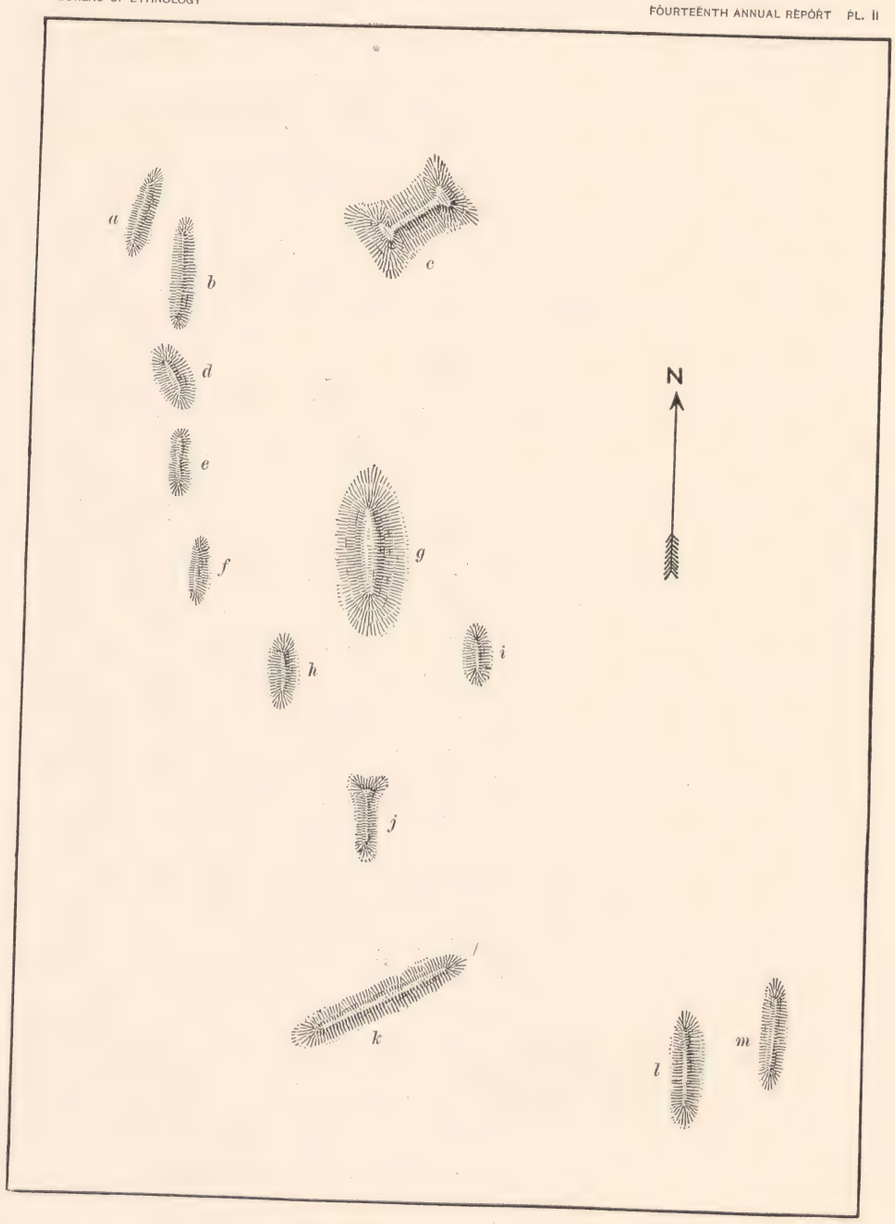
ANTIQUITIES

Mounds are reported as very numerous throughout the area embraced within the boundaries of the Menominr reservation, but thus far no special examination of them has been made. The mounds are most numerous along the lake shores, especially north and northeast of Keshena, though but few relics have as yet been unearthed. Major Thomas H. Savage, the present Indian agent, informed me that he had opened several mounds, about 8 miles east of the agency, and had found human remains, as well as a few copper spearheads, one of which is illustrated in figure 1. The specimen is quite neatly made, and appears originally to have been sharpened along the edges, as the cutting edge is still in very good condition.

The greater number of these mounds appear to be entirely barren. One group, situated between 7 and 8 miles north-northeast of Keshena, is represented in plate II. They are situated about 400 yards west of

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iv, 1859, pp. 242, 243.

[2] Journal of a Voyage to North America, London, 1781, vol. ii, p. 61.



GROUP OF MOUNDS NEAR KESHENA

the shores of a small lake, and perhaps 50 feet above the water level. Pine, oak, and other trees grow plentifully all over the area. In nearly every instance there is present about the base of the mound a slight depression, perhaps scarcely perceptible, 1 to 6 inches in depth, and one-third or one-half as broad as the width of the mound itself. This appears to have resulted from the removal of the earth for the construction of the mound. The height of these mounds varies from 1½ to 3 feet, and they are of varying dimensions, as noted below. They are nearly all so constructed that the longitudinal axis is north-and-south. In the following measurements only approximate dimensions are given, as frequently the outlines can not be determined accurately. A number of excavations were made, but no implements or other objects were found. The soil forming the mounds is usually light and sandy.

FIG. 1—Copper spearpoint.

The mound *a* (plate II) is slightly curved longitudinally toward the east of north; it measures 42 feet long and 14 feet broad. The surrounding depression is well marked, while the greatest height of the mound is 2½ feet.

The mound marked *b* measures 58 feet in length by 16 in width, and shows a shallow ditch around its base. It is about the same height as the preceding.

The mound *c* is of rather curious form, and although nearly 3 feet high along its central ridge, the sides are considerably worn down. There are two projections, one at each end, the one at the northeast measuring about 20 feet across its entire width and the southwestern one 28 feet, the length of the mound from southwest to northeast being 48 feet. The depression around the outline of this mound is pronounced.

The fourth mound, *d*, is placed almost at right angles to the axis of the preceding and measures 30 feet in length and 24 in width. On the center of this mound stands a pine tree over 2 feet in diameter.

Mound *e* measures 29 feet in length by 18 feet in width; both this and the preceding are less than 2 feet in height.

Mound *f* measures 32 feet in length by 15 in width.

Mound *g* is slightly curved toward the west of north, and measures 70 feet in length by 30 feet in average width.

The mound at *h* is slightly narrower along the middle than at the extremities, and measures about 50 feet in length by 20 in width. A large pine tree occupies the middle of the northern extremity. (Several trenches were cut transversely through this mound.)

The mound at *i* measures 22 feet by 12 feet in area, showing a slight indentation in the western side.

Mound *j* measures 65 feet in length, 20 feet across at the southern extremity, and only 16 at the opposite end. This extremity is somewhat

straightened across and indented, as if it might have been an attempt at forming an animal mound.

The next mound, *k*, toward the south, extends 80 feet from southwest to northeast, and is only 12 feet across. The surrounding depression is at several places about a foot in depth. It is much overgrown with saplings and brush, a circumstance not occurring in connection with any of the other mounds.

A short distance east of mound *k* are two other mounds, *l* and *m*, the former measuring 50 feet in length by 18 in width, the latter 50 feet in length by 15 or 16 in width.

East of this area, as well as north and south of it, at varying distances, mounds were visible, and many others were reported.

In the immediate vicinity of Keshena there are many remains of this character. North of the village is a high ridge covered with immense pines and oaks, which elevation separates the valley of Wolf river from some marshy lakes on the south. The top of this ridge is just wide enough to use as a roadway, and is about 75 feet above the river, which is distant some 200 yards. The ridge extends from southwest to northeast, and appears to have been formed by glacial action; its total length between the two areas in which it merges into the natural prairie level is about one-third of a mile, and at various places along the upper surface there are the remains of mounds averaging 12 to 15 feet in diameter and from 2½ to 4 feet in height. Some of these have been opened at some time during the past, and it is reported that one or two of them contained human bones.

Ten miles north of Keshena, near Wolf river, there are several large circular mounds, but no examination of them has been made.

This country was, previous to the appearance of the Menomini in 1852, claimed by the Ojibwa, bands of this tribe having lived east of Keshena, about Shawano lake. The Ojibwa of Wisconsin, as well as of Minnesota, allege, however, that they do not know who built these mounds; but they generally attribute them to the Dakota, who, they claim, were the first occupants of the country.

Fragments of pottery are occasionally found in the vicinity of mounds, and these, likewise, are attributed by the Menomini to their predecessors. Occasional arrowheads of quartzite, jasper, and hornstone occur, which also are believed to have been made by the Dakota or some other Siouan tribe now residing westward from this locality.

About 3 miles northwest of Keshena, near Wolf river, there is a large conical bowlder of pink granite, measuring about 6 feet in height and 4 feet in diameter at the base. This rock is in a state of disintegration, and is regarded by the Menomini as a manido. In a myth given elsewhere it is related that a party of Indians once called on Mä′näbŭsh to ask for favors, and that all of them were accommodated save one, who had the temerity to ask for everlasting life. Mä′näbŭsh, it is related, took this man by the shoulders and thrust him upon the

earth, saying, "You shall have everlasting life," whereupon he instantly became a rock. This rock, on account of its flesh-like tint, is believed to be the remains of the unfortunate Indian, who has now become a manido. It is the custom for all passing Indians to deposit at the base of the rock a small quantity of tobacco.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT, TOTEMS AND CHIEFS

THE LINES OF CHIEFTAINCY

Since the time of the conspiracy of Pontiac, the Menomini Indians have figured in history to greater or less extent, and it is from such sources, as well as from tradition, that some knowledge is derived pertaining to the chiefs of the tribe. There appear to be two lines, from both of which there have arisen, from time to time, claimants to the civil chieftainship of this tribe; although the Indians generally admit that the Owa'sse, or Bear, totem is traditionally the oldest, as well as the gens from which the civil chief should be selected. To make intelligible the reasoning on which the Menomini base their sociologic organization, and the order of precedence and civil government, the following explanation of the mythic origin of their totems and totemic organization is presented somewhat fully. The myth was obtained from a number of the older and influential chiefs, subchiefs, and mitä'wok, prominent among whom were Nio'pet, Nia'qtowâ'pomi, and Mä'tshi Kinĕ'u^{v}.

ORIGIN OF TOTEMS

It is admitted that originally there were a greater number of totems among the Menomini than at the present time, but that they gradually became extinct. The tradition relating to some of them is here given, the translation being literal so nearly as possible:

When the Great Mystery[1] made the earth, he created also numerous beings termed manidos or spirits, giving them the forms of animals and birds. Most of the former were malevolent ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ ("underground beings"); the latter consisted of eagles and hawks, known as the Thunderers, chief of which was the Invisible Thunder, though represented by Kinĕ'u^{v}, the Golden Eagle.

When Mashä' Ma'nidō—the Good Mystery—saw that the bear was still an animal, he determined to allow him to change his form. The Bear, still known as Nanoqke, was pleased at what the Good Mystery was going to grant him, and he was made an Indian, though with a light skin. This took place at Mi'nikâ'ni sē'pe (Menomini river), near the spot where its waters empty into Green bay, and at this place also the Bear first came out of the ground. He found himself alone, and

[1] Mashä' Ma'nidō, or Great Unknown. This term is not to be understood as implying a belief in one supreme being; there are several manidos, each supreme in his own realm, as well as many lesser mysteries, or deities, or spirits. Neither is it to be regarded as implying a definite recognition of spirituality corresponding to that of civilized peoples, for the American Indians have not fully risen to the plane of psychotheism; compare the Siouan concept as defined by Dorsey, Eleventh Annual Report, 1894, p. 395 et seq.

decided to call to himself Kinĕ′uᵛ, the Eagle, and said, "Eagle, come to me and be my brother." Thereupon the eagle descended, and also took the form of a human being. While they were considering whom to call upon to join them, they perceived a beaver approaching. The Beaver requested to be taken into the totem of the Thunderers, but, being a woman, was called Nama′kukĭu′ (Beaver woman), and was adopted as a younger brother of the Thunderer. (The term younger brother is here employed in a generic sense, and not specifically.) The totem of the Beaver is at present termed the Powa′tinōt′. Soon afterward, as the Bear and the Eagle stood on the banks of a river, they saw a stranger, the Sturgeon (Nomä′eu), who was adopted by the Bear as a younger brother and servant. In like manner Omas′kos, the Elk, was accepted by the Thunderer as a younger brother and water-carrier.

At another time the Bear was going up Wisconsin river, and becoming fatigued sat down to rest. Near by was a waterfall, from beneath which emerged Moqwai′o, the Wolf, who approached and asked the Bear why he had wandered to that place. The Bear said that he was on his way to the source of the river, but being fatigued and unable to travel farther, he had come there to rest. At that moment Otä′tshia (the crane), was flying by, when the Bear called to him and said: "Crane, carry me to my people at the head of the river, and I will take you for my younger brother." As the Crane was taking the Bear on his back, the Wolf called out to the Bear, saying, "Bear, take me also as a younger brother, for I am alone." The Bear answered, "Come with me Wolf, and I will accept you also as my younger brother." This is how the Crane and the Wolf became younger brothers of the Bear; but as Moqwai′o, the Wolf, afterward permitted Änäm′, the Dog, and Abä′shŭsh, the Deer, to join him, these three are now recognized as a phratry, the Wolf still being entitled to a seat in council on the north side and with the Bear phratry.

Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭᵛ (the Big Thunder) lived at Winnebago lake, near Fond du Lac. The Good Mystery made the Thunderers the laborers, and to be of benefit to the whole world. When they return from the southwest in the spring, they bring the rains which make the earth green and cause the plants and trees to grow. Iᶠ it were not for the Thunderers, the earth would become parched and the grass would wither and die. The Good Mystery also gave to the Thunderers corn, the kind commonly known as squaw corn, which grows on small stalks and has ears of various colors.

The Thunderers were also the makers of fire, having first received it from Mä′näbŭsh, who had stolen it from an old man dwelling on an island in the middle of a great lake.

The Thunderers decided to visit the Bear village, at Mi′nikâ′ni, and when they arrived at that place they asked the Bear to join them, promising to give corn and fire in return for rice, which was the property of the Bear and Sturgeon, and which abounded along the waters of Mi′nikâ′ni. The Bear family agreed to this, and since that time the

two families have therefore lived together. The Bear family occupies the eastern side of the council, while the Thunderers sit on the western side. The latter are the war chiefs and have charge of the lighting of the fire.

The Wolf came from Moqwai'o O'sepe'ome ("Wolf, his creek"). The Dog (Änäm') was born at Nomawi'qkito (Sturgeon bay); the Abä'shŭsh (deer) came from Sha'wano Nipe'se (Shawano or Southern lake) and, together with the Dog, joined the Wolf at Menomini river.

After this union, the Bear built a long wigwam, extending north-and-south, and a fire was kindled by the Thunderers in the middle. From this all the families receive fire, which is carried to them by one of the Thunderers, and when the people travel the Thunderers go on ahead to a camping place and start the fire to be used by all.

THE TOTEMS OF THE PRESENT

The Menomini totems or gentes as they exist at this day are as follows, arranged in their respective phratries and in order of importance:

I. Owa'sse wi'dishi'anun, or Bear phratry:

Owa'sse	Bear
Kitä'mi	Porcupine
Miqkä'no	Turtle
Otä'tshia	Crane
Moqwai'o	Wolf
Mikēk'	Otter
Nomä'eu	Sturgeon
Nakū'ti	Sunfish.

Although the Wolf is recognized as a member of the Bear phratry, his true position is at the head of the third phratry.

II. Inä'mäqkĭ'ŭ^{v} wi'dishi'anun, or Big Thunder phratry:

Kinĕ'u^{v}	Golden Eagle
Shawa'nani'	Fork-tail Hawk
Pinäsh'iu	Bald Eagle
Opash'koshi	Turkey-buzzard
Pakäsh'tsheke'u'	Swift-flying Hawk
Pe'kike'kune	Winter Hawk (remains all winter in Wisconsin)
Ke'shewa'toshe	Sparrow Hawk
Maq'kwoka'ni	Red-tail Hawk
Kaka'kĕ	Crow
Inäq'tĕk	Raven
Piwat'inōt'	Beaver (former name Noma'i)
Omas'kos	Elk
Una'wanĭnk'	Pine Squirrel.

III. Moqwai'o wi'dishi'anun, or Wolf phratry:

Moqwai'o	Wolf
Änäm'	Dog
Abä'shŭsh	Deer.

According to Shu'nien and Wios'kasit the arrangement of totems into phratries and subphratries was as follows:

I. The Owa'sse wi'dishi'anun, or Bear phratry, consisting of the following totems and subphratries:

Owa'sse	Bear	Totems
Miqkä'no	Mud-turtle	
Kitä'mi	Porcupine	
Namä'nu	Beaver	Subphratries (these two being brothers).
O''sass	Muskrat	

II. The Kinĕ'u^{v} wi'dishi'anun, or Eagle phratry, consisting of the following totems:

Pinäsh'iu	Bald Eagle
Kaka'kĕ	Crow
Inä'qtĕk	Raven
Ma'qkuana'ni	Red-tail Hawk
"Hinanä'shiu^{v}"	Golden Eagle
Pe'niki'konau	Fish Hawk

III. The Otä'tshia wi'dishi'anun, or Crane phratry, consisting of the following totems:

Otä'tshia	Crane
Shakshak'eu	Great Heron
Os'se	"Old Squaw" Duck
O'kawa'siku	Coot

IV. The Moqwai'o wi'dishi'anun, or Wolf phratry, consisting of the following totems:

Moqwai'o	Wolf
"Hana" [änä'm]	Dog
Apaq'ssos	Deer

V. The Mō^{n}s wi'dishi'anun, or Moose phratry, with the following totems:

Mō^{n}s	Moose
Oma'skos	Elk
Wabä'shiu	Marten
Wū'tshik	Fisher

TOTEMIC ORGANIZATION

After the several totems congregated and united into an organized body for mutual benefit, according to the myth, they still were without the means of providing themselves with food, medicinal plants, and the power to ward off disease and death.

When the Good Mystery beheld the people on the new earth, and found them afflicted with hardship and disease, and exposed to constant annoyance from the malevolent underground beings (the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ), he concluded to provide them with the means of bettering their condition, and accomplished it by sending down to the earth one of his

companion mysteries named Mä′näbŭsh. This is explained in the tradition called The Story of Mä′näbŭsh; or, "Mä′näbŭsh A′tanō′qen," and forms one of the lectures delivered by the Mitä′wok, in the mitä′wikŏ′mik, at the initiation into that order of a new candidate.

From the foregoing it will be observed that the claims to authority by the family of which Nio′pet, the present chief, is the head are well founded. Furthermore, mother-right, the older form of descent in the female line, is not now recognized by the Menomini, who have advanced to the next stage, that of father-right, or descent in the male line.

Mr Sutherland, in his remarks on early Wisconsin explorations and settlements, makes note of the existence of totems or gentes, the heads of each of which were entitled to a certain degree of authority through which they were designated as chiefs or sachems. The existence of such various grades of rank often gives rise to confusion, unless the exact grade of such rank be ascertained. Regarding the descent of chiefs this author remarks:[1]

> There were, in some instances, several clans existing among the same general tribe or nation, whose principal or leader was also denominated a sachem or chief. Hence we account for the fact, that several persons in the same tribe bear the title of "chief." These minor chiefs, however, held only subordinate positions. Indeed, the leading chief, in time of peace, was not invested with any extraordinary powers. All matters of importance had to be settled by the tribe, in general council. When a chief died, his position was claimed, as a general rule, by his son, or some kinsman, as a hereditary right; but oftener, perhaps, the succession was in the female line. In some instances, when this right fell to one who was judged unworthy to possess it, the tribe chose their own chiefs. As instances of this kind, Brant of the Mohawks, and Tomah of the Menomonees, were placed in that position, for their superior wisdom and valor.

Some of the ancient customs respecting the disposition of property and children, in the event of the death of either parent, are still spoken of, though now seldom, if ever, practiced. As descent was in the mother's line, at her death both children and personal effects were transmitted to the nearest of the mother's totemic kin, while at the death of the father his personal property was divided among his relatives or the people of his totem.

Another interesting condition was the general belief in the common relationship of not only the individuals of a certain totem within the tribe, but of all persons of a similarly named totem of another tribe belonging to the same linguistic family; and in the belief of the Menomini (and Ojibwa of Red lake, Minnesota) this extended also to tribes other than those of the same linguistic family. An instance of this may be referred to in the remarks of several mitä′wok of the Bear totem, who stated that the individuals of the Bear totem of the Sioux must be of the same kinship with themselves, as they had the same common ancestor. This peculiarity of belief obtains also among some of the Australian peoples.

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[1] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. x, pp. 280, 281, 1888.

Reference is made elsewhere to the killing of animals which are the same as the totem of the hunter. Although a Bear man may kill a bear, he must first address himself to it and apologize for depriving it of life; and there are certain portions only of which he may eat, the head and paws being tabu, and no member of his totem may partake of these portions, although the individuals of all other totems may do so.

It may be of interest in this connection to state that one of the nearest linguistic allies of the Menomini, the Ottawa, claim to be originally of the Mō^{n}s, or Moose, totem. This is stated by Mr A. J. Blackbird, one of the most intelligent of the tribe, as well as one of the headmen, to be the designation of the "true" or full-blood Ottawa, and that other totems were added through the intermarriage of Ottawa women with men of other tribes because children inherit the mother's totem. He stated also that his father had been of the Pi′pigwe^{n}′, or "Little Hawk," totem of another tribe, and in this wise the totem became added to the Ottawa. In like manner was the Wabūs′, or "Rabbit," totem added, this tribe coming from the vicinity of Hudson bay or Lake of the Woods, where they are said to have occupied "caves and holes in the ground." Intermarriage with the Potawatomi was common, but this tribe designated the Ottawa as Nisai′^{n}e^{n} and Nisä′sä, "big brother" or "elder brother."

GENEALOGY OF CHIEFS

The Menomini claim always to have had a first or grand chief, and a second or war chief, beside many subchiefs who were heads of bands or of families. In the event of the death of the grand chief, the eldest son succeeded, unless a more popular pretender could enroll in his own behalf the greater influence in the tribe. Since the election of Nio′pet, the second chief has been Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, a man of steady habits and influence, and one in whom the tribe has confidence. Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, however, is not related to Nio′pet's family or gens, but was designated to fill this office because the legal claimants adopted the manners and pursuits of civilization, and will probably never permit their names to be proposed as successors to their father's position. When the chief of the tribe dies and leaves a minor son, the second or war chief acts as regent until the heir attains an age at which he is deemed competent to govern.

The present divisions or bands of the Menomini are named after the heads of each band, and number eleven, viz: (1) Osh′kosh; (2) Aia′-miqta; (3) Sha′kitŏk, at present under Ni′aqtawâ′pomi; (4) Mä′nabŭ′-shō; (5) Le Motte; (6) Piwä′qtinet; (7) Pĕsh′tiko; (8) O′hopē′sha; (9) Kē′shok, or Kē′so; (10) Äqkâ′mot, now under charge of Mä′tshiki-ne′ŭ^{v}; (11) Shu′nu′ni′ŭ^{v}, or Shu′nien.

In addition to the several chiefs, there was formerly more need of the services of a spokesman or orator, upon whom devolved the duties of promulgating the wishes of the supreme chief; or, in the event of a

council or treaty with another tribe or with a civilized nation, his services as orator and diplomat were demanded in behalf of the tribe. The incumbent of such an office was not eligible for, nor in line of, promotion to the office of either war chief or grand chief, although such an accession could be accomplished at the desire of the tribal council, or by the tribe itself, in the event of the legitimate heir being a minor or an idiot, or in case there was no direct heir, or perhaps even when the incumbent had gained a following in the tribe sufficiently influential and powerful to insure him safety in his promotion.

From the following genealogies of the two lines of chiefs, the so-called Carron family and the Osh′kosh family, it will be observed that the former gained their hold on the affairs of the tribe during the last century, although the ancestors of the present chief, Nio′pet, are the legitimate heirs, from both traditional and historical evidence, to the office of grand chief, an office which has always been one of the prerogatives of the Owä′sse dodä′mi, or Bear totem.

Tshekâ′tshake′mau—or Shekâ′tshokwe′mau "Old Chief," or "The Old King," as he is generally designated in literature—was chief in 1763, when Carron, a French half-blood trader, was his spokesman, and subsequently became his successor (see Carron's genealogy). A number of the headmen of the tribe, as well as descendants of Carron, affirm that he was the offspring of a French Canadian father and an Abnaki woman. Be this as it may, they all acknowledge that Tshekâ′tshake′mau was chief when Carron appeared at Green bay.

The late Mr Draper, in his compilation of historical data relative to the settlements at Green bay, says:

> Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma sickened and died, while temporarily at Prairie du Chien with some of his family, about 1821; he was then nearly blind, and I think he was at least one hundred years old. He was a man of good sense, but no public speaker, and was highly esteemed by his nation. His certificate as Grand Chief of the Menomonees, given him by Gov. Haldimand, of Canada, August 17, 1778, which has been preserved by his family, is now in the Cabinet of the Historical Society.[1]

It is believed that Tshekâ′tshake′mau was about a hundred years of age at the time of his death, but for this impression no reliable data are at hand. The name of "Old Chief" was without doubt applied to this man late in life, and as the above-mentioned diploma bears the name of Chawanon (Sha′wano), "Southerner," it is probable that he may have been so named in his earlier life, or that, perhaps, the Canadian authorities may have so designated him at the time of naming him chief of the Menomini, because he came from a more southerly tribe. A facsimile of his certificate as grand chief of the Menomini is presented herewith as plate III.

The genealogy of the Oshkosh family is as follows:

1. TSHEKÂ′TSHAKE′MAU, "Old Chief," head of the Owä′sse dodä′mi, married (name of wife unknown) and had issue.

   (2) I. Ä′kwine′mi.

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, p. 226, note.

2. Ä′KWINE′MI (Tshekâ′tshakē′mau) of the Owa′sse dodä′mi, married (name of wife unknown) and had issue.
   (3) I. Osh′kosh.
   (4) II. Oshkiq′hinä′nĭŭ.
3. OSH′KOSH (Ä′kwine′mi) "Bear's Claw;" of the Owa′sse dodä′mi, born 1795, died August 21, 1858. Osh′kosh was a celebrated character; Mr Grignon, who knew him personally, says:[1]

> Osh-kosh, and his brother Osh-ka-he-nah-niew, or *The Young Man*, are grandsons of Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma, or *The Old King*, so long the grand chief of the nation, and whose place Osh-kosh, by inheritance, has possessed since 1827. As we have seen, Osh-kosh was upon the war-path in 1812–14, under the special superintendence of Tomah, and under Stambaugh in 1832. The word Osh-kosh signifies *brave*, and such this chief has always proved himself. He is now sixty-two years of age, while his brother, *The Young Man*, whose name begins to be a misnomer, is now fifty-one. Osh-kosh is only of medium size, possessing much good sense and ability, but is a great slave to strong drink, and two of his three sons surpass their father in this beastly vice.

Referring to the treaty of Butte des Morts, in 1827, General Albert G. Ellis[2] says:

> It was at this treaty, that Oshkosh, the present head Chief of the Menomonees, was first recognized. After the Council was open, Gov. Cass said: "We have observed for some time the Menomonees to be in a bad situation as to their chiefs. There is no one we can talk to as the head of the nation. If anything should happen, we want some man, who has authority in the nation, that we can look to. You appear like a flock of geese, without a leader, some fly one way and some another. Tomorrow, at the opening of the Council, we shall appoint a principal chief of the Menomonees. We shall make enquiry this afternoon, and try to select the proper man. We shall give him the medal, and expect the Menomonees to respect him."

The following note respecting Osh′kosh, is quoted at second hand from Lyman C. Draper,[3] and relates to the time of the same treaty:

> On August 7th, two young men were called in front of the commissioners (one named Oiscoss, alias Claw, the other was called Carron). Col. McKinney then addressed them, and put medals around their necks. Oiscoss or Oskoshe, . . . was made head chief, and the future organ of communication with the Commissioners. A short story, will show who Oiscoss was, and what a "proper person" was found in him. One morning, at dawn of day, about a year previous to the treaty of Butte des Morts, a young half breed Indian, who was a distant relative of Mrs. Jourdan, was paddling in his canoe down Hell Creek, a branch of the Fox River. It was still dark, so that objects could not be distinctly discerned. As he glided by the tall rushes growing near the bank, he observed them move, as if some animal was among them. Supposing it to be a deer, he fired at the spot where he saw the motion, and then paddled through an opening in the reeds to see the effect of his shot. To his inexpressible horror, he

[1] Seventy-two years' Recollections of Wisconsin, in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, 1857, p. 285.
[2] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wis. for 1855, vol. ii, 1856, p. 430, note.
[3] Ibid., pp. 430, 431; quoted from Hanson's Lost Prince, or Life of Rev. Eleazer Williams.

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

FREDERICK HALD

Province of Quebec, &c.&c.&c.
Province, and Frontiers, &c. &c.

To Chawanon Grand

IN conſideration of the Fidelity, zeal and attachment, teſtified by *Chawanon Grand Chief of the Tolles Avoines* — to the Kings Government, and by virtue of the power and authority in me veſted, I do hereby confirm the ſaid *Chawanon Grand Chief of the Tolles Avoines* aforeſaid having beſtowed upon him the *Great* Medal, willing all and ſingular the Indians, Inhabitants thereof, to obey him as *Grand* Chief, and all Officers and others in his Majeſty's Service to treat him accordingly. GIVEN under my hand and Seal at Arms, at Montreal this *Seventeenth* Day of *August* One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy *Eight* in the *Eighteenth* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and ſo Forth

Fred.

BY HIS EXCELLEN

LDIMAND, *Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the &c. General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in said &c.&c.*

rand Chief of the Folles Avoines

SUR les bons témoignages qui nous ont été rendus de la fidélité, le zèle & l'attachement de *Chawanon Grand Chef des Folles Avoines* au Gouvernement du Roi ; & en vertu du pouvoir à nous donné, nous l'avons confirmé *Grand Chef des Folles Avoines* susdit, lui ayant donné la *Grande* Médaille, Ordonnons à tous Sauvages & autres dudit Village, de l'obéir comme *Grand* Chef, & à tous nos Officiers & autres au Service de Sa Majesté, d'avoir pour lui les égards dûs à sa qualité de *Grand Chef & a la Grand* Médaille : en foi de quoi nous avons signé la Présente, à icelle fait apposer le Cachet de nos Armes, & contre-signé par l'un de nos Sécrétaires, à Montréal, ce *Dix Septieme* jour *Aoust* l'année mil sept cent soixante & *dix huit*

Haldimand

ENCY'S COMMAND.

Fof

found an Indian in his canoe, which was half drawn on shore, drooping lifelessly over the side of his bark, with a shot through his head. As the deed was accidental, he had no wish to conceal it, and putting the body in his canoe, paddled down to Green Bay, to the encampment of Oiscoss, as the Indian killed belonged to his party. On landing, he went straight to Oiscoss, and informed him of what had happened, when Oiscoss, who was drunk at the time, drew his knife, and plunging it repeatedly into his body, continued stabbing him till he was dead. He was arrested for murder, but as he was a man of great influence among the Indians, was acquitted. But though he had escaped the law, there was another tribunal, of a different kind, to which he was still exposed. There is a traditional institution among the Indians, very similar to the avenger of blood. Mrs. Jourdan, as the relative of the slain, and a *medicine woman*, had only, according to the custom of the nation, to take a pipe and a war-club, and lay them down at the feet of any of the chiefs of the Menomonees, and pronounce the name "Oiscoss," in order to insure a just and immediate retribution. When the day appointed for the council at Butte des Morts drew near, fearing that unless he was reconciled with her, his life might be taken, he proceeded to her house, acknowledged the murder, threw himself on her mercy, and implored pardon. It was granted, and the only punishment he received was the fierce invective which the eloquent tongue of an indignant woman can bestow.

Concerning the death of Osh′kosh, the following is from A. D. Bonesteel, United States Indian agent at Green Bay agency, Wisconsin, who in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858 (page 31), says:

The Menomonees have recently met with a severe loss in the death of Oshkosh, their principal chief [which occurred on August 31]. . . The 31st day of August was a day the like of which will never be seen again by the Menomonee nation—a day on which not only the red man but the white man mourned the loss of a brave and noble hearted man, whose place will never be filled with another as much respected and honored; as an orator his equal has never been known in the Menomonee nation, and he would rank with many of his white brethren.

Nio′pet, son of Osh′kosh, and at present head chief of the tribe, says that Ma′qkata′bit acted as regent during Osh′kosh's minority. Several years since a scheme was proposed to remove the remains of the chief to the city of Osh′kosh, and there to erect a monument; but at present the matter is in abeyance. Osh′kosh died, and was buried near Keshena, the village on the present reservation.

Osh′kosh was married several times, his first wife being Bambâ′nī ("Flying-about-the-sky") of the Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭ^{v}, or Thunder dodä′mi, by whom there were three children—

(5) I. Ä′kwinë′mi,
(6) II. Nio′pet,
(7) III. Koshka′noqnĕ^{v}′.

On the death of Bambâ′ni, Osh′kosh married Shakâ′nonĭ′ŭ^{v} ("Decorated-with-plumes"), by whom there was no offspring.

On the death of this woman, Osh'kosh married Tomo'ko'um, by whom he had a daughter—

(8) IV. Kinō'ke.

4. OSHKIQ'HINÄNĬŬ^{v} (Ä'kwinë'mi—"Young man") of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, was born in 1806. He was speaker for the tribe at Green Bay in 1820, when Morse visited the Menomini. He was married and has offspring—

I. Joseph.

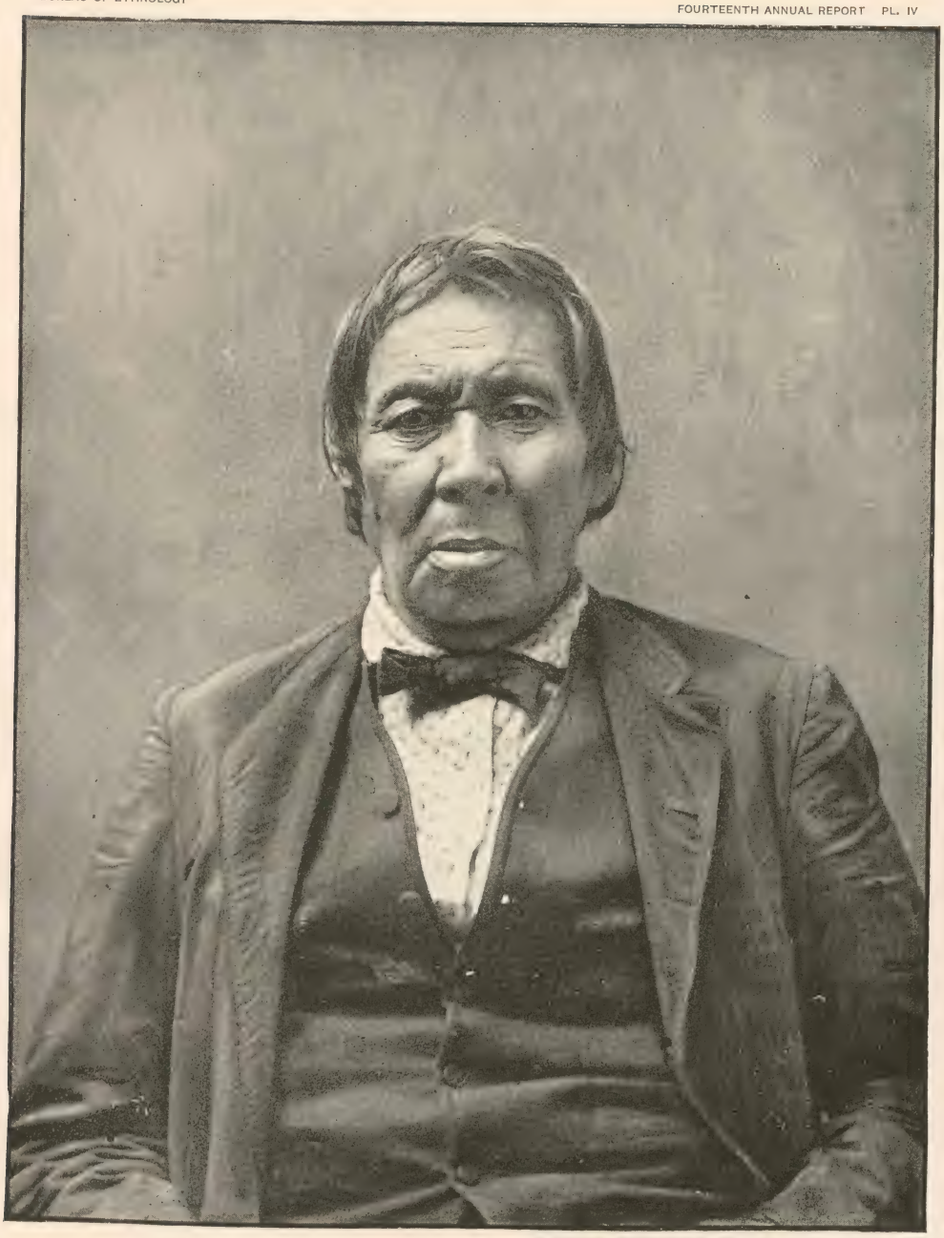
5. Ä'KWINË'MI (Osh'kosh—"In-the mouth-of-everybody") is of the Owä'sse dodä'mi. He was born in 1822, and in 1859 succeeded his father as chief. In 1871, while under the influence of liquor, he stabbed a man, in consequence of which he was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, and for this reason was deposed, Nio'pet succeeding. On his release, Ä'kwinë'mi endeavored to the utmost to recover his chieftaincy, but without avail. He is still a well preserved man, but without influence (his portrait forms plate IV). He was married to Midä'shamo'qki ("Something coming"), also of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, and had eight or nine children, all deceased.

6. NIO'PET (Osh'kosh—"Four-in-a-den"), a member of the Owä'sse dodä'mi, was born sixty-one years ago, and, as above stated, was elected chief in 1875 after the conviction and imprisonment of his brother Ä'kwine'mi. Nio'pet and his brothers are perhaps the only full-blood Menomini Indians alive today. Osh'kosh himself claimed this distinction for himself nearly fifty years ago. Nio'pet is about 5 feet 9 inches in height, of light brown color, high cheek bones, and in general expression of countenance very decidedly like a Japanese. He has been appointed judge of the Indian court, and is a man of honor and veracity, and universally respected (figure 2). Ni'aqtawâ'pomi is second chief and an able assistant, though not a member of the same family and gens (figure 3).

Nio'pet is one of the chiefs of the Mitä'wit, and is enthusiastic in his devotion to the traditions and rites of the order. Notwithstanding the fact that he is a so-called pagan, Nio'pet has readily yielded to and in fact urged the adoption of the Christian religion by his children, and nothing affords him greater satisfaction and contentment of mind than the fact that his late favorite daughter had been a devout and active member of the church. His wife, a sister of Shu'nien, named Wâ'benomitä'mu ("Wâbeno woman"), of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi, is a quite good looking but rather stout woman, by whom he has had fourteen children, the two survivors being the sons—

(9) I. Reginald,

(10) II. Ernest.



PORTRAIT OF Ä'KWINE'MI OSH'KOSH

7. KOSHKA′NOQNĔᵛ′ (Osh′kosh), known also as John Oshkosh; was married (name of wife unknown) and had a son—
   I. A′painï′sia (married his cousin Kinō′ke after the death of her husband).
8. KINŌ′KE (Osh′kosh); was married first to Charles McCall, second to her cousin Ä′painï′sia.

FIG. 2—Portrait of Nio′pet.

9. REGINALD (Nio′pet, Osh′kosh); a young man twenty-five years of age, a student in the Normal school at Lawrence, Kansas; his education is quite good, indeed it is considerably beyond the standard usually attained by Indian youth. He is direct heir to the office of chief. He was married to Miss Roey Wilbur (who has some Menomini blood), and has one son, born February 22, 1893.

10. ERNEST, (Nio′pet, Osh′kosh); lives at Keshena, the headquarters of the tribe. He is twenty-one years of age, a steady young man, and promises to make a good citizen.

The preceding list of descendants of Shekâ′tshokwe′mau is presented graphically in the diagram on page 52, while the diagram on page 53 presents in a similar manner the genealogy of Thomas Carron, the French Canadian mixed blood, who, with some of his descendants,

FIG. 3—Portrait of Ni′aqtawâ′pomi.

has figured so extensively and indeed creditably in the history of the Menomini tribe.

The Carron genealogy is as follows:

1. CARRON (Thomas Carron, or Old Carron, called by the Indians Kä′ron, Ko′rō) was born about the year 1700, probably in the vicinity of Montreal, as he is mentioned as having come from that locality to join the settlement at Green Bay, Wisconsin, shortly after its founding by the Sieur de Langlade and his few companions. Carron was a French trader. He married

Waupesesiu ("The Wild Potato"), a sister of a prominent Menomini, was inveigled into taking part with the Indians in Pontiac's scheme for the capture of all the British frontier posts, and was also persuaded to carry among his adopted people a red wampum belt and to invite their assistance. Concerning Carron, Augustin Grignon,[1] says:

> At my father, Pierre Grignon's, then residing at Green Bay, Wau-pe-se-pin was met by Old Carron, who, addressing him, said: "I know the object of your visit, and the purport of Pontiac's message; I want no such message as that, as I mean to do no wrong to my British friends. Is it possible that you, too, are leagued with the Milwaukee band? Go back, then, to your home among them, and let me see your face no more!" Failing to influence his brother-in-law Carron, Wau-pe-se-pin gave up his mission as hopeless, and retired to his cabin, instead of retracing his steps to Milwaukee. While Carron and his faithful Menomonees were on the alert, strictly watching lest the Milwaukee band might attempt some mischief, which, however, they did not dare attempt, at length Lieut. Gorrell, the commandant of the fort, receiving instructions to abandon the post, left Green Bay, guarded to Mackinaw by Carron and a party of Menomonees; and for his faithful adherence to the English, and rejection of the counsels of Pontiac, Carron was subsequently presented with a large silver medal by the British authorities, with a certificate of his chieftainship and good services.

Carron was well liked by the French, and his marriage with a Menomini woman gave him considerable influence with that tribe, so that in 1763 (at the time of Pontiac's preparations for attacking the British posts) he had become speaker for the head chief of the Menomini, Shekâ′tshokwe′mau, "Old Chief," or, as he is termed in history, "The Old King." It appears from Grignon's statement, above cited, that Old Carron, beside having offspring by his Menomini wife, "had two children each by two other women, one of them a Sauk with whom he became acquainted while on a war expedition against either the Osage or Pawnee. He was regarded as the handsomest man among the Menomini." Carron died in 1780, at the age of eighty years. He had the following children, by his Menomini wife—

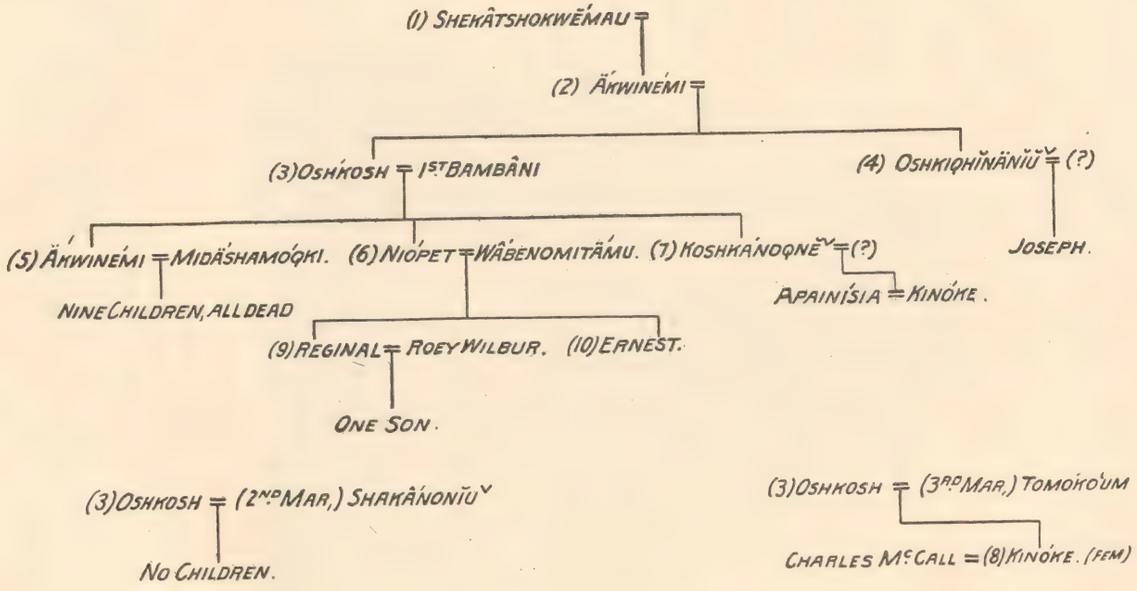
(2) I. Konōt′,
(3) II. Tomau′,
(4) III. Kä′ron, or Shekwa′nĕne′,
(5) IV. Aiâ′mita,

V, VI, VII, daughters, one of whom was named Katīsh′.

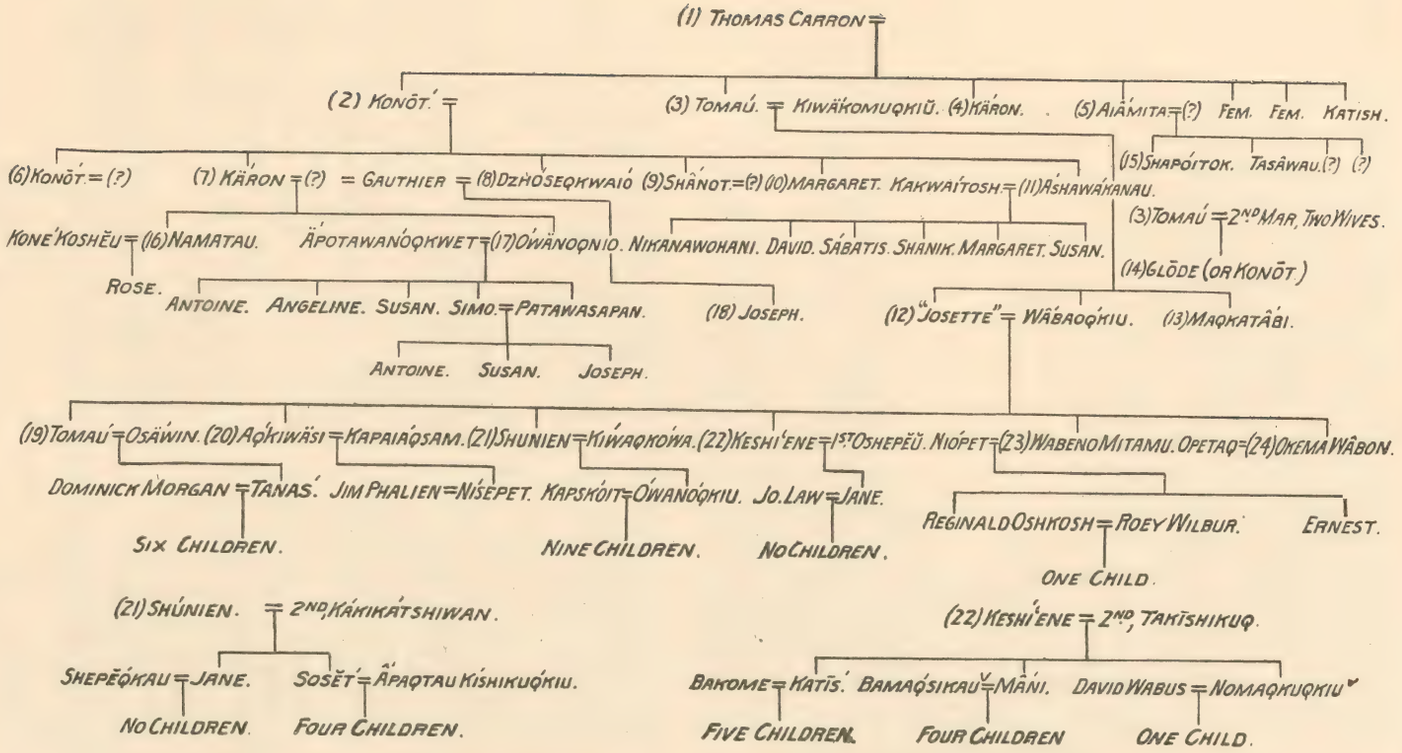
2. KONŌT′ (Carron); this word is the Menomini pronunciation for Claude, generally referred to in history as Glode. He was born about 1716, and at the death of his father in 1780 succeeded him as chief.

> About the fall of 1803 Glode went on a winter's hunt, taking his two wives and five or six children with him, and somewhere on or near the

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, 1857, pp. 226, 227.



GENEALOGY OF SHEKÂTSHOKWĔ́MAU



GENEALOGY OF THOMAS CARRON

Menomonee River, of Chippewa, the chief and all his family, save two children by another marriage, sickened and died during the ensuing winter. Glode was then not very far from sixty-four years of age. He was a tall and well-proportioned man, of great personal prowess; sometimes at a ball-play, when two or three would pitch on to him to keep him back, he would dash ahead, not seeming in the least to mind them. As the orator of his nation, he was a fine speaker, and his speeches were sensible and to the purpose. He was a very successful hunter and trapper—accomplishments quite as popular with the Indians, as to be able to speak well on public occasions.[1]

Konōt′ was married, but the name of his wife is not known. He died in 1804, and had children—

(6) I. Konōt′,
(7) II. Kä′ron,
(8) III. Dzhō′seqkwai′o,
(9) IV. Shâ′not,
(10) V. Margaret,
(11) VI. A′shawa′känau.

3. TOMAU′ (Carron); known also as Toman, and Tomah. He was born at Old Carron's village, opposite Green Bay, on the western bank of Fox river, about the year 1752.[2] Mr Biddle[3] says he was a British Indian, while Shu′nien (a grandson) informed the present writer that he came from Montreal, his mother in all probability having belonged to the Abnaki tribe. Concerning Tomau′ Mr Grignon says:

Tomah was in early life regarded as a chief, and from my earliest recollection, he seemed to be as much respected, and as influential, as Glode, though the latter as his father's successor as chief speaker or orator of the nation, really held the highest rank; and upon Glode's death, in 1804, he became practically the head of the Menomonees, though Cha-kau-cho-ka-ma, or *The Old King*, was nominally the head chief, and out-lived Tomah.[4]

Captain Zebulon M. Pike[5] met Tomau′ in the spring of 1806, above Clearwater river, on the upper Mississippi, where Tomau and a large band of Fols Avoin (Menomini) were engaged in their winter hunt. He says of him: "This Thomas is a fine fellow, of a very masculine figure, noble and animated delivery, and appears to be very much attached to the Americans." He remarks furthermore: "This chief was an extraordinary hunter; to instance his power, he killed forty elk and a bear in one day; chasing the former from dawn to eve."

Mr James W. Biddle, in his Recollections of Green Bay in 1816–17, remarks:

Tecumseh in 1810 or 1811, when forming his great combination for driving the Americans back, who like the waves of the sea, were encroaching

[1] Grignon, in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, vol. iii, 1857, pp. 266, 267.
[2] Ibid., p. 267.
[3] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 49–63.
[4] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 267.
[5] An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc., Philadelphia, 1810, pp. 77, 78.

upon their hunting grounds, visited Green Bay, obtained a council and hearing from Tomah and his people, whom he addressed in a manner he best knew how to do; and in the course of which, in true Indian spirit, he pictured the glory, as well as certainty of success, and as omens of this, recapitulated to them his own hitherto prosperous career—the number of battles he had fought, the victories he had won, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken from the heads of warrior-foes. Tomah appeared sensible of the influence of such an address upon his people, and feared its consequence, for he was opposed to leading them into war. His reply was in a tone to allay this feeling, and he closed with the remark to them, that they had heard the words of Tecumseh—heard of the battles he had fought, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken. He then paused; and while the deepest silence reigned throughout the audience, he slowly raised his hands, with his eyes fixed on them, and in a lower, but not less prouder tone, continued "*But it is my boast that these hands are unstained with human blood!*" The effect is described as tremendous—nature obeyed her own impulse, and admiration was forced even from those who could not, or did not, approve of the moral to be implied, and the gravity of the council was disturbed, for an instant, by a murmur of approbation—a tribute to genius, overpowering, at the moment, the force of education and of habit. He concluded with remarking, that he had ever supported the policy of peace, as his nation was small and consequently weak; that he was fully aware of the injustice of the Americans in their encroachments upon the lands of the Indians, and for them feared its consequences, but that he saw no relief for it in going to war, and therefore, as a national thing, he would not do so, but that if any of his young men were desirous of leaving their hunting grounds, and following Tecumseh, they had his permission to do so. His prudent counsels prevailed.[1]

Tomau′ and probably a hundred of his warriors accompanied Colonel Robert Dickson, in 1812, in the capture from the Americans of Fort Mackinaw, though they did not have any fighting. During this expedition Osh′kosh, subsequently head chief of the tribe, was placed under Tomau′'s special care. He and a number of chiefs also accompanied Proctor and Dickson in the attack on the fort at Sandusky. In 1814, with about eighty of his Menomini, he again accompanied Colonel Dickson to Mackinaw. They took an efficient part in the battle in which the American commander, Major Holmes, fell.

Mr Biddle affirms that Tomau′ had no hereditary claim to the chieftaincy:

> This was held, at the time, by a man nearly as old as himself, who was an idiot, but who they always took with them in their excursions. Tomau merely ruled as the acknowledged strongest man of the nation, and this he had continued to do for a great many years.[2]

There is a slight difference of opinion as to the date of the death of Tomau′, Jedidiah Morse[3] giving the date of this event as July 8, 1818, Biddle[4] also observing that the tombstone on

[1] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, 1855, pp. 53, 54.
[2] Ibid., p. 53.
[3] Report to Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 53.
[4] Op. cit., i, p. 58.

Mackinaw island bears this date, whereas Mr. Grignon[1] remarks:

> It was in the summer of 1817, the next year after the arrival of the Americans, that Tomah died at Mackinaw, at the age of about sixty-five years. I fully agree with Mr. Biddle, that it was in 1817 that he died. He was about six feet in height, spare, with a dark-colored eye, and handsome features, and very prepossessing; he was, in truth, the finest looking chief I have ever known of the Menomonees or any other tribe. His speeches were not lengthy, but pointed and expressive. He was firm, prudent, peaceable and conciliatory. He was sincerely beloved alike by whites and Indians.

Biddle says that Tomau′ died of excessive drinking under disappointment and mortification over a change in the policy of the British authorities in their treatment of the Indians. He adds:[2]

> I was present at his funeral. . . . I never saw so distressed and broken-hearted a people. They said they were no longer a nation—no longer anything. Tomah could alone command and keep them together, but now they would be scattered and lost.

Tomau′ was of the Pä′kää′qkiu, or Prairie-chicken dodä′mi, and was married, first, to Kiwä′komu′qkĭŭᵛ ("Wandering around"), a Menomini woman by whom he had two sons—

(12) I. Josette.

(13) II. Mâ′qkatâ′bi.

Separating from this wife he formed, according to Grignon, a second marriage, with two sisters, with both of whom he lived at the same time and until they died. By one of these he had four children, the son being—

(14) III. Glode.

4. Kä′ron (Carron); known also by his Menomini name as She′kwanĕ′ne, concerning whom neither traditional nor historical information of interest is obtainable.

5. Aiâ′mita (Carron). Grignon, speaking of this chief in 1854,[3] says

> I-om-e-tah was born about 1772. . . . He was upon the war-path during the war of 1812–'15. He has been a very good hunter in his day. . . . He is among a very few Menomonees who contract debts, and pay them as they promise. He is the oldest chief of his nation, being now about eighty-five; his hunting days are past, his sight is growing dim, and his manly form and benignant countenance we shall soon see no more.

Aiâ′mita was still alive in 1857, and only one of three children remains—

(15) I. Shâpoi′tŏk (was married to Ta′sâwau, and has children).

6. Konōt′ (Konōt′); known also as Glode, a corruption of Claude Was married to an Ojibwa woman and moved away.

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[1] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1857, vol. iii, p. 283.

[2] Ibid., vol. i, 1855, pp. 56, 57.

[3] Ibid., vol. iii, p. 284.

7. KÄ′RON (Konōt′). Was named after his grandfather, old Carron, and born in 1797. He married and had children—
   (16) I. Na′matau.
   (17) II. O′wäno′qnio (daughter).
8. DZHŌ′SEQKWAI′O (Konōt′); corruption of the word Josephine. Married a Mr Gauthier, and had one son—
   (18) I. Joseph.
9. SHÂNŌ′T (Konōt′). Female, died unmarried.
10. MARGARET (Konōt′). Female, died unmarried.
11. A′SHAWA′KÄNAU (Konōt′). Female; married Käkwai′tosh, a mixed-blood Ottawa, and had children—
   I. Nika′nawoha′ni,
   II. David,
   III. Sa′batis (Jean Baptiste),
   IV. Sha′nik,
   V. Margaret.
   VI. Susan.
12. JOSETTE (Tomau′); known also as Sosette, and as Joseph Carron; was born in 1800. He is of the Pä′kää′qkiu, or Prairie-chicken dodä′mi; married Wâ′bao′qkiu ("White-wing"), and succeeded his father to the chieftaincy. He died in 1831, leaving children—
   (19) I. Tomau′,
   (20) II. A′qkiwä′si,
   (21) III. Shu′nien,
   (22) IV. Kesh′i′ĕne,
   (23) V. Wâ′beno mitä′mu,
   (24) VI. O′kemawâ′bon,
   (25) VII. Kosēv′.
13. MÂ′QKATÂ′BI (Tomau′, Carron). Grignon, in his Seventy-two Years' Recollection of Green Bay says that Tomau′ had two sons by his first wife, both of whom became chiefs, "Mau-kau-tau-pee" and Josette Carron; and that "Mau-kau-tau-pee," who served on McKay's Prairie du Chien expedition, died in, or shortly after, 1820. In repeated conferences with both Shu′nien, an exceedingly intelligent man, a brother of Mâ′qkatâ′bi and Josette Carron, and in councils of leading men of the tribe, I am informed that Mâ′qkatâ′bi never held the office of chief, as successor to Tomau′, but that he had acted as regent for Osh′kosh. He died about 1820, without offspring.
14. GLODE (Tomau′, Carron), a corruption of the word Claude. He was of the Pä′kää′qkiu dodä′mi, and a son of Tomau′ by the second wife. He died in 1848 without offspring.
16. NA′MATAM (Kä′ron, Konōt′, Carron); a daughter who married Kone′koshĕ′u, and has one daughter—
   I. Rose (unmarried).

17. OWÄ'NOQNI'O (Kä'ron, Konōt', Carron); a daughter, married to Ä'potawa'noqkwĕt, and has children—
    I. Antoine,
    II. Angeline,
    III. Susan,
    IV. Si'mo (married Pa'tawa'sapan) and has children—
        a. Antoine,
        b. Susan,
        c. Joseph.

18. JOSEPH (Dzhō'seqkwai'o, Konōt', Carron); was born about 1818. He was married, and had one son, who died. His wife was the widow of a white trader, named Cown, with whom she had children who took the name of Gauthier—
    I. Joseph, married to Julia Grignon, and has offspring—
        a. Frank (married Mary Driscoll, a native of Ireland, and has one son, Joseph Aloysius, aged one year),
        b. Mary Ann,
        c. John,
        d. Lewis,
        e. Christine, died at age of 8 or 10 years.

19. TOMAU' (Josette); corruption of the word Thomas. He is of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi; married Osä'win ("Yellow") and had one daughter—
    I. Tanä's (Theresa—married Dominick Morgan and had six children).

20. A'QKIWÄ'SI (Josette); known as Charles Carron; also of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi; married Ka'paia'qsam. He left for the Ojibwa country, and has not since been heard of. He left one child—
    I. Ni'sepĕt (Elizabeth Maria), who was married to "Jim" Phalien, (deceased), and left no issue.

21. SHU'NIEN (Josette). Shu'nien ("Silver") was born in 1827, and is today one of the finest figures, physically, among the Menomini (figure 4). He is of the Pä'kää'qkiu dodä'mi; has been recognized as a chief of his band, and has made several trips to Washington on missions relating to the tribe. He was married twice; his first wife was Kī'waqko'wa ("Wandering-in-the-clouds"), who had one child—
    I. Owano'qiu (a daughter, who married Kapsko'iŭ (deceased) and had nine children of whom six survive).

    Shu'nien's second wife was Ka'kika'tshiwan, of the Ota'tshia (Crane) dodä'mi, and had issue—
    II. Jane (married to Shepe'qkau; no children).
    III. Sosĕ't (Sosette=Joseph) (commonly known as "Jim" Shu'nien, a man of fine build and an enthusiastic mitä'ʷ dancer; he married Â'paqtau Ki'shiku'qkiu, and has two sons and two daughters).

22. KESHI'ĔNE (Josette); was born about 1830, and succeeded his father as chief, though during his minority Osh'kosh acted as regent. The word Keshi'ne, signifying "The-swift-flying," originated in the following manner, as related by Shu'nien, his brother: Their father, Josette, was at one time fasting, and in a vision he thought he saw the air filled with eagles and hawks, the representatives of the Thunder phratry, flying swiftly by. This circumstance caused him to give the name "The-swift-flying," to his next male child, born shortly afterward. Kesh-

FIG. 4—Portrait of Shu'nien.

i''ĕne was twice married, the first wife, Oshē'pe'ŭ ("River") having offspring—

I. O'kwemu'qkĭu (=Jane, married to Joseph Law; no children).

Keshi''ĕne's second wife was Tâkī'shiku'q ("Broken-clouds"), and her children were—

II. Katī's (married Bakome, and has five children).

III. Mâ'ni (=Mary, married to Bama'qsikă'u^{v}, and has four children).

IV. Noma'qkuqkĭ'ŭ^{v} (Female, deceased after marriage to David Wabūs, leaving one female child).

23. WÂ′BENO MITÄ′MU (Josette) "Wâ′beno-woman." Was born about 1840, and is an active, well preserved, and quite good looking woman. She is married to Nio′pet, the present chief of the Menomini,[1] and is the mother of fourteen children of whom but two survive—
    I. Reginald Osh′kosh,
    II. Ernest Osh′kosh.
24. O′KEMAWÂ′BON (Josette—daughter, married Opē′taq, has two children).
25. KOSĒ′V (Josette—a young man).

As already stated, the Osh′kosh family at present, and evidently legitimately, furnishes the executive chief of the tribe, which personage is at the same time the presiding judge of the Indian court at Keshena. The members of the Carron family have no further authority in the affairs of the tribe than any other heads of families, though the recollection of the deeds of their ancestors appears to add to their name a glamor of romance, shared in even by their political opponents.

LANGUAGE EMPLOYED IN CULT RITUALS

I am informed by the Franciscan fathers at Keshena that they have frequent need of words to express clearly the terminology of the catechism and ritual and to present intelligently the exposition of the scriptures, words which do not occur in Menomini, but for which they seek convenient and expressive terms in Ojibwa, a language noted at once for its close linguistic relationship to the Menomini, as well as for its rich vocabulary and the remarkable flexibility of its grammatic structure.

In his notes on the Indian tribes of Wisconsin,[2] John Gilmary Shea, speaking of the Menomini, states that "their language is a very corrupt form of the Algonquin." This may not be surprising when the Menomini language is compared with the Algonkin proper, but still the fact remains that the Menomini appeared to him defective in some manner or other.

Through long-continued practice of this character, the Indians have become sufficiently familiar with some Ojibwa words to comprehend the teachings of the fathers, but apart from this an Ojibwa conversation is almost entirely unintelligible to the Menomini, unless the language of the former had been specially acquired by intimate communication.

It has been observed at the ceremonials of the Menomini that both Ojibwa and Potawatomi mitä′v visitors participated, and although their knowledge of Menomini was so slight as to deter them from enjoying more than casual interchange of greetings, yet they were sufficiently

[1] See the Osh′kosh genealogy, p. 48.
[2] Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, 1857, p. 134.

apt in acquiring the words of a chant, never before heard by them, to join after two or three repetitions and assist as if they had known it always. Thus these strangers unconsciously acquire a vocabulary at first of unknown meaning to them, but by repetition and association with actions and familiar gestures they ultimately become sufficiently advanced to comprehend the new language limited to this ceremonial.

From the foregoing remarks it will be observed that the ceremonials of the cult societies may be tinctured, to greater or less degree, by the intrusion of extra-tribal ritualistic traditions and beliefs, the ceremonial forms of the Ojibwa, however, being considerably in excess of those of any other tribe.

For many years there has been constant intercourse between the Menomini and the Ojibwa of Lac Court Oreille and Lac Flambeau, on account of occasional intermarriage between these tribes and the mutual attendance at the cult ceremonies. It appears probable, also, that on account of this intercourse the Menomini ritual of the Mitä'wit, or Grand Medicine society, has been very perceptibly molded after the Ojibwa, but that during this process of adaptation much of the ancient ritual has been lost.

A great portion of the phraseology of the Ojibwa ritual is in an archaic form of language, and is thus unintelligible to the ordinary Indian, and frequently to many members of the society. This archaic phraseology naturally appears impressive and important to the general populace, and the shamans delight to dwell on such phrases, during ceremonials, not only to impress their hearers but to elevate themselves as well.

Honorable W. W. Warren, in his History of the Ojibwa Indians, says:

> In the Me-da-we rite is incorporated most that is ancient amongst them—songs and traditions that have descended, not orally, but in hieroglyphics, for at least a long line of generations. In this rite is also perpetuated the purest and most ancient idioms of their language, which differs somewhat from that of the common every-day use.[1]

The Menomini ceremonies of the same society are, as above stated, very much curtailed, and apparently worn down by careless transmission from generation to generation. The chants are, in general, in Menomini, though that portion of the ritual pertaining to the Indian cosmogony and genesis of mankind is to a great extent mixed with Ojibwa words, and is therefore unintelligible to almost every one save those familiar with this language.

It has already been shown with what persistency the Menomini and the Winnebago Indians have dwelt side by side from the earliest historical times, and it is a subject of interest to know with what surprising similarity these two tribes have, up to a recent period, conducted their medicine ceremonials. The entire ritual and its dramatization appear to be of Algonquian elaboration; and the adaptation thereof

[1] Coll. Minnesota Hist. Soc., vol. v, 1885, p. 67.

by the Winnebago, a tribe belonging to another linguistic stock, would be so readily accomplished only when the tribes are in constant and intimate communication.[1]

The Ojibwa embellishments in the Winnebago ritual appear to have been acquired through the intermediary of the Menomini rather than from the Ojibwa direct, as the Siouan tribes in general have at all times been more or less antagonistic to the Algonquian tribes, and vice versa, excepting the Menomini, who appear always to have been of a peaceful disposition.

There is another class of mystery men, or shamans, differing from the mitä′ᵛ, of which representatives are found among nearly all the Algonquian tribes even at this day. Such persons are termed tshi′saqka, or jugglers, and are referred to in the Jesuit Relations as *jougleurs* and *sorciers*. The Nepissing Indians of Canada were even designated the Nation of Sorcerers as early as 1632, and the tales recited regarding them and their powers are of the most marvelous character. This subject will be more definitely referred to in connection with the subject the of tshi′saqka. There is no special organization among these performers, each preferring to act independently of the other, and it is only during the performance of the invocation of guardians or ma′nidos that pretended conversation with the latter takes place, such pretended conversation consisting in reality of a soliloquy, the questions of the juggler being answered apparently in another tone of voice and indeed sometimes in mumbled words wholly unintelligible in character.

The language employed by a juggler is the language of the tribe of which he is a member; and to acquire the power of prophecy and to become able to cause manifestations of various kinds, it is necessary to receive instruction from some one of reputed skill. His power is furthermore dependent upon the reputed power of his personal ma′nido, or tutelary daimon, which was selected by him in accordance with dreams, consequent upon fasting, which ordeal was experienced during his youth.

There is still another class of shamans, known as the wâ′beno, i. e., "daylight men," or "men of the dawn," who pretend to cure disease by the administration of charmed remedies. The number of wâ′benōak as compared with the mitä′wok is small, the whole number in the Menomini tribe not exceeding ten or twelve. Singular as it may seem, there are more women wâ′benōak than men, though it appears that in former times the reverse was the case. The performances consisted in handling burning brands and live coals with apparent immunity from harm, thus gaining the attention and confidence of the credulous, after which their charms, amulets, or fetishes were sold, as

[1] Since writing the above, Mr Frank La Flesche, of Washington, son of the late Joseph La Flesche, one of the chiefs of the Omaha Indians, informs me that his tribe acquired the ritual of the Grand Medicine society from the Winnebago.

required by the unsuccessful hunter, the disconsolate lover, or the unlucky gambler.

No organization exists between the different persons of this class, each practicing his art, or pretensions, as best he may. A tambourine drum is necessary as an accompaniment to the chant, as the personal manido is thus invoked for aid in the accomplishment of whatever task may have been assigned to the performer. More specific mention of the method of practice of these shamans will be presented under the caption of "The Wâ'beno."

Since the advent of the Paiute messiah, " Jack Wilson," a new society has been organized, designated the "Dreamers' society," i. e., a society for indulgence in drumming, dancing, and exhortation by certain designated persons, to form the order of exercises. Some of the mitä'wŏk, who, for various reasons, have left the Medicine society, claim that the Dreamers' society is founded on a ritual specially granted by Kishä' Mä'nidō as a substitute for the former, that being alleged to have become degraded and debased by the introduction of innovations. Inquiry into the history of the society seems to indicate, however, that the performances by the Dreamers' society are a remote imitation of the Ghost dance, which originated several years since when the Paiute messiah made his appearance, and when many discontented and belligerent young men of various tribes took advantage of the craze to further their own designs.

Some Menomini Indians more communicative than others have intimated that a time would surely come when the whole country would be restored to the Indian as it once was, when the heads of all the whites would be severed from their bodies as a scythe cuts the wheat. This belief has always had a greater or less number of believers who were in a state of expectancy, so that when a delegation of Sioux and other Menomini river Indians arrived among the Menomini to preach the doctrine of the messiah and to give instruction in the dance, the expectant ones were ready to accept almost anything that appealed to their indefinite and unformed tradition. The ceremony conducted at these dances is not of the same character as that of the Ghost dance of the prairie Indians, sufficient change having been wrought since its introduction to prevent any apparent analogy between the two.

To further illustrate the quickness with which such advantages for deception may be embraced by designing and deceitful Indians, I shall only recur to Sitting Bull of the Sioux nation, a medicine man of no mean order—as viewed by his people—but not a chief in the full sense of the word, as generally supposed from the newspaper notoriety given him. During my residence among these Indians in 1872–73, I had ample opportunity to become well acquainted with him, particularly after acquiring the language and an ultimate adoption into the "Buffalo society," by which means a "brotherhood" was formed with Running Antelope, then orator of the northern Sioux and chief of the Uncpapa branch of that tribe.

Sitting Bull was general director of the discontented element of the Sioux nation, and acquired his influence by his audacious pretensions and by the coincident occurrence of events of minor importance, as well as by the occurrence of certain atmospheric changes which he had, in part, prophesied. Attaining some distinction in this manner, he cautiously pushed his claim to greater powers, stating that he was enabled to foretell events affecting himself and his adherents. He pretended that his deceased half-brother always appeared to him in the guise of a gray wolf to warn him of any impending personal danger. In fact, this man is said to have once gone so far as to allow himself to be discovered by some officers talking to a wolf which had, in utter astonishment, stopped to learn the source and nature of the peculiar noise which so suddenly broke the silence of the locality!

When the attack was made upon our cavalry escort in 1873, in Yellowstone valley, Sitting Bull was foremost in the approaching line, chanting and "making medicine," but when one of his chief assistants was shot down the line wavered and broke the moment the troops charged. Later on, as the Ghost dance became a better means of having his aids act the part of prophets, Sitting Bull's words were promulgated through the mouths of the chief dancers who had apparently fainted and reached an ecstatic state. In this wise the hostility of a certain portion of the tribe was maintained and controlled, chiefly for personal gain, until the death of Sitting Bull, when the spell was broken.

Until quite recently it was customary for each Indian youth to pass through a certain process of "fasting and dreaming," whereby he might receive a manifestation from the Great Unknown as to what particular animate form he might adopt as his own tutelary daimon, as termed by the Greeks, or, as more familiarly designated, his guardian mystery. The course of procedure necessary for the young aspirant for honors to pursue was to leave the camp and go into the forest, there to remain in meditation, abstaining from all food, until gradual exhaustion produced that condition of ecstasy during which various forms of animals, or birds, appeared to him. The first of these forms to clearly impress itself on his mind was adopted as the special gift of the Great Mystery, and was thereafter supposed to act as an adviser in times of indecision; a monitor when the Indian was in danger, or an intercessor with the superior ma′nidos when special power or influence was desired. During the period of probation the lad's friends or parents would keep watch that no danger overtook him while in the forest, and furthermore, that his fasting was not carried to the point of danger to life and health.

Among some of the Algonquian tribes the animal or bird forms that may thus be adopted by an Indian are sometimes the same as the totem of which he is a member. Under such circumstances the animal representing the totem, and the "familiar" or ma′nido, is seldom hunted or

shot; but should he be permitted to hunt such an animal the hunter will first address the animal and ask forgiveness for killing him, telling him that certain portions, which are tabu, shall be set up in the place of honor in the wikŏ′mik. For instance, should an Indian of the Bear totem, or one whose adopted guardian is represented by the bear, desire to go hunting and meet with that animal, due apology would be paid to it before destroying it. The carcass would then be dressed and served, but no member of the Bear totem would partake of the meat, though the members of all other totems could freely do so. The hunter could, however, eat of the paws and head, the bones of the latter being subsequently placed upon a shelf, probably over the door, or in some other conspicuous place.[1] Due reverence is paid to such a relic of the totem, and so strictly observed is this custom that no greater insult could be offered to the host than for anyone to take down such bones and to cast them carelessly aside.

Due reverence must be had by the Indian for his so-called guardian or ma′nido, neglect in this direction sometimes being considered as the direct cause of misfortune or sickness. A feast then becomes necessary as an offering to induce the ma′nido to return and to again manifest its favor to the Indian. Without going further into this special subject, as it obtains among the tribe under discussion, it may be interesting to present in this connection an account of the striking similarity of belief in the ma′nido, or *nagual*, of the Mexicans, as given by Herrera, who, in speaking of the religion and superstitions of the inhabitants of Cerquin, in Honduras, says:

> Among the many Idols worshipp'd, there was one call'd, The great Father, and another, The great Mother, of whom they begg'd Health; to other Gods they pray'd for Wealth, Relief in Distress, to supply them with Provisions, breed up their Children, preserve their Harvest, and assist them in their Improvements, which Superstitions continu'd long among the old Men; and the Devil deluded them, appearing in the Shape of a Lion, or a Tiger, or a Coyte, a Beast like a Wolf, or in the Shape of an Alligator, a Snake, or a Bird, that Province abounding in Creatures of Prey, which they call'd *Naguales*, signifying, Keepers, or Guardians, and when the Bird dy'd the *Indian* that was in League with him dy'd also, which often hapned, and was looked upon as infallible. The manner of contracting this Alliance was thus, the *Indian* repair'd to the River, Wood, Hill, or most obscure Place, where he call'd upon the Devils by such Names as he thought fit, talk'd to the Rivers, Rocks, or Woods, said, he went to weep, that he might have the same his Predecessors had, carrying a Cock, or a Dog to sacrifice. In that melancholy fit he fell a sleep, and either in a Dream, or Waking, saw some one of the aforesaid Birds, or other Creatures, whom he intreated to grant him Profit in Salt, Cacao, or any other Commodity, drawing Blood from his own Tongue, Ears, and other Parts of his Body, making his Contract at the same Time with the said Creature, the which, either in a Dream, or Waking, told him,

[1] The Abbé J. A. Maurault says of the totemic marks of the Abnaki: "Chaque tribu avait ses armoiries, que consistaient en la figure d'un animal, ou d'un oiseau, ou d'un poisson. Chaque guerrier peignait ordinairement sur ses bras, ses jambes et sa poitrine les armes de sa tribu. Quant les sauvages allaient en voyage ou en excursion, ils peignaient leurs armes sur des arbres à chaque campement, surtout lorsqu'ils avaient réussi dans quelque campagne. Ils faisaient aussi connaître, par ce moyen, le nombre de leurs prisonniers et celui des chevelures qu'ils avaient levées."—Hist. des Abenakis, Québec, 1866, p. 23.

such a Day you shall go abroad a sporting, and I will be the first Bird, or other Animal you shall meet, and will be your *Nagual*, and Companion at all Times, whereupon such Friendship was contracted between them, that when one of they dy'd the other did not survive, and they fancy'd that he who had no Nagual could not be rich.[1]

The Abbé Maurault[2] says of this belief among the Abnaki Indians of Canada, a tribe allied linguistically to the Menomini:

Comme toutes les autres nations sauvages, ils avaient une idée de la Divinité. Dieu, suivant eux, était un Grand-Esprit, qu'ils appelaient "Ketsi Ni8askᵘ." Ce Grand-Esprit résidait sur une ile du grand lac (l'Océan Atlantique). Ils avaient une grande confiance en sa protection. Ils croyaient que le meilleur moyen pour attirer seur eux cette protection était de s'efforcer à devenir de braves guerriers et de bons chasseurs, étant persuadés que plus ils se rendaient remarquables en ces deux choses, plus ils devenaient agréables aux yeux du Grand-Esprit.

Ils croyaient aussi à l'Esprit du Mal, qu'ils appelaient "Matsi Ni8askᵘ." Cet Esprit était très-puissant dans le monde. Ils pensaient que les maladies, les accidents, les malheurs et tous les autres maux de ce genre venaient de lui. Comme ils craignaient beaucoup ces maux, l'Esprit du Mal était le principal objet de leur dévotion, et ils s'adressaient sans cesse à lui, le priant de ne leur faire aucun mal.

Ils croyaient, en outre, qu'il y avait d'autres Esprits, d'un ordre supérieur à l'homme; que ces Esprits étaient toujours portés au bien, et qu'ils protégeaient l'homme contre l'Esprit du Mal; c'est pourquoi, ils leur demandaient protection.

CULT SOCIETIES

To present more intelligibly the ritualistic observances and pretensions of the several classes of shamans, the subject will be arranged under the following captions:

I. Mitä′wit, or Grand Medicine society;
II. Tshi′saqka, or Juggler;
III. Wâ′beno, or Men of the Dawn, and
IV. Dreamers' society.

MITÄ′WIT, OR GRAND MEDICINE SOCIETY

Organization of the Society

In order to present clearly to the reader the status of the Mitä′wit, or so-called "Grand Medicine society,"[3] of the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin, it becomes necessary to refer briefly to the corresponding society and ritualistic ceremonies of the Ojibwa Indians of Minnesota. Among the latter are found four classes of mystery men, viz, (1) midē′, or "medicine man," whose profession is incantation, exorcism of demons, and the administration of shamanic or magic remedies; (2) the je′ssakkīd, or juggler, who professes prophecy and antagonizes the evil charms of rivals; (3) the wâ′beno, literally "easterner," or "daylight man," whose orgies are continued throughout the night only to cease

[1] The General History of that Vast Continent and Islands of America, translated by Capt. John Stevens, London, 1726, vol. iv, pp. 138, 139.

[2] Histoire des Abenakis, Québec, 1866, pp. 18–19. It will be observed that the abbé falls into the prevailing misapprehension as to the conception of spirituality among the Indians.

[3] This term originates in the designation "la grande médecine," applied to this society by the Canadians and early French explorers.

at the approach of day, and who also professes ability to prepare lucky charms for the hunter and potent love powders for the disappointed lover; and (4) the mashkikikewinini, or herbalist, who professes knowledge of the properties of plants, and administers, as the name implies, "medicine broths" or decoctions and infusions. All of these, save the midē′, practice their respective professions singly and alone, and therefore do not affiliate with others of like pretensions so as to constitute a regularly organized society, at the meetings of which the members hold ceremonial services for the instruction and initiation of candidates for membership.

The midē′, on the contrary, are organized into a society termed the Midē′wiwin, which consists of an indefinite number of persons of both sexes, and is graded into four separate and distinct degrees. Admission to membership in the degrees of this society is a matter of great importance, and consequently of great difficulty. The male candidates are selected usually from among those who in their youth were designated for this distinction, which occurred at the period of "giving a name" by a selected midē′ priest, who thus assumed the office of godfather. From that date until the age of puberty of the boy, his parents gather presents with which to defray the expenses of preliminary instruction by hired midē′ priests, and the feasts to be given to all those who might attend the ceremonies of initiation, as well as to defray the personal services of the various medicine men directly assisting in the initiation. Frequently the collecting of skins and peltries and other goods that have to be purchased involves a candidate hopelessly in debt; but so great is the desire on the part of some Indians to become acknowledged medicine men that they will assume obligations that may require years of labor or hunting to liquidate; or, should they fail, then their relatives are expected to assume the responsibility thus incurred.

In this society, as maintained by the Ojibwa, are preserved the traditions relating to cosmogony and genesis of mankind, to the appearance on the earth of an anthropomorphic deity whose primary services consisted of interceding between Ki′tshi Ma′nido and the Indians, that the latter might be taught the means wherewith they might provide themselves with the good things of the earth and with the power of warding off disease and death, and who gave to the Indian also the various plants and instructed them how to prepare the objects necessary to be used for special purposes in specified ways. The being who thus originally instructed the Indians is called Mī′nabō′zho, and the method pursued by him is dramatically rehearsed at the initiation of a candidate into the society of the Midē′. By the Ojibwa this entire proceeding is firmly believed to be of a sacred or religious character.

There is another body among the Ojibwa termed the Ghost society, to which reference is necessary. When a child who has been set apart to be dedicated to the society of the Midē′ dies before reaching the

proper age to receive initiation, the father (or under certain circumstances the mother) announces the fact to the chief priests, when a meeting of the members is called and a feast prepared at the wigwam of the mourner. Dishes of food for the dead are set apart in a separate structure, after which the chief mourner is initiated into the society as a substitute for the deceased. Thus we find among the Ojibwa two distinct services, one for the initiation of members into the society of the Midē′, the other a feast of the dead, designed to release his "shadow" and to permit it to depart to the land of mysteries, or the place of the setting sun.

It will be observed, then, that the membership of the Midē′ society is not limited to any particular number of persons; and that the ceremonies of the Ghost society are held at irregular intervals and never at the death of a member of the Midē′ society.

With this brief notice of the Ojibwa Midē′wiwin, or Grand Medicine society, a description of the ceremonies as practiced by the Menomini Indians will be presented for the purpose of comparing with the preceding their version and dramatic rendering of a belief and practice which no doubt survives to a certain degree among the greater number of tribes embraced within the western group of the Algonquian linguistic family.

The Mitä′wit, or society of shamans, commonly termed the Grand Medicine society of the Menomini Indians, consists of men, women, and a few young boys and girls, who have been initiated into the mysteries of that organization, either directly or by proxy. Initiation of the person himself may be accomplished (1) by his being adopted by a member to fill a vacancy caused by death; or (2) when proof of eligibility has been furnished and the necessary presents and fees are delivered to the chief of the society to defray the expenses incurred in holding the ceremonies.

Although initiation by proxy is rare, yet it may occur when a very sick young person is brought to the ceremonial structure for restoration to health. This is done only as a last resort, and after the usual attendance of shamans with their incantations and exorcisms has proved futile. The aid of Mashä′ Ma′nido is thus sought, and as the sick child may be carried in the arms of one already a mitä′ᵛ, it is soon deposited in the arms of one of the family, while the person who carried it continues to take the part of a new candidate, notwithstanding the fact that he already possesses the secrets. Should the patient recover health, he or she is thenceforth regarded as a regularly initiated member, although subsequent instruction is necessary to a better understanding of the pretensions of the society. It is customary on the death of a member of the society for the head of the family of the deceased, if he be a mitä′ᵛ, or the nearest mitä′ᵛ relation or friend, to approach the corpse at burial and to address it. The chief mourner, looking down upon the coarse box containing the remains, says: "Go,

my brother [or substituting the term of relationship], follow the sun to the place prepared for the shades of the dead, where you will see the fire built by Na′qpote; that will light your course beyond the sun's path. Abide there until the proper time [a certain period of a summer month is usually named], when I shall give a feast and bring a substitute to occupy your place; then shall Na′qpote permit you to return to observe the fulfillment of my promise. Go!" The grave box is then placed over the coffin, the medicine stick erected before it, and a piece of cloth or a board is also placed before the grave box, on which is deposited from time to time small quantities of tobacco.

At the return of summer the person who has made the promise of procuring a substitute prepares himself by bringing together the presents necessary to be delivered as fees, and collecting food for the attendants and visitors. A favorite member of the family, a relation, or even a dear friend, may receive the honor of an invitation to become the candidate. In the meantime the furnisher of the feast, i. e., the person who is to procure the candidate, makes known to the chief officiating members of the society his choice, with the desire that a meeting time for initiatory purposes be decided upon, to be held at some time in the near future. The chiefs receive this communication and deliberate, meditating on the course to follow and selecting several groups of assistants to aid in the ceremonies. The candidate, in the meantime, is instructed in the mysteries of the remedies known to his instructor. Each remedy must be paid for separately, as no two preparations, or roots, or other substances are classed together as one; furthermore, the knowledge relating to different remedies is possessed by different medicine men, each of whom will dispose of the properties and uses thereof for a consideration only.

Although four annual ceremonies of the Grand Medicine society were held near Keshena, Wisconsin, in the years 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893, the first will be described only insofar as it pertains to the mode of adopting a member to fill a vacancy caused by death; and to make the description more intelligible it may be of importance to state under what circumstances the writer's admission into the Mitä′wit was obtained.

Ceremonies of 1890

Having obtained during the years 1887–1890, from the Ojibwa Indians at Red Lake and White Earth, Minnesota, complete instruction in the secrets and ceremonies of the Midē′wiwin, or Grand Medicine society, the information of this unique occurrence had spread southward into Wisconsin, as far as the Menomini reservation. In the winter of 1889–90, a number of these Ojibwa shamans went to Washington in the interest of their tribe, and it happened that a small delegation of Menomini Indians from Keshena, Wisconsin, also visited the capital on a like errand. These two delegations were furthermore quartered at the same house, so that the object of my constant visits to,

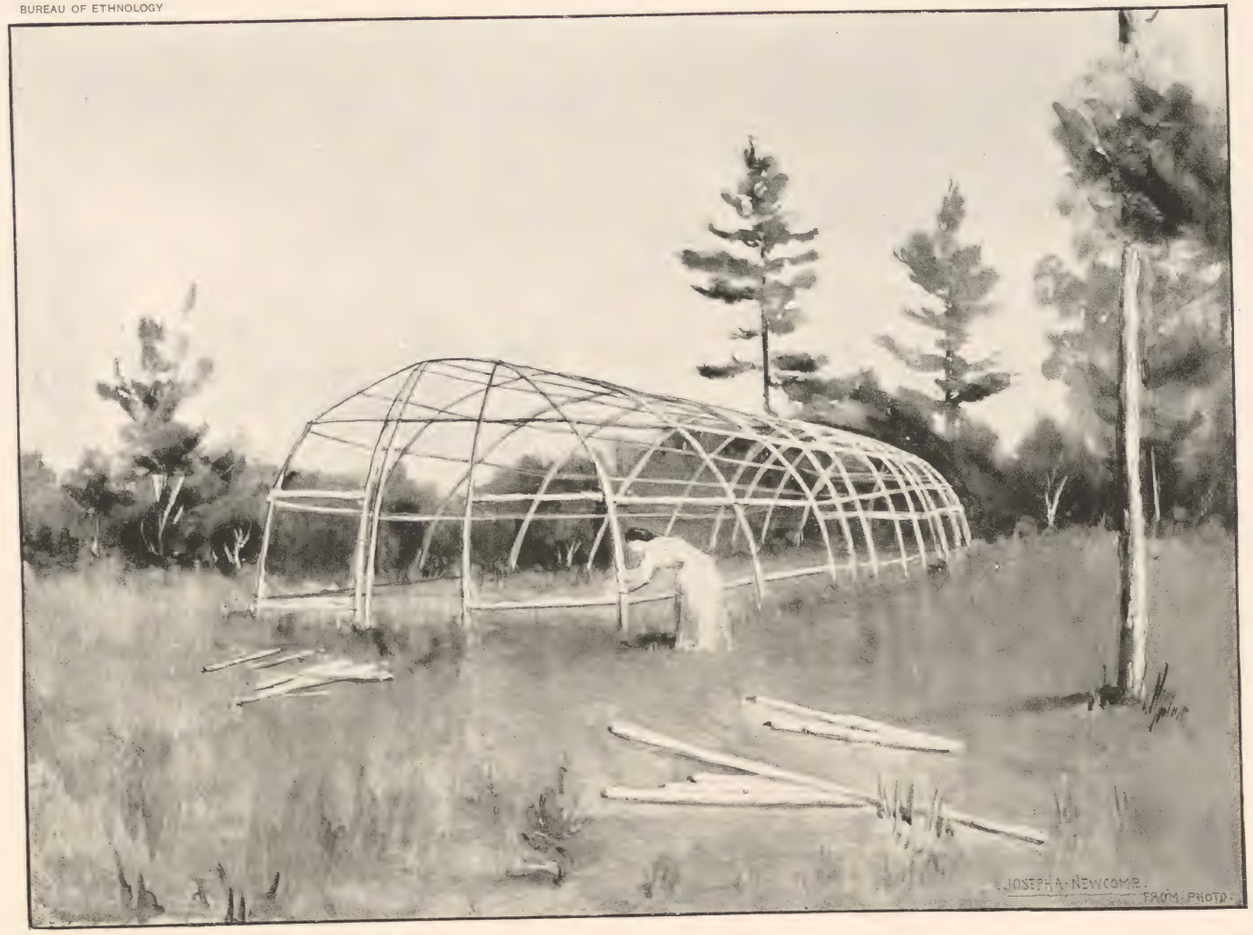
and consultations with, the Ojibwa soon became known to the Menomini, who at once manifested great interest, as they themselves were members of the society of shamans. The Ojibwa then informed the Menomini of what had been done with reference to the preservation of the traditions and ritual of the Ojibwa society, and suggested to the former the propriety of having the Government publish the Menomini version of the Grand Medicine ceremonies, thus preserving for future generations their ancient beliefs and practices concerning the origin of the Indians, the history of the services of Mä′näbŭsh, and the institution and initiatory ceremonies of the Mitä′wit, or Grand Medicine society.

Three members of the Menomini delegation were chiefs of the society, and as such were competent to decide whether it would be appropriate and in accordance with their ancient custom to permit the admission into the society of a white man and stranger. After protracted deliberation, I was informed that in so far as they were personally concerned they very much desired that a visit be made to Keshena, where a council of the chief shamans would be called for the purpose of presenting for their approbation the subject of making public the so-called secret or mystic ceremonies. The visit to the reservation was made during the spring of 1890, when a meeting of the council was called by Nio′pet and Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, at which the chief representatives of the society unanimously agreed that I should be received at the next regular meeting. Then, when once within the sacred structure, I might without fear of misfortune ask any questions that I might desire, and receive explanation so far as lay in the power of the chief mitä′wok.

When a meeting of the society is desired, either for the benefit of the sick or for regular initiation, the proceedings are as follows: A consultation is held as to the designation of the four chief medicine men, the selection of a second set of four, and also a third set, each of which groups have special duties to perform during the ceremonies. Two general assistants or ushers are also chosen, whose duties consist in the proper arrangement of the interior of the structure and accessories, the proper location on a ridge pole of the presents, especially the blankets, pieces of calico, mats, etc., which form part of the gifts made by or for the candidate as the price of his admission. A location for the erection of the mitä′wikŏ′mik[1] is also decided upon, and the women members of the society—usually the wives of the chief officiating medicine men—who are to erect the structure and to prepare the feasts, are also designated.

These preliminary arrangements being completed, the "giver of the feast" presents to the chief medicine man several gifts of tobacco, which are divided into small heaps, and then immediately sent by a

[1]From "mitä′," a member of the society or fraternity of the Mitäwit; and "wikŏ′mik," a corruption of the word wig′wam—from "wigwas′," bark—a structure or lodge of bark. Though now built of poles, mats, etc., the original covering was no doubt of bark, thus giving rise to this designation, "wigwam," for all bark habitations.



BUILDING OF MEDICINE LODGE

courier to members of the society, one heap to each member. The runner, on his arrival, places the tobacco before the person for whom it is intended; he, being aware of the purpose of the visitor, merely says, "When and where?" The courier then informs the mitä'ᵛ as to the day and place of the ceremony, and after a short rest departs to fulfill his mission. In the meantime the medicine men have adjourned, each to attend to his own duties in so far as his individual services will be demanded, and to consult with the second and third sets or groups of medicine men designated to assist at the initiation.

It is customary, when an Indian is to be initiated to fill a vacancy caused by death, for the medicine wikŏ'mik to be erected a short distance east of the grave of the deceased member, so that the members of the society may be enabled to march westward when visiting the

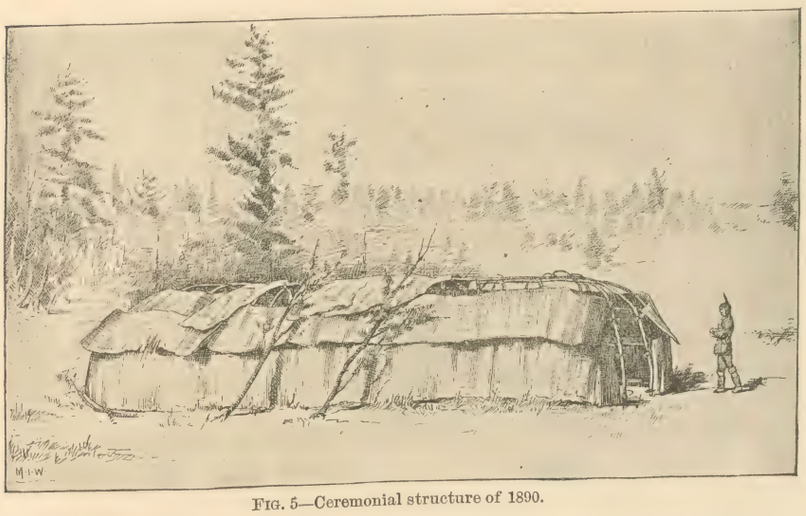


FIG. 5—Ceremonial structure of 1890.

grave, thus following the direction named in the ritual as followed by Na'qpote when his shade went in the direction of the setting sun, where the world is cut off.

The medicine lodge (ceremonial structure) termed mitä'wikŏ'mik, or mitä'wi'kiŏp, is erected by the medicine women detailed for the purpose, and is constructed on the following plan: A piece of level ground is sought at a convenient location east of the grave, when long poles, from 2 to 3 inches thick at the base, are planted at irregular intervals along the sides of an oblong. The length of the structure is usually 60 or 70 feet, and its width about 20 feet. The poles are then brought together at the top so as to form an archway, and secured by strands of basswood bark. Plate v represents the skeleton framework of the end of the structure. Mats made of rushes are then placed along the sides, the lower row touching the earth, and a second row placed above

them, but projecting slightly over the tops of the lower ones so as to shed rain. Other mats, pieces of birch bark, and even pieces of canvas, are then placed across the top to shade the interior or to keep out the rain. The mats, a detailed description of which will be given later, are usually a yard wide, and vary from 6 to 12 feet in length.

The exterior of the medicine wikŏ′mik erected in 1890 is represented in figure 5. At this ceremony Shu′nien was recognized as chief officiating shaman, the application for membership having been first made to him, and he in turn having selected his three chief assistants, all of whom, after due deliberation, decided on the order of ceremony. After the wikŏ′mik was erected, branches of cedar were placed on the ground around the interior, though near the wall, and on these were placed mats of rush leaves to serve as seats for the attendants. The gifts presented by the candidate, or his sponsor, were suspended from the long poles placed lengthwise a short distance beneath the top center of the arched inclosure. At various places lanterns also were suspended to furnish light during the night service. The large mat on which the candidate was finally obliged to kneel was spread on the ground about 20 feet from the western exit and along the middle line of the interior, while the space along each side, immediately before the seat mats around the interior, formed the pathway invariably followed by the officiating medicine men and the attending members of the society (see plate VI).

It is customary to hold meetings on Saturday afternoon, beginning at the approach of sunset and continuing uninterruptedly until the next day at sunset. Formerly no special day was selected, but since many of the Indians have become farmers, Sunday is thus employed so that as little time as possible may be lost from their labor.

By Saturday afternoon, on the occasion described, the vicinity of the mitä′wikŏ′mik became a scene of great animation. Wagons bearing the families, tents, and cooking utensils of members of the society began to arrive from various directions. The young men and boys came on horseback, clad in their best and gaudiest attire; children ran hither and thither while chasing one another in play; and the scene was occasionally enlivened by a rush toward a particular spot to witness or to stop a dog fight, as numerous and various specimens of gaunt, snarling curs had congregated from all parts of the reservation.

The members of the society were yet in their hastily erected lodges preparing themselves for public exhibition; but as the sun began to sink, eight of the most prominent members of the society, together with the chief mourner or giver of the feast and his family and relations, proceeded westward to the grave, distant about 200 yards, around which they formed a circle, while Shu′nien stepped nearer toward the head of the grave box, and produced the mä′tshida′qtokwan, or ceremonial baton. This is a round piece of pine or other soft wood, an inch thick and 30 inches long, with one end slightly pointed so as to

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

INTERIOR OF CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE OF 1890

admit of being easily thrust in the ground. The baton is ornamented by having cuts made around it near the top, the shavings being allowed to remain attached at one end but projecting slightly from the stick so as to resemble miniature plumes. About 6 inches below the top cluster is another, as also farther down the baton, until three or four clusters have been made. At the base of each cluster of cuts a band of vermilion an inch wide, encircles the stick. Figure 6 represents the general form of the baton.

FIG. 6—Ceremonial baton.

Shu'nien, after taking the baton at the sharpened end, struck the grave box with the other end, and spoke as follows:

"There were two brothers, Mä'näbŭsh and Na'qpote, the Wolf. Mä'näbŭsh lived to mourn for Na'qpote, who was destroyed by the evil underground beings, but who now abides in Tshi'paia'qki, the final resting place, where he awaits the arrival of the shades of the dead. The dance to be held at the bottom of the hill is held for Na'qpote, that he may return and transport the shade of this dead one to the mitä'wikŏ'mik, where we shall have our ceremonies this night. All the aged whiteheads are invited to it. While Mä'näbŭsh was still on this earth he said that he should build a fire in the northwest, at which the Indians would always be enabled to obtain warmth for themselves, their children, and their successors. He said that afterward he should go to the place of the rising sun, there to abide always and to watch over the welfare of the Indians. He said if the Indians desired to hold a meeting of the Mitä'wit, that they must first have a feast at the head of the grave. We will now sit and eat."

The mitä'wĭ women, assisted by relatives of the deceased, then spread a tablecloth upon the ground, and deposited thereon various kinds of meats, vegetables, bread, and pastry—quite a contrast to the primitive method pursued before the adoption of linen tablecloths, china, and silver-plated knives, forks, and spoons. All the invited guests partook of the food placed before them, but nothing was so eagerly sought after as the green cucumbers, which were peeled and eaten raw.

After the feast, Shu'nien, the chief priest and master of ceremonies, again took the ceremonial baton, and handing it to one of his assistants, requested him to make an address. The speaker first struck the grave box, and during the time of his remarks frequently struck the box, as if to emphasize his words. The addresses made by him and his three successors related to exploits performed by them at various times, particularly during the civil war, when most of them had

served as soldiers in the Union army. This digression was prompted because the deceased had been one of their comrades.

Shu'nien, in the meantime, had taken the grave post—which had been previously erected before the grave box—and painted a band of vermilion around the top, a band as broad as a finger, and five crosses on one of the flat sides to denote the number of addresses made at the grave; while on the reverse were four transverse bars and three crosses, denoting that the deceased had performed eight noteworthy exploits during his life. On the grave post were incised the outlines of animals, totemic in character; over each of these some of the animals were again drawn in vermilion, though with another band, as the dotted and shaded lines in the accompanying illustration (figure 7) show. The general appearance of the grave box, with the baton, the grave post, the board with the offering of tobacco, and the stick ornamented with a white cloth, is shown in figure 8. The adjoining grave boxes are those of relations of the deceased, for whose benefit the feast was here given.

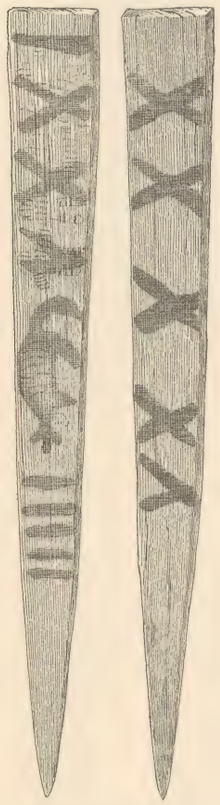


FIG. 7—Grave post

By the time the speaking had concluded the sun had gone below the horizon, and Shu'nien suggested returning toward the medicine wikŏ'mik, the persons present falling into line two by two. The procession marched slowly down the hill toward the east, and passing toward the south side of the structure to the main or eastern entrance, where only Shu'nien and his three chief assistants, the four highest officiating mitä'ᵛ for this ceremony, entered the inclosure and took seats on the northern side, though near the eastern entrance. Figure 9, representing the ground plan of the medicine wikŏ'mik, will serve to illustrate the respective positions of the several persons officiating, as well as those of the candidate, visitors, etc.

At such gatherings it is customary for each individual to dress as elaborately as his circumstances will permit. The head is adorned with a turban made of a silken handkerchief, a hat, feathers, or even a turban consisting of a native-made woolen waist scarf. Bead bags, measuring from 10 to 12 inches in length and from 12 to 16 inches in width, with a shoulder strap or baldric across the opposite shoulder, are worn on the hip or side; frequently two or three are worn by the same mitä'ᵛ, and even as many as a dozen have been seen on a single individual. There are also amulets, worn above the elbows, which consist of strands of beaded work, metal bands or skunk skins, while bracelets of shells,

buckskin, or metal also are worn. About the waist is a long varicolored scarf of native manufacture, and in addition some persons wear beaded belts, or belts of saddler's leather adorned with brass tacks. The legs are decorated with garters, varying from 2 to 3 inches in width and

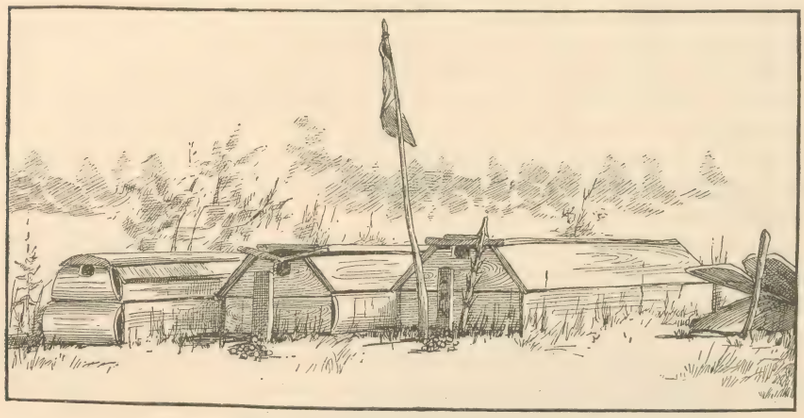


FIG. 8—Graves where feast was held.

from 12 to 15 inches in length, the ends terminating in woolen strings of various colors. The moccasins are sometimes neatly embroidered.

The chief article of value, however, is the medicine sack, in which are carried several small sacred articles, and particularly the konä'pamik,

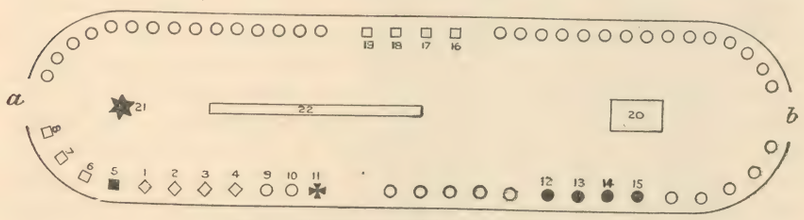


FIG. 9—Diagram of medicine lodge of 1890.

a, The eastern or main entrance; *b*, the western exit; 1, Nio'pet, fourth or lowest of the first four; 2, Ak'winē'mi Mo'shihât, second or next lowest; 3, Shō'min, third or next to chief; 4, Shu'nien, chief and leader of ceremonies; 5, candidate, Nä'tshiu'iqkŏ ("He who bullies"); 6, 7, 8, medicine women, relations of the candidate; 9, seat occupied by the writer; 10, seat occupied by the interpreter; 11, usher and general assistant; 12, 13, 14, 15, second group of assistant medicine men; 16, 17, 18, 19, third group of medicine men, detailed to assist in initiation; 20, mat on which candidate kneels when he is to be "shot" with the konä'pamik or magic shell; 21, the place of the fire; 22, place of presents suspended from a pole. The remaining spaces around the interior of the inclosure, indicated by small circles, are occupied by the members of the society and visiting medicine men who may be known and entitled to admission.

or shell, used in shooting at the candidate and in conveying sacred or mystic influence to a patient. The medicine sack or bag, together with the several articles of dress above named, are fully described and illustrated in connection with art work and ornamentation.

In addition to adornment of the body by means of various kinds of apparel, beaded and ornamented with metal, feathers, etc, facial

decoration is indulged in liberally. At present there is no special rule governing the arrangement of color designs employed, though formerly, when the society still conferred four degrees, there were distinctive arrangements of color to designate the several degrees by which the rank of the various members could readily be identified. The colors employed were earthy pigments, generally obtained at trading establishments. The mitä'ᵛ who had received but one initiation into the society was allowed, as well as expected, to adorn his face by making a white stripe horizontally across the forehead, a band of white clay of a finger's width, and extending outward as far as the outer angle of each eye. In addition, a spot of green about an inch in diameter was placed upon the middle of the breast.

Those having received two degrees were usually honored by their preceptor by being permitted to adopt the facial decoration of the latter; this consisted of a fanciful application to the face of red ocher, or vermilion, and one spot of green beneath each eye.

The third degree mitä'ᵛ placed a stripe of green so as to extend horizontally outward from the corners of the mouth.

To distinguish a mitä'ᵛ of the highest rank, one of the fourth degree, the chin was colored with green paint.

These arrangements were the generic and specific features in color decoration, but slight additions thereto were made, to such an extent only, however, as not to intrude upon or to obscure the typical decorations characteristic of the several grades.

No regularity of color arrangement, in so far as it relates to rank, is now found. No two faces presented any similarity at the meeting under consideration, the greater number of the members having simply besmeared their cheeks, the chin, or other parts of the face, with vermilion, with here and there a stripe of blue, red, or green. One would have his face colored yellow with ocher or chrome yellow, with a stripe of red running outward from each side of the mouth. Another would have three lines of red passing down over the chin, a central line with one nearer the outer corners of the mouth, between which lines were others of dark blue. Another had black spots the size of a dime on a red forehead; while still another, who had recently lost a near relation, had his cheeks and forehead blackened with ashes.

One young man displayed rather more than ordinary taste in the decoration of his face; there being a stripe across each cheek from the nose to near the ears, curving slightly upward, consisting of alternate squares of vermilion and white, the squares being about three-fourths of an inch across and bordered with black. A row of spots also extended from the upper lip outward toward the ears, each spot being as large as a dime; those nearest the mouth were red, the next two white with a bar sinister in blue, and the last ones red. While scarcely beautiful, these facial paintings of the men were very striking.

The facial decorations of the women members of the society were not so elaborate, their chief form consisting mainly of reddened cheeks,

with a spot of blue on the forehead, or a vertical stripe or two across the chin.

When the four medicine men had taken their proper stations and were seated on the mats, the usher brought the goods that had been furnished by the candidate and placed them before Nio′pet, the easternmost of the four. The medicine drum was then also placed before Nio′pet, who removed the drum head, wet it, and after putting some water into the drum—to the depth of perhaps 2 inches—he replaced the drum head and tightened it down by means of a cloth-covered iron hoop. Figure 10 represents the drum and drumstick.

Fig. 10—Medicine drum and stick.

The mitä′ᵛ drum differs from that ordinarily used in dances; it consists of a cylindrical piece of wood carefully hollowed out, about 16 inches high by 12 inches in diameter at the base, gently narrowing toward the top. A piece of rawhide is permanently attached across the bottom, while the top piece is secured only by means of the iron hoop fitting over it and around the drum. About a quart of water is poured into the drum, and after the drumhead has been thoroughly softened by soaking, it is tightly stretched across the top and secured by the hoop.

The drumstick used with the drum consists of a piece of wood curved downward and forward at the front end, so that the point of percussion is but little larger than the tip of the finger. On account of the water in the bottom of the drum, the sound, when one is near by, is merely a series of dull thuds; but on a still night it is audible for the distance of a mile or more.

While the mitä′ᵛ was using the drum, the two seated next accompanied him with rattles, one consisting of a round tin box, the other of a hollow gourd, each with a stick passing through it lengthwise

to serve as a handle. These were partly filled with grains of corn to produce a rattling sound. (Figure 11 represents one of the two specimens procured and now in the United States National Museum.) Other members are admitted at this stage of the ceremony, but as my visit to the meeting was made at the request of some of the mitä′ᵛ and by virtue of my affiliation with the Ojibwa society, I was invited to sit at the right of the chief priest.

The service, which continued from the time of the meeting at the grave until daylight of the following morning, was for the benefit of the shade of the dead, which had been permitted by Na′qpote to return and to be present within the mitä′wikŏ′mik. At daybreak, however, the shade is free to return to its last abode, but it is believed to make a last visit to the same spot four years later.

FIG. 11—Gourd rattle.

After the procession arrived at the medicine wikŏ′mik, only the four highest officiating medicine men reverentially entered, and, after taking the seats reserved for them, produced their pipes and tobacco. A ceremonial smoke was then indulged in by blowing a mouthful of smoke toward the east, another toward the south, one toward the west, one toward the north, and another toward the sky, the abode of Mashä′ Ma′nido, or the Great Mystery. Smoking continued, then, until the pipes went out, when Nio′pet, sitting at the eastern extremity of the row of four, and recognized, during these ceremonies only, as the fourth in rank, began the ceremonies. Looking about him to see that his associates were ready to proceed, he remarked to each of the three, in succession, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ" (my colleagues, my colleagues, my colleagues); to which the others responded in like manner. Then he took the drumstick, and giving the drum several soft though rapid taps, to call attention, the two sitting to his right assisting in gently shaking the rattle, the medicine man softly chanted the following words:

"My grandson will now be placed on the correct path. It gives me pleasure to see the goods before me, which have been brought here as an evidence of the good will of my grandson, and his desire to become instructed in the way to go through life. I can hear beneath the ground the approach of our enemies, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who destroyed the brother of Mä′näbŭsh, and who now would wish to oppose our proceedings, but Mä′näbŭsh said: 'Whenever you are in trouble, place some tobacco aside for me, and when the odor of your smoke ascends I shall help you.' Therefore, we have before us some tobacco to be offered to Mä′näbŭsh, that he may be present at the meeting and fill us with contentment."

When this recitation was ended, all uttered rapidly the words, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hō," while the drum was pushed toward the right, to the next medicine man, Ä′kwinē′mi Mo′sihât, the rattles being now used by Shō′min and Shu′nien. The attendant usher also came forward from his station, down toward the middle of the northern side of the inclosure, and placed the goods and presents before the drummer, who, after saying to each of his companions, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′," began gently to tap the drum, and gradually reciting his words they blended into a chant and finally into rapid utterances, as follows:

"The shades are looking toward us and are watching our procedure, as we are looking toward them for their approbation. They favor our work and will not oppose us. Our fathers have always done thus before us, and they did well, because they had been instructed by Mä′näbŭsh to do so. Therefore we too follow our fathers in obeying the injunctions of Mä′näbŭsh, that all may be well with us." As this recitative chant was concluded, the other medicine men uttered the same interjectional words, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ."

The chant appears brief; but the peculiar manner of its delivery, by duplicating the phrases, and by some interjected meaningless notes, to give emphasis and to fill up the measure of drum beats, caused it to be more prolonged than one would suppose possible. As usual, everything was done with apparent premeditation and studied delay, to make it as impressive as possible to those not members of the society.

The drum and goods were then pushed along to a spot before the third singer, Shō′min, who in turn handed his rattle to Nio′pet, Shu′nien still retaining his, while Ä′kwinē′mi, who had just completed his chant, rested. Shu′nien also saluted his confrères with the words, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′," then began to drum very gently, and soon to chant the following:

"In teaching the one who desires to become a mitä′ᵛ to follow the right path, we are ourselves following the directions given to us by the Great Mystery. He caused the Mystery [Mä′näbŭsh] to come and to erect a mitä′wikŏ′mik, where we should receive instructions, and where, also, others might receive it from us. The old whiteheads received instruction in this manner, and we, as their children, received our information from them. Therefore, we now teach the true way of life. We do that even today." As before, the three other medicine men uttered the words, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," as an intimation of approbation and concurrence with the thoughts expressed, while the drum and goods were placed before Shu′nien, who, though the last of the four, was the chief officiating medicine man for the time. Gently tapping the drum, he began uttering and continuing more and more rapidly, in a spasmodic or disconnected manner, the following words, the phrases gradually assuming the nature of a chant:

"Long ago the grand medicine was observed with more care and reverence than it is now. The sun was bright when the whiteheads

assembled, but now it is dark, and I can not see the reason. Children were better taught to respect the truth and to be honest. Once a man came to me in search of his children. They had become lost to him, and he was unable to find them. But I could see the children, far, far away, and I told the father that I could see his children, but that there was a great fire raging between them and me, and that they were beyond reach. He could not recover them. Therefore, teach your children that they may not stray beyond your control and find themselves separated from you by the barrier of fire from which it is impossible to rescue them. Teach them also to be honest; do not permit them to learn to lie and to steal."

At the conclusion of this recitation the companions of Shu'nien gave exclamations of approbation by rapidly uttering, "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ." The usher then came forward, gathered up the goods, and carried them

FIG. 12—Presents suspended from pole.

toward the middle of the eastern half of the inclosure, where, with the assistance of some friends of the candidate, he suspended the blanketst cloth, calico, mats, etc., from the longitudinal ridge pole, placed a short distance below the roof arch for this purpose (figure 12).

In the meantime the singers had again produced their pipes to take a smoke. Other members of the society who were to take active part in the ceremonies now entered the inclosure at the eastern door. All who were permitted to enter at this stage of the ceremonies had dressed themselves as became their station, and in entering passed along the right side of the inclosure nearest the mats occupied by the four medicine men, and as they passed by them each held his right hand toward the seated figures, the back of the hand toward the person addressed, and saluted him by designating him by the proper term of relationship; or, if no such connection existed, then by "my elder brother," "my younger brother," as the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed may have been. The person thus addressed bowed his head and responded by saying, "Hau'kä" (it is well), and when each of

the four had responded those who had passed went to their places and before seating themselves looked around the inclosure, as if addressing a number of invisible persons present, and said, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′," to which the others again responded, "Hau′kä." Each visitor then seated himself and took a ceremonial smoke. He took his seat, as did all subsequent visitors, either on one or the other side of the structure, according to the phratry of which he was a member.

It has already been stated that a second group of four medicine men had been selected to assist in the ceremonies of initiation; and these, having by this time dressed themselves in their ornamented headdresses, with beaded medicine bags suspended at their sides, and with beaded garters and other ornaments adorning their persons, now appeared at the eastern entrance, entering in single file, keeping step to a forward dancing movement, which consisted of quick hops on the right and left foot alternately. These medicine men were Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, Mai′ăkinĕu^{v}, Na′qpâtä, and Kimē′ân. All of them had gourd or tin rattles, with which to accompany the singer. The four passed along before the others, who were already seated, holding their hands toward the latter, and saluting them by expressing such terms of relationship as existed, or by terming one an elder brother or a younger brother, as their relative ages demanded. They then continued their dancing step down on the right side to the west, where they gradually turned to their left side so as to return on the opposite (southern) side of the inclosure to the inside of the eastern entrance, where they halted and faced westward. The leader, Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, then began to keep time with his rattle, addressing those present by saying, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′;" whereupon all present responded by saying, "Hau′kä," when he began to chant the words:

"I am glad you are all working at that, of which the old medicine men taught me. It puts back my thoughts to bygone years, when I was young and just about to be made a member of this society. This is the way all of you feel at realizing how the many winters have whitened our hair."

Then the singer, accompanied by his three assistants, renewed his dancing along the path to the western end of the mita′wikŏ′mik, where they halted and, facing eastward, Ni′aqtawâ′pomi continued his chant:

"'Take pity on your poor,' is what the old people always told me to do; that I now say to those within the hearing of my voice; my son, you will be happy when you dance with the dead today."

At the conclusion of this chant the four medicine men again started on their dancing step to make the circuit of the interior of the inclosure, but as they approached the east, the one who first chanted quietly stepped to the rear of the line, leaving the second one, Mai′ăkinĕ′u^{v}, to become the leader, and as they took their former position at the eastern entrance, facing westward, he also addressed those present with the

terms of kinship or friendship to which each was entitled, after which he also saluted his colleagues by saying, "Nika′ni, nika′ni, nika′ni, kanĕ′," to which they responded, "Hau′kä." Mai′ăkinĕ′uᵛ then began to chant in a recitative manner the following words:

"It is good for you and for us to follow the injunctions of Mä′näbŭsh, and to gather about within the mitä′wikŏ′mik. The old people before us have spoken about the benefits to be gained by gathering here, and I also call to your attention the good that is to be derived by our meeting here. I have now spoken about what the whiteheads have told me. I have thanked them for their words to me."

Then the procession of the four medicine men again started off on its dancing around the inclosure, as before, to the west, where they stopped and faced eastward. Mai′ăkinĕ′ŭᵛ again sang the foregoing words, after which the four started along the southern path eastward, during which movement the last singer dropped to the rear, thus leaving Na′qpâtä as the leader, and the one to chant next. By this time they had reached the eastern part of the inclosure and, facing westward, Na′qpâtä saluted those present with the appropriate terms of relationship, and then addressing his colleagues, as his predecessors had done, began his chant, as follows:

"Our old customs appear well; the words that are spoken sound well. This is the Great Mystery's home. The practices which our old parents taught are beautiful in my eyes. The sky used to be bright, but now it is dark." Then the singer, followed by the three beside him, again danced toward the west, where they stopped, and, facing westward, Na′qpâtä continued:

"Mä′näbŭsh told our parents to do as we are now doing. Hereafter the Indians will continue to follow our footsteps and teachings, as we are following the way of those before us. The sky has four openings, for which we must look. The openings are the places we much look for and ask the Great Mystery to close, for this rain interferes with our work."

The frequent references to "dark sky" and "openings" in the sky, were because of the rain which had begun to fall shortly after the beginning of the ceremonies.

At the conclusion of the above chant, the medicine men again made the entire circuit of the inclosure, dancing all the way, but as they approached the east again, the singer fell to the rear, thus causing Kimē′ân, the fourth and last, to become the leader and to chant the next song. Saluting those present with appropriate kinship terms, he also addressed his colleagues, as the others had done, then chanted these words:

"We have now arrived at that part of the dance when all the medicine men may enter the mitä′wikŏ′mik. Let them be notified that we shall be pleased to see them seated with us, and partake of the ceremony which Mä′näbŭsh enjoined upon us to continue. We shall be able to induce the Great Mystery to help us, so that the sun may not remain obscured."

Immediately on the completion of this recitation, the four medicine men again made the tour of the inclosure along the northern side, and when at the western extremity they stopped, faced eastward, and Kimē′ân repeated his song. Then the party went to the eastern part and, facing westward, listened to the word "Hau′kä" uttered by the chief medicine men who were seated at the northeastern corner. Then the second group of medicine men, those who had lately ceased chanting, walked along the northern path toward the west to the seats reserved for them (marked 12, 13, 14, and 15, in figure 9).

Fig. 13—Otter-skin medicine bag.

Ceremonial smoking was now indulged in for a considerable time, during which the members of the society and visiting medicine men entered the inclosure and took seats according to the phratry to which they belonged, or according to the office to be filled during the ceremonies. Each one saluted those already seated, in succession, as he went along the right side path to a seat. The candidate also came into the structure, accompanied by his nearest relation, or friends as well, also the member of the society who made the promise of giving a feast at the grave of the deceased. The candidate took a seat next to Nio′pet, on the left, while the candidate's friend sat at the left side of the latter. A third group of four medicine men, who also had been selected to assist in the ceremonies, now entered, and, after passing around and saluting each one in succession, went to the western side of the inclosure, where they took seats midway between the center and the eastern door (at the places marked 16, 17, 18, and 19, figure 9). These men were Shâwaq′ka, Wisha′noqkwŏt′, Wâba′shäĭ′ŭᵛ, and Kowapamĭuᵛ. The medicine women who also had been selected to assist, both in the erection or superintendence of the ceremonial structure, in the preparation of the feast, and in the ceremony of initiation, were located thus: Sa′suss at the southeastern angle of the inclosure and Pä′shänäni′uqkĭŭᵛ′ at the northwestern angle.

Each member had his medicine bag, usually consisting of the skin of an animal, such as the mink, beaver, otter, or weasel, though a bear's

paw may be used for the same purpose; or, perhaps, a panther paw pouch, a snake skin, or any other material which may have been presented as a gift at an initiation, or dreamed of by the medicine man subsequently to his being admitted to membership. (See figure 13. This subject is described more fully in connection with beadwork and ornamentation.) The audience became large and interesting, not only because of the large number of members, but on account of the crowd of people gathered about the medicine wikŏ'mik, who peeped through every available crevice and opening in the mats covering the framework of the lodge.

The following list comprises the names of the male and female members of the Mitä'wit, with the signification of nearly all of them, as furnished by the chiefs of the society at the annual meetings held in July, 1890, August, 1891, August, 1892, and August, 1893, as well as at a conference with the chief mitä'wok held during the months of February and March, 1892, at Washington:

Males.

Ä'kwinē'mi Mo'sihât[1]	Within-the-month.
Änä'maqkī'sä	Little Thunder.
Â'pätâkē'zhĭk	Half-the-sky.
Aqki'nakŏ'shĕ'	Terrible-looking.
Baiä'wĕqshi'	That-which-rattles.
Hŏhō'peshĕ'	Little-whoops.
Îsh'kwaâ'ban[2]	Breaking Day.
Ka'dabaqshĭ'ŭ[v]	One-who-broils.
Kaia'nąmĕk' Kōq''sa	(Unknown).
Kaia'noměk[3]	(Unknown).
Ka'shekoqka'ŭ[4]	One-who-carries-light.
Kawi'kĭt'[1]	Rough-face.
Kĕnē'shä	Eaglet.
Ke''shŏ	Moon.
Ke''shŏka'weshât	The Moon?
Kimē'ân	Rain.
Kishē'wadō'shä	Swift-little-hawk.
Kowa'pami'ŭ[v5]	(Unknown).
Maĭa'kinĕ'ŭ[v]	True Eagle.
Mätwash'kät	Making-a-sound-as-he-goes.
Miq'kinĕ'nĭ	Partisan.
Mishi'nawe[5]	A Waiter.
Naiäq'tō	Certain-one.
Ni'a'qtawâ'pomi	The-most-conspicuous.
Nâ'motam'	Tells-the-truth.
Naq'pâ'tä'	Marksman.
Na'shikâ'pawe'	Stands-in-the-dark.
Nätshi'wĭqkŏ''	He-who-bullies.
Nawaq'kweshkŭm'	Half-a-month.
Nī'kânish'	Foremost-man.
Nio'pĕt	Four-in-a-den.
Nomäsh'	Fish.
O'kimâsh'	Younger-chief.
O'kwĕmawa'peshĭ'ŭ[v]	Chief-of-the-swans.
O'kwitshiwa'nō	On-the-summit.
Pämē'nĕt'	Flying-by.
Pípō'nänĕ'ŭ[v]	Winter Hawk.
Pī'tiwä'keshĭd	Coming-noisily.
Pītwäsh'kŭm	Coming-with-a-sound.
Shaka'naqkwŏd'	Peeping-cloud.
Shâboi'tŏk	Penetrating-sound.
Sha'batīs'	(Baptiste, Fr.).
Sha'wanakē'zhĭk	Southern-sky.
Shâwaq'ka	Yellow-wings.
Shō'mĭn	Raisin.
Shoshät'	(Unknown).
Shu'nien	Money (Silver).
Tâmas Kokŏsh'	Thomas Hog.
Tshī-Kwâ'set	The-sound-of-the-thunder.
Wâ'bakinĕ'ŭ[v]	White-Eagle.
Wâ'banō	Easterner.
Wâ'bashä'ĭŭ[v]	White-dressed-skin.
Wä'batshīkĭ	White Fisher.
Waima''tekĭt	With-bow-and-arrow.
Wai'shikwonät'	Tail-of-the great-fish.
Wa'naqkŏ''shĕ	Little-apex.
Wâ'nis Kam	(Unknown).
Weq-Kä'-shä	Little-calamus.
Wīĕs'kushĕd'	Good-one.
Wisha'noqkwŏt'	Dense-cloud.
Wīsho'[6]	(Unknown).
Witshī'wäŭ'[v]	Going-for-somebody.

Females.

Angĕ'lĭk	(Angelica).
Â'pätä Kē'zhĭkukĭ'ŭ[v]	Half-a-day.
Awa'nuqni'[n]a	Fog.
Dä'tĕwiata'mo (girl)	Rumbling Noise.
Kakikätshiwan	Everlasting-falls.
Kä'tshemĭqtä'ŭ	One-who-dances.

[1] Died during the winter of 1894–95.
[2] An Ojibwa word.
[3] Word adopted from some other tribe; unknown.
[4] The Moon.
[5] Potawatomi words.
[6] Corruption of a French name.

Females—Continued.

Kē'niaqkī'sau	Little Eagle.
Kē'niaqkī'sau [1]	Little Eagle.
Ke'waiatshī'wan	The-eddy.
Kē'shĭuqkä'ŭ [2]	Moon-woman.
Kē'shĭkoq'kí'u [2]	Moon-woman.
Kĭ'niaqhĭ'ŭ	Eagle woman.
Kĭ'nĭaqkī'sa	Little-she-eagle.
Kĭnō'ka	The-long-one.
Ki'sha'nō'wĭŭ	One-who-sheds-tears.
Ki'shiwä'tshiwan	Roaring-rapids.
Kiwaqkwo''amuqk'	Flying-clouds.
Kŭshe'aqkĭ'ŭ	French-woman.
Kŭshe'aqkĭ'u	French woman.
Kŭshe'aqkĭ'u [3]	French woman.
Mishkwo'panoq	Red-dawn.
Mushaq'kwätuq'kĭŭ	Sky-woman.
Naq'kaha''amu	Picks-blossom-off-the-[tree.
Näsĕq'kai'tk	Travels-alone.
Na'wata'winĕ'ŭ	She-who-picks-berries.
Ni'kaniq'sakwä'ŭ'	She-who-leads.
Nĭ'sĕt (girl)	"Elizabeth."
O'shōna'muniq'kĭŭ	Vermilion-woman.
Pa'mikĭ'shĭkŏk'	Scattering-clouds.
Päsa'näqkwatŭq'kĭu	The-touching-clouds.
Päshänä'ni'uqkĭ'ŭ'	The-bird's-tail-touching.
Pē''taŭ'midä'mo	Bird-woman.
Pi'shäqku'uqkĭ'ŭ	Cattle-woman
Pi'ta'nowĕ	Approaching-light.
Pi'taqka'mikuq'kĭŭ	That-which-grows
Sa'suss	(Unknown)
Shĭ'awäqkĭŭ'	Bend-in-the-river.
Ta'k kĭ'zhĭkoqk'	Day-woman.
Tamō'n	Gray-squirrel.
Tshē bätsh' [4]	(French.)
Wâ'banō mitä'mo	Wabano-woman.
Wâ'banō mitä'no [5]	Wabano-woman.
Wâ'bataunoq'kwetŏk (girl).	Unknown).

Darkness having come on, the usher and the medicine woman put more wood on the fires, built near each end of the inclosure, and also lit the lanterns suspended from the archway of the wikŏ'mik at various places. In a short time the candidate was called forward, to stand before the left-hand medicine man of the first group. The candidate's friends and family, to the number of eight, stood in a semicircle around the candidate and kept time to the chant and drumming by dancing in a shuffling manner, in the spot first taken by them.

Nio'pet now chanted to the candidate, and the women in a few moments caught the monotonous air, if such it may be designated, and sang in a peculiar high-pitched voice, reminding one of the sound made by a bagpipe. The translation of Nio'pet's chant is as follows:

"When Mä'näbŭsh erected the mitä'wikŏ'mik he placed tobacco before the Great Mystery as an offering. Therefore it is always used as an offering when one seeks to become a member of the Mitä'wit."

These words were repeated, as before stated, and reiterated so that their delivery consumed from ten to fifteen minutes. The candidate at the conclusion of the song returned to his seat, as did also his friends.

A ceremonial smoke having been taken by most of those present, the drum was pushed along westward to the medicine man next to Nio'pet, who was now accompanied by the rattle and by the other two performers to his right. When the drumming began the candidate and his friends again came forward and stood reverentially before the drummer, when the latter began to chant the following:

"You see how the mitäwikŏ'mik is built; it is the same as that directed by the Great Mystery to be built by Mä'näbŭsh for the Indians.

[1] Not related to preceding of same name.

[2] The slight difference in the spelling is due in this and in similar cases to individual peculiarity in pronunciation.

[3] The women bearing these three similar names are not related.

[4] Corruption of the French je passe.

[5] Not related to the preceding of similar name.

It is strong, and gives life to those who meet within it. This is the northern side, and it was made by Mashä′ Ma′nido. When you require strength you must meet within the walls of the structure."

Again the candidate and his friends retired to their seats, and another delay occurred, during which smoking and conversation in a low tone went on. In the meantime the drum was passed once more toward the right for the third of the chief medicine men to use with his chant, and when he began to tap the drum the candidate and his friends again came forward and formed a semicircle before the singer. His words (translated) were as follows:

"I am speaking of the southern side; it is not so strong as the other side. The strong side must always aid the weaker one. The goods and the tobacco that have been given for the feast will induce the mysteries to aid us to keep our strength while we continue to perform the ceremonies instituted by Mä′näbŭsh at the desire of Mashä′ Ma′-nido."

The candidate and his friends again retired to their seats as the chant ended, while the drum was passed on to Shu′nien, whose turn came next. The character of the recitation was now changed, as reference to the presents and the benefits to be obtained by frequently gathering together were omitted, while the myth relating to the birth of Mä′näbŭsh and his subsequent deeds in procuring for the Indian all the benefits which they enjoy was begun.

Shu′nien and the rest of his chief assistants now sat with heads bowed down, as if in deep meditation on the sacredness of the mitä′ᵛ ritual, the most important part of which is the recitation by the singer of the myth as it had been handed down from the past.

After some water had again been poured into the drum and the head moistened, replaced, and tightly stretched, Shu′nien began gently to tap it, his eyes directed forward or upward, and at the moment of supposed inspiration began the chant, keeping time with the drumstick, and accompanied by the rattling of the three companion mitä′wok. The candidate presented himself before Shu′nien, standing there reverentially to listen to the recitation, while his friends and other medicine men and women, to the number of twelve, gathered about him. As before, these recitations were uttered at first in an earnest manner, gradually becoming more vehement and rapid, until the singer reached an apparently ecstatic condition. His eyes had a vacant, far-away look, the perspiration began to roll from his face and body, and the muscles of his neck and arm swelled out clear and distinct with excitement and muscular exertion, so that at the end of the chant the performer appeared thoroughly exhausted.

The most remarkable feature of all the chants was the repetition of phrases, each set of from four to six words being rapidly repeated all through that portion of the ritual recited by the first class of four mitä′wok. The original phraseology requires a much longer time than

is indicated by the translations, and as this duplication doubled the time, the several chants covered a period varying from twenty minutes to three-quarters of an hour. In the following translation the original phraseology has been followed as closely as possible, so as to maintain intelligible sequence without additional explanation.

After Shu′nien had tapped the drum sufficiently to attain the proper time to suit his chant, he began with the following traditional history of Menomini genesis:

"The daughter of Noko′mis, the Earth, is the mother of Mä′näbŭsh, who is also the Fire. The Flint[1] grew up out of Noko′mis, and was alone. Then the Flint made a bowl and dipped it into the earth; slowly the bowlful of earth became blood, and it began to change its form. So the blood was changed into Wabus, the Rabbit. The Rabbit grew into human form, and in time became a man, and thus was Mä′näbŭsh[2] formed. Mä′näbŭsh was angry because he was alone on the earth; and because his enemies, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who dwelt beneath the earth, were constantly annoying him and trying to destroy him.

"Then Mä′näbŭsh shaped a piece of flint to make an ax, and while he was rubbing it on a rock he heard the rock make peculiar sounds, 'Kē kä′, kē kä′, kē kä′, kē kä′, gōss, gōss, gōss, gōss.' He soon understood what this signified, that he was alone on the earth and that he had neither father, mother, brother, nor sister. This is what the Flint said while Mä′näbŭsh was rubbing it upon the rock.

"While he was meditating on this, he heard the sound of something approaching, and when he looked up he beheld Moqwai′o, the Wolf, who said to Mä′näbŭsh, 'Now you have a brother, for I too am alone; we shall live together and I shall hunt for you.' Mä′näbŭsh replied, 'I am glad to see you, my brother. I shall change your form and make you like myself;' and in a short time Moqwai′o became as a man. Mä′näbŭsh and his brother then moved away to the shore of a lake, where they built a wigwam. Mä′näbŭsh told his brother that the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ dwelt beneath the water of the lake, and that he should never go into the water nor cross the ice.

"One day the brother of Mä′näbŭsh was out hunting, and it was late in the day when he started to return to his wigwam. He found himself on the shore of the lake, just opposite to where the wigwam stood, and could easily see it; and as he did not want to make a long journey around by the lake shore, he hesitated awhile, but at last decided to cross over on the ice. When he reached the middle of the lake the ice broke, and the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ pulled him under, and he was drowned.

[1] The Abnaki Indians of Canada, a tribe linguistically allied to the Menomini, also believe the first man and the first woman to have been created of a stone. The Abbé Maurault remarks: "Ils croyaient que le premier homme et la première femme sauvages avaient été créés d'une pierre; que le Grand-Esprit, non satisfait de ce premier coup-d'essai, avait détruit ce premier couple, et en avait créé un autre d'un arbre; que ce second couple était presqu'aussi parfait que le Grand-Esprit, et que les sauvages en descendaient."—Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours, Québec, 1866, pp. 19, 20.

[2] From Mashä′, great; and wabŭs′, rabbit.

"Mä′näbŭsh knew that his brother had been killed, and mourned for him for four days. On the fifth day, while Mä′näbŭsh was out looking for the trail of game, he chanced to look up from the ground and beheld his brother approaching. Then the brother of Mä′näbŭsh said: 'My fate will be the fate of all our friends and descendants; they will die, but after four days they will return again.' Then Mä′näbŭsh found that what he thought was the body of his brother was only the shade, so he said: 'My brother, return to the place of the setting sun; you are now called Na′qpote, and will have the care of the dead.' The mystery replied: 'If I go there and our friends follow me we shall not be able to return again when we leave this place.' Mä′näbŭsh again spoke to the shade of his brother, saying: 'Go, Na′qpote, and prepare a wigwam for our friends; build a large fire, that they may be guided to it—that on their arrival they may find an abode.'

"Then Na′qpote left, to abide in the land of shades, in the direction of the setting sun, where the world is cut off."

Shu′nien ceased chanting at this point, and the candidate and his friends returned to their seats. The usher came forward and placed the drum before Nio′pet, at the left side, while the rattles were appropriated by the other medicine men. A ceremonial smoke having again been taken, Nio′pet began to tap the drum gently, and as the rattles were heard the candidate and his companions presented themselves before Nio′pet. The following is a translation of the words chanted:

"When Mä′näbŭsh found himself deprived of his brother, he looked about him and found that he was not now alone on the earth, but that there were other people, his uncles and aunts, also children of Noko′mis. He found that they were greatly harassed by the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and became very angry with Mashä′ Ma′nido for allowing them so much power. He therefore determined to destroy the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and cried out for the waters of the lake to disappear. Four times he cried out, when the waters began to disappear in the earth, leaving on the mud and sand of the bottom many of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, while stranded near the shore lay the chief of them all, Mi′sikinē′bĭk, the Great Fish. Then Mä′näbŭsh said to him, 'I want to destroy you because you will not permit my people to approach the water that they may drink;' but just as he was about to carry out his threat the smaller ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ again caused the waters to return to the lake, thus depriving Mä′näbŭsh of the satisfaction of killing their chief. Thus they escaped.

"Then Mä′näbŭsh went to seek some birch trees, and getting bark sufficient to make a canoe, he prepared one and decided to destroy Mi′sikinē′bĭk by attacking him in the water. As he left the shore to go out upon the lake, he sang 'Mi′sikinē′bĭk bina′ ni′na kōq′sĭna' [Great Fish, come and swallow me]. Mi′sikinē′bĭk paid no attention to this, as he thought his young could easily destroy Mä′näbŭsh. They came toward the canoe, but Mä′näbŭsh said to them, 'I do not want you; it

is your chief and parent whom I want to come and swallow me;' and pushing them forcibly away from him, the old Mi′sikinē′bĭk became so enraged that he darted forward and swallowed Mä′näbŭsh.

"When Mä′näbŭsh found himself inside the belly of Mi′sikinē′bĭk, he began to look about and found many of his people—some who had but recently been swallowed, some who had become sick and weak from long confinement, and the remains of many others who had perished there. Then Mä′näbŭsh asked the Buffalo, 'My uncle, how did you get here? I never saw you near the water, but always on the prairie.' The Buffalo replied, saying, 'I was near the lake to get some green, fresh grass, when Mi′sikinē′bĭk caught me.' He asked many of the others how they happened to be so unfortunate as to be in that place. Then Mä′näbŭsh said to them all, 'We will now have to go to my grandmother's shore, but you will have to help me.' Then they all began to dance around in the interior of Mi′sikinē′bĭk, which made him very sick and caused him to swim toward the shore. Then Mä′näbŭsh, who had a short knife with him, began to cut into that part of the body over his head, while the dancers sang, 'Kē′sĭkĭna′min; kē′sĭkĭna′min' [I see the sky; I see the sky]. Mä′näbŭsh kept cutting the body of Mi′sikinē′bĭk so much that he was heard to say, 'I have too many of them within me; I am getting very sick; I shall swim to the shore where Noko′mis lives'; and going forward rapidly he was soon stranded on the beach, when Mä′näbŭsh finished by cutting a hole in the body of Mi′sikinē′bĭk large enough for them to emerge and again be free.

"They were all pleased because Mä′näbŭsh had helped them to return to the earth. Mä′näbŭsh then left his uncles and went toward the rising sun, when one day as he was approaching a high mountain he saw on it, basking in the sun, a large white bear, Owa′sse, who was one of the most powerful of the âna′maqkĭ′ŭ. Mä′näbŭsh approached very cautiously, and drawing an arrow from his quiver, he fixed it to his bowstring and shot it through the body of Owa′sse, killing him. The blood ran down the mountain side and stained it so that it is visible even at this day. There we get some of the medicine which is used by the mitä′wok."

At the termination of the above chant, the candidate and his attendants returned to their seats, while the performer passed the drum and drumstick to the mitä′ᵛ on his right, who appeared to continue the ritualistic chant. The nature of the recitation was again changed, for instead of continuing the traditional exploits of Mä′näbŭsh, the explanation of how the mitä′wikŏ′mik came to be constructed and the privileges which Mä′näbŭsh received from the Great Mystery were recounted. It was also stated how and why the mitä′wok do certain things connected with the ceremony.

The second of the mitä′wok who now prepared to chant was the third in rank. The candidate and his followers returned and stood before the

singer, when, after a short preliminary drumming, the beats slowly and gradually swelling in intensity, the medicine man began a chant, of which the following words are a translation:

"The mitä'wikŏ'mik must always be built so as to extend from the direction of the rising of the sun to the direction of the setting thereof. Mashä' Ma'nido gave to Mä'näbŭsh charge of the entrance toward the setting sun. Mashä' Ma'nido also informed Mä'näbŭsh of what should be done and encountered by him, as well as by those who should hereafter become members of the Mitä'wit. A path leads from the wigwam toward the place of the rising sun, and at a short distance sit two aged, gray-haired men facing each other. When Mä'näbŭsh reached this place the elder of them said, 'My son, as you follow this path you will come to a ridge; ascend it until you reach a tree growing on one side of the path. The roots of this tree reach to the four worlds beneath, while its branches ascend to the entrance of the sky, where four ma'nidos guard it and watch all those who approach. Some enter, while others are obliged to continue on the path. The four ma'nidos are Kine'u^{v}, the Bald-eagle; Pinäsh'iu, the Golden-eagle; Mamä'tshe'au, the Indian; and Wapis'hketa-pa'u, the White-hair. The last is the chief of those who have charge of the entrance to the sky.

"'The mitä'wok get their sacred staffs from the branches of the tree which rises to the sky. From the place of the tree forward we are told to continue on the path toward the rising sun, but on the way you shall find a large poplar log lying across it, over which you must not pass, but will have to go around it at the top end of the tree. The small branches typify theft, and if you have sinned you will be drawn to them and bite them with your teeth. Should you have committed such an offense you will be punished.

"'A little farther on you will find another tree, a thorn apple, against which you must not put your fingers, nor lean against it, nor take any fruit therefrom. You must pass it on the left side. After a short journey you will come to a stream of water which crosses the path, where, as you stoop to drink, you will perceive the reflection of your image and that your head is turning gray. Then, as you meditate how many days you have lived you will become nervous at the sight and thoughtful of what you may have done. When you continue on your path, you will in time come to a country covered with green plants of many kinds; there are medicines, roots and leaves. You will dig some and pluck others, which you will prepare to give to those who need them. Then as you look to the sky, for this is the end of the path, you will find that you can go no farther.

"'Many points have you passed ere this which may have tempted you to tarry, but had you done so you would not have reached the end of the entire path of life, but would have perished.'"

On the completion of this chant the candidate again retired, as did those who accompanied him, while the members generally indulged in a smoke. The medicine women retired to get more food for those

officiating, which consumed considerable time, and during this digression there was considerable going and coming and visiting of old friends, who may have chanced to have met only once a year and under similar circumstances. When all had again become quiet, the third medicine man, Shō′min, received the drum, and while he was tapping it preparatory to chanting, the candidate and his friends came forward and stood in front of him, remaining throughout the chant, which was supposed to recount the manner in which Mä′näbŭsh received the assistance of various ma′nidos, who were instructed by the Great Mystery to place at the disposal of Mä′näbŭsh their several powers. The translation of his recitation is as follows:

"When Mä′näbŭsh sat in the mitä′wikŏ′mik, which he had erected as Mashä′ Ma′nido had instructed him to do, he sat thinking as to how he should further be enabled to obtain necessary powers to aid his uncles and their descendants.

"Then from the east came Owa′sse, the Bear, who entered the mitä′wikŏ′mik and said to Mä′näbŭsh, 'My brother, I come to you to offer to you my strength, that you may be able to withstand the power of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ.' Mä′näbŭsh was pleased to receive from the Bear the power. Then Wâbon, the Daylight, also came in from the east, following the Bear, saying, 'My brother, I come to offer myself to you, that you may be able to hold your mitä′ᵛ meeting.' Again Mä′näbŭsh was gratified at this gift, and thanked the Daylight. Then another ma′nido came flying from the place of the rising sun—he whose bones can be heard to rattle, and he of whom those who dream become faint with fear; this is Pâ′ka. Pâ′ka told the Bear and the Daylight that he too would inspire Mä′näbŭsh, so as to fill with terror those who were antagonistic to the mitä′ᵛ. Again Mä′näbŭsh thanked his brothers for their aid. Then came another from the east, who was brighter than the Daylight, he who is called Misĭq′kwan, followed by Massē′nä, the Turkey. To Män′äbŭsh the Turkey gave the red color from his neck, that the mitä′ᵛ might paint themselves, and from his tail the bars, which signify days, that there might be a division of time when the mitä′ᵛ might dance. 'These,' said the Turkey to Mä′näbŭsh, 'I give to you.' Mä′näbŭsh was greatly pleased at this assistance, and thanked the Turkey, as he had the other ma′nidos. Then came Kŭkŭ′kŭŭ′, the Great Owl, who said to Mä′näbŭsh, 'I shall come and sit by the burial place of the dead, to see that their resting place is not disturbed.' Then Wâ′kŭ, the Fox, came also to Mä′näbŭsh, saying, 'My brother, I also will make you a gift—my voice; then those who have lost their friend may always be able to cry in lamentation.' Mä′näbŭsh then spoke to the ma′nidos who had come from the east, and again thanked them for their aid in giving strength to the Mitä′wit.

"From the south then came Mikēk′, the Otter, who said to Mä′näbŭsh, 'My brother, I come to give you the konä′pamik; you will find it on a rock in the waters of the lake; there you will find it and

give it to your mitä′ᵛ brothers.' Then Kē′so, the Sun, came from the south and said, 'I too, my brother, will appear above you when you all gather in the mitä′wikŏ′mik, and as I go westward you will see my path, which you will, in time, follow.'

"From the west came the Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭᵛ, the Thunderers; A'sa′-nikaq′ki, the Small Eagle; Ki′tshĕ waqdōse, the Eagle; Wabaq′kĕ and Pinäsh′iu, the Bald-eagle; Mäqkwa′naně′ŭᵛ, the Hawk, and Pĕpo′nĕnĕ′, another Eagle. They all approached Mä′näbŭsh, and as they came the sky became dark with clouds. 'This, Mä′näbŭsh, we give to you to make a covering to one side of your mitä′wikŏ′mik.' Mä′näbŭsh thanked the Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭᵛ for their help, and we have today the shelter granted to our uncle for the mitä′wikŏ′mik.

"Then from the sky was heard the sound of voices. Two old men were heard to speak about the gifts of Mä′näbŭsh, and one said to him, 'Mä′näbŭsh, we will put some stones near your mitä′wikŏ′mik which shall be heated in the fire; we also give you water to pour on the stones when they are heated. This you will do before you dance in the mitä′wikŏ′mik. Carry this news to your people that they may all hear of it and know how to prepare themselves when they wish to dance.' We all use the hot stones and pour water upon them when we have the ceremony of the Mitä′wit.

"The North Wind then came to the mitä′wikŏ′mik and said, 'Mä′näbŭsh, and all of you ma′nidos have contributed for the welfare of the people the gifts which you possess, but I will grant you one which will surpass them all; I will give them the North Wind so that sickness will not affect them.' Then Mä′näbŭsh said, 'I thank you all for these gifts with which you have endowed me and my brother. I am grateful to the ma′nidos from the east, the south, the west, and the north.'

"The ma′nidos then returned to the respective directions whence they had come."

Again there came a tedious pause in the proceedings when Shō′min had ended his chant, and while the candidate and his companions returned to their respective seats the medicine men smoked and meditated. In time the drum was pushed along to Shu′nien at the right hand, whose turn now came to chant; and while he began to tap the drum, his companions began to shake their rattles as the candidate and his followers again presented themselves for further instruction. The translation of Shu′nien's chant is as follows:

"When Mä′näbŭsh had built the mitä′wikŏ′mik as Mashä′ Ma′nido directed, he found his brothers without the plants and medicines necessary for their comfort and health.

"Then Mä′näbŭsh said to his grandmother, 'Grandmother, make me a large bag;' to which she replied by asking, 'What do you want with a bag, Mä′näbŭsh?' He then said, 'I want to call together the Inä′-mäqkĭ′ŭᵛ and ask them for their assistance in providing us and my uncles with hunting medicines, and medicines with which they may

be able to cure the diseases with which they are afflicted.' She then made the bag as Mä′näbŭsh had requested, and handed it to him, saying, 'Here, Mä′näbŭsh, is your bag,' whereupon he took it, and laying it on the ground so that he could open the top, he spoke to the Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭᵛ, through the bag, 'My friends, come to me and give me your aid; let plants and roots grow beneath the surface, and also upon it, that I may be able to prepare medicines. The Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭᵛ came together from all directions, some from beneath the earth, and others from various parts of the sky. They granted the request made by Mä′näbŭsh, and then he called out to the four good mysteries in the sky above him to aid him by granting him their favor. The good mysteries gave him instructions how to fast that he might dream of his ma′nido, who would always be his servant and guardian, and also told him to take the black ashes from the fire wherewith he could blacken his face when he fasted.

"Then he also received from the good mysteries two large drums, one of them to be used in making medicine for good purposes, the other to be employed when he wanted to possess himself of the power for doing harm to his enemies.

"Then the good mysteries gave him the tshi′saqkan, the wigwam built with four posts and wrapped with bark, in which he could fast and dream, so as to enable him to see at any distance where game was to be found, and where his enemies were in hiding.

"Then the good mysteries gave him the small flat rattle, that he might invoke the good ma′nidos when he required their assistance, or when he was fasting and dreaming.

"The good mysteries then instructed him how to make the hunting medicines and also those used to heal the sick. There were to be many varieties of medicines. The sturgeon scale and red medicine were to be used for hunting bear; another substance was good to carry when hunting deer, while another kind was to be used to catch beaver. Mä′näbŭsh was told that, when using the beaver medicine, he was to cut two short sticks, each as long as a finger, and to lay one over the other like a cross, putting the medicine on the sticks where they crossed. This was then to be put in the trap, so that beavers would smell it and come to the place where the trap was set. A beaver would then hunt for the medicine and put his paw into the trap to take it out, when his paw would be caught.

"When Mä′näbŭsh had been instructed in the preparation of these medicines and the manner in which they were to be used, he gathered together the gifts to keep for his uncles and their descendants upon the earth."

By the time the above chant had been completed it was approaching midnight and the greater number of the members of the society retired to their own tents, which had been erected near by. Those, however, who had been selected to assist remained until later in the night.

Smoking proceeded for quite a while, and those of the medicine men who had thus far officiated lay down in their places and slept. The usher carried the drum toward the western end of the inclosure and placed it in front of the first of the second group of four medicine men, whose companion also received the rattles to accompany the singer. The drumming began very gently, but as the singer continued he began to show more and more emotion and vehemence in his actions. His song related to his own personal knowledge of remedies, which knowledge had been obtained by fasting and dreaming, and the purpose of it was that he might thus induce some of his hearers to buy the secrets. Each medicine man claims to be the owner of certain remedies, each of which must be paid for if instruction relating thereto be wanted. In like manner the second medicine man in due time chanted the properties of his specialty, and so also did the third and fourth. During some of the chants the candidate would be called forward, especially at such passages as related to any participation in originally procuring remedies by or through the mediation of Mä′näbŭsh.

The second group of medicine men thus continued to chant, in an interrupted manner, throughout the greater portion of the night. Just before dawn everyone present seemed tired out, not from bodily exertion merely, but from the effect of the dull thuds of the drum beats, which seemed to give one's ears and head a most distressing sensation. Although most of the medicine men had lain down and were now apparently only shapeless masses of color and beads, yet, on account of keeping up appearances, some one would, at odd intervals, begin an intermittent soliloquy relating to Mä′näbŭsh and his good services to the Indian, or more frequently to some special charmed remedy owned by the speaker, or some conspicuous service or exploit performed by him.

As approaching daylight was beginning to show by the roseate tints along the eastern horizon, the entire camp of visitors were wrapped in slumber. A general suspension of work was apparent, and nothing further was done within the inclosure until after breakfast, although some of the medicine men were always present and appeared to be just sufficiently occupied to cause the impression that there was constant labor.

Shortly after sunrise the greater number of the medicine men left the inclosure to get something to eat, but the women brought food to those left on duty. There was no haste manifested, and by about 8 oclock the usher and an assistant returned to put things in order for the ceremonies of the new day. Mats were rearranged and the floor cleared of charred wood and ashes of the preceding night's fires, and the lower ends of the upper row of mats covering the structure were propped up with short sticks for the purpose of affording ventilation, and also to give the friends of the members and visitors to the ceremony an opportunity of watching the proceedings. When breakfast was over the officiating priests returned and took their former seats. The can-

didate also returned and was again placed on the left of the first group of officiating medicine men, and almost every one of the male members joined in a ceremonial smoke. In a short time the left-hand member of the first group of four, Nio′pet, began to tap the drum, while the other accompanied him with rattles, and as the candidate approached, surrounded by about a dozen men and women, Nio′pet began to chant:

"My grandson will now be placed on the right path; he shall learn to feel the strength of the Mitä′wit and to be able to survive all danger. He shall be taught how to obtain life from Mashä′ Ma′nido. It is a pleasure to see the goods and other presents before us; it shows good will toward the Mitä′wit and reverence for the teachings of our forefathers—the whiteheads. Always live up to what you are taught."

During this recitative chant the candidate moved his body slightly up and down by gently flexing and extending the limbs, while those surrounding him indulged in more active movement, dancing slowly a little toward the right and back again to the left by hopping on both feet just sufficiently to clear the ground. The movement of the figures and the sound of footfalls was in unison with the drumming. At the conclusion of the dance all returned to their seats, while the drum was pushed to the next singer, Ni′aqtawâ′pomi.

After a pause the drumming continued, the candidate again presented himself with his friends, and the chant was renewed. The recitations continued in this manner, differing from the preceding night's program only in individual variations in the songs relating to the Mitä′wit, its origin, benefits, and success. At intervals also one or another of the chief singers would again allude to the death of Na′qpote, the brother of Mä′näbŭsh, and his abode where he awaits the arrival of the shades of those who die. In this manner the mortuary services, occupying the interval of time from the beginning of the ceremonies until about 1 oclock, were conducted. The belief was expressed that Na′qpote had permitted the shade of the dead medicine man to return to the medicine lodge, there to abide from the commencement of the ceremony until its conclusion, and thus to behold the fulfillment of the promise made at his own grave.

At midday the medicine women brought food to the singers and their assistants in the ceremony, while many of the other medicine men left the inclosure and took dinner with their families, who were encamped near by. An hour or more was consumed in this way, and when all returned to their seats within the inclosure, ceremonial smoking was indulged in for a short time. During this interval the usher called upon someone to assist him in removing the blankets and mats from the horizontal pole from which they were suspended, and to carry them to the western end of the inclosed area, where the candidate was to kneel. Here they were spread out, one overlapping the other toward the center of the inclosure, so as to form a covered space of a yard in width and 3 or 4 yards in length.

When the ceremony of smoking was concluded, the lowest in rank of the first group of four medicine men, Nio′pet, began to tap the drum, whereupon his three companions took up the rattles; all four now arose, and as they began to drum and chant the candidate fell in behind the medicine men. The procession then moved slowly along the right or northern side of the inclosure, followed by the second group of four medicine men, and finally, also, by the third set, who had been seated on the southern side. The singer chanted a song, of which the following is a translation:

"The time has now come for us to teach our brother how to secure life. He has been waiting a long time. He has been liberal in giving presents to the Mitä′wit, as Mä′näbŭsh taught us to do."

These words were repeated in short sentences, which prolonged the song considerably. At each end of a phrase were added a few prolonged musical tones, meaningless but effective, which also added to the apparent waste of time. This, however, is purposely done to emphasize the importance of the ceremonial.

By the time the song was ended the procession had gone round the inclosure four times. All then took seats, when the drum was passed to the second group of four medicine men, one of whom, remaining seated, then drummed and chanted, being accompanied by rattles in the hands of his associates. The candidate then approached the singer and was surrounded by his friends to the number of twelve or fifteen. The words of the song related to the duty of a medicine man in always following the proper course in life, not to diverge from what is right, and never under any circumstance to discard the teachings of the Mitä′wit.

Again the candidate and his friends returned to their seats, while the drum was carried by the usher to the third group of medicine men, seated on the opposite or southern side of the inclosure. They, in regular order, used the drum and chanted, reciting personal exploits in shamanistic practices and boasting of their powers in exorcism, and the value and efficacy of plants employed by them in certain specified affections. At each chant the candidate approached the singer and stood reverentially before him until the song was ended, when he returned to his seat. Finally, the drum was returned to the chief group of medicine men, the chief officiating one then announcing that the coming portion of the ceremonies would be of an especially important and sacred character, and at the same time reminded his associates that care and deliberation should be exercised in the performance of their duties and services. As other announcements of interest to the members may be made at this stage of the ceremonies, Shu′nien informed the late arrivals of the purpose of my admission into the society. He also stated that several well-known members who were jugglers, or tshi′saqka, would perform tricks to impress the audience with the powers possessed by these men.

SHAMAN'S TRICK WITH SNAKE BAG

During a short interval of smoking, in which most of the medicine men participated, one man retired to arrange for the exhibition of his trick. In a few moments he returned to the western entrance of the inclosure, and stood there for an instant until a confederate could approach him to assist. The performer held before him a red flannel bag which measured about 20 inches in width by 30 in depth. Along the top of the opening of the bag were attached fluffy white feathers. The upper corners were held by the hands so as to spread out the bag like a single piece of goods. Then taking the bag between his hands, he rolled it into a ball to show the beholders that there was nothing within. Again taking one of the upper corners in each hand, the performer held the bag once more before the face like a banner, and as he began to dance slowly forward along the southern side of the inclosure, his confederate preceded him, dancing backward, chanting with the performer, and making various gestures before the bag. Presently two snake heads began to emerge from the top of the bag, and gradually became more and more exposed to view, until their bodies protruded perhaps 6 inches (see plate VII). Slowly the heads retreated into the bag, until the performers had turned at the eastern end of the inclosure and were approaching the group of chief medicine men, when the singing increased in tone and time, and the snakes again emerged, only to disappear in the bag by the time the performers arrived at the point of starting. The principal performer then doubled up the bag, put it in the breast of his coat and left the wikŏ′mik, while the assistant returned to his seat.

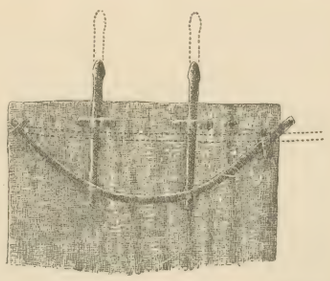


FIG. 14—Inside construction of snake-bag.

That the trick had made a profound impression on the audience was apparent, and silence reigned everywhere. Although seemingly complex, the whole construction of the interior of the bag became apparent as the performer reached a position between myself and the sunlight. The bag was not fully stretched out, and between the corners held by the thumb and forefinger of each hand was visible a strip of cloth or tape, to the middle of which were attached the ends of the stuffed snakes. These ends were only about 8 inches long, and as the tension upon the tape was lessened, the weight of the snakes' bodies forced them down into the bag. The heads and necks emerged through loops, made of pieces of calico, just large enough for those members to slide through easily (figure 14).

Another medicine man then came forward to exhibit his skill in jugglery. His trick consisted in making some small wooden figures of human beings to dance. Sitting flat on the ground in the middle of the inclosure, he stretched out his legs, when an assistant threw across

them a woolen blanket. Two small wooden effigies, about 4 inches in height, were then placed first in a standing posture, but subsequently extended on their backs, at the side of the blanket opposite the performer (figure 15). After a little manipulation, as if adjusting the blanket and figures, the assistant seated himself on the side opposite to and facing the operator. Both then began to chant, very softly at first, but soon reaching higher and shriller notes, when, in accordance with the rhythm, the figures began to move, very slightly at first, but gradually apparently rising higher and higher until they were almost vertical, thus seeming to dance to the song of the juggler and his confederate. It was pretended that the operator had sufficient power to cause the figures to dance, the motion being caused by the operator's

FIG. 15—Dance of wooden effigies.

ma′nido, or tutelary daimon, whose aid could be invoked after proper fasting and chanting. This performance lasted but a very short time, and as the song was concluded, the assistant quickly arose, grasped the figures, and put them into a small flannel bag, while the operator carefully folded up his blanket and returned to his seat.

It was observed that the movement of the figures was produced by threads connecting them with the operator's great toe. During the adjustment of the blanket and figures by the assistant the principal reached beneath the blanket and removed his moccasins so as to be able to utilize the threads already attached to them. The other end was secured to the wooden figures by means of a small ball of spruce gum.

The chief event of the afternoon's performances, however, was yet to come. Kimē′ân, a juggler of renown, was to do a very wonderful

trick; in fact, he pretended to make a bear's claw stand upright on the polished surface of a small mirror, and then to cause the claw to hang to the same surface while the mirror was turned toward the earth. Perfect silence prevailed in the medicine wikŏ′mik as Kimē′ân arose and approached the eastern middle of the inclosure. Taking from his medicine bag a small, round, old-fashioned pocket mirror, he held it up so as to give everyone an opportunity of satisfying himself that there was nothing mysterious apparent; turning around in every direction, he then produced the claw of a black bear, which he grasped about the middle and held up toward the audience. Then, while slowly and softly chanting, he gradually brought the mirror, which was in his left hand, to a level before him, then slowly brought the claw down to the surface of the mirror, stood it up on end and left it there, while he continued to turn in every direction, so as to exhibit the trick, at the same time pretending to take great care lest the claw fall over. In a few moments he stooped a little lower, and with a quick movement of the left hand turned the glass so as to place the claw in the position of being suspended from the glass, without any visible means of support or attachment to the mirror (figure 16). Turning round and round, carefully watching the magic claw, he quickly swung his hand over on its back so as again to bring the mirror surface uppermost. The claw was then removed and the glass put back into the medicine bag, but not quickly enough to deceive at least one of the spectators, for the spot of resin which had held the claw was observed. The resin had previously been placed on the end of the claw, where its presence was visible only under careful inspection.

This trick had great effect on the audience, and gave additional notoriety of the powers of the old juggler.

After the various medicine men had participated again in a ceremonial smoke (partly to allow sufficient time to regain order within the wikŏ′mik), the three sets of shamans, twelve in number, arose, and as the senior quartette began to move westward, along the northern side, the three lower in rank took the drum and rattles and began to chant. As these shamans reached the place occupied by the second group of shamans, they too arose and followed the leaders, as did also the third set of four on the south, until the entire set of shamans were slowly and impressively marching around the interior of the inclosure, chanting in unison a song of but few notes, though often repeated so as to prolong it as much as possible.

The musicians continued to march until they had made the circuit of the inclosure four times, when they retired to their seats, as did also the medicine men from the southern side, leaving only the second group of four medicine men to continue the performance, which now assumed a serious character, and which was most important of all to the candidate, as he was about to receive the new life. The four medicine men now began to move more rapidly toward the candidate, dancing along

by hopping twice on one foot and then on the other, each at the same time grasping his medicine bag as if holding a gun and making a charge upon an enemy. At the same time and in rhythm with the movement they repeated the word "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," as they came along from the eastern end toward the candidate until just before his body, when each breathed on and thrust forward his medicine bag, with the loud excla-

FIG. 16—Kimē'ân's trick with claw and mirror.

mation "Hŏ!" This utterance is made with a strong, quick sound, as in imitation of the cry of a startled animal, and is intended to typify the approach of the shade of the bear, as it is said to have approached the candidate when Mä'näbŭsh himself conducted the first ceremonies at the command of Kishä' Ma'nido.

As the first medicine man thrust his bag toward the candidate and passed by, he gradually fell to the rear of the file, allowing the second

CANDIDATE AFTER BEING SHOT

to become the first, when he also in similar manner pretended to shoot at the candidate's breast. At this gesture of shooting, the candidate's body quivered, the motion being, in part, transmitted by Shu′nien, who sat behind and prompted him. The four came around for the third time, making the same curious noise, and when the third medicine man came to the front, breathed on his bag, and pretended to shoot the candidate, the latter's body quivered still more violently than before. As the medicine men passed around for the fourth time, the one to lead the last time, in like manner, fell to the rear, permitting the fourth of the party to become the leader. Thus the dancers advanced, uttering their curious cry of "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," louder and louder until, when a short distance before the candidate, the medicine man breathed on his bag and thrust it forward, and as he did so the candidate fell forward on his face, apparently lifeless. The magic influence contained in the medicine bag had been shot into the candidate's heart, and, being too powerful for him to bear, he became unconscious. It is the belief that if the small shell, called the konä′pamik (*Cypræ moneta*), the sacred emblem of the Mitä′wit, be swallowed by the medicine man, all he is obliged to do to transfer his power to the medicine bag is to breathe on it, the mysterious power and influence being then transmitted by merely thrusting the bag toward the desired object or person. Figure 17 represents the shell used as the konä′pamik.

FIG. 17—Konä′pamik or emblem of the society.

As the candidate fell forward on the ground, Shu′nien arose and joined his associates, and all gathered around the prostrate body. The other assisting medicine men also came forward, and the whole number then formed two files, one on each side of the candidate, and laid on his back their medicine bags (plate VIII). Shu′nien then chanted a few phrases, but repeated them a number of times to heighten the effect on the feelings of the audience. The following is a translation of the original phraseology:

"Thus is shown to you the strength of the Mitä′wit; the konä′pamik was given to Mä′näbŭsh by Mä′ätshawai′edŏk (the Great Mystery), and we have it from Mä′näbŭsh. Our children will feel its influence, and they shall receive life. Our brother, lying before us, shall have life put into his heart. We will now restore him, and instruct him how to use his strength."

Then, as the chant ended, the drum which had been used by Shu′nien was removed by the usher, and each of the medicine men stooped to get his sack. Shu′nien then placed his hand under the candidate's forehead and raised it slightly from the ground, when a konä′pamik dropped from the candidate's mouth. After this he slowly recovered consciousness, arose, and taking the shell in his own hand he placed it

in the palm of his right hand, and while in a stooping posture, with his hand extended, he danced around in various directions toward the right and toward the left, exhibiting the newly found object. He danced very gently, hopping twice on one foot and then on the other; grunting the sound "Hŏ, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ," in imitation of the mystery Bear. While the candidate was thus performing in the western end of the inclosure, the other officiating medicine men spat on their own palms containing their individual konä'pamik, while dancing and grunting in a manner similar to the candidate; they, however, went entirely around the interior, showing to the audience their shells. As they again congregated in the western end, at the place of the mat, each quickly put his hand up to his mouth and pretended to swallow the konä'pamik. The effect seemed instantaneous, as each of the medicine men appeared to be taken with partial, and in some instances complete, unconsciousness, while the new member fell to the ground again apparently dead. The medicine men pretended to recover in a few moments, whereas it seemed several minutes ere the candidate resumed consciousness without the assistance of his elders.

As each of the medicine men had now apparently swallowed his shell, he would only have to breathe on the sack and thrust it toward anyone to make its power felt. They believe that should a thrust be made toward one not a mitä'ᵛ the result would, without doubt, be fatal, as the shell thus shot into a human body might not be easily removed, and if removed the person thus making a careless shot would, in turn, have to be shot by the chief officiating medicine man present.

The otter skin medicine bag was now presented to the candidate, and for this purpose he placed himself before the priests, who chanted to him respecting his new state (see plate IX), and as he was expected to try his newly acquired power, he began to make the circuit of the interior of the inclosure, and as he passed along on each side he would occasionally thrust his medicine bag toward someone, who would moan and sink to the ground, but would soon recover. As this was continued, each person shot at was then compelled to arise, follow the candidate, and in like manner shoot one or more persons present. The consequence was that one-half of the entire number of persons present were constantly moving in a sort of hypocyclid, though a diagrammatic scheme would show both inner and outer figures to be oblong, as in figure 18. The hollow squares in this diagram represent persons standing with their backs toward the wall, while the black spots signify the moving ones going forward in the direction of the arrows; and as each comes to his respective standing place he remains, and the procession thus progressing constantly leaves the standing ones at the rear to fall in and continue to march until their turn comes again to stand while the remaining shamans pass by.

The medicine women were especially interested during this part of the ceremony, as it afforded them the only opportunity at which they

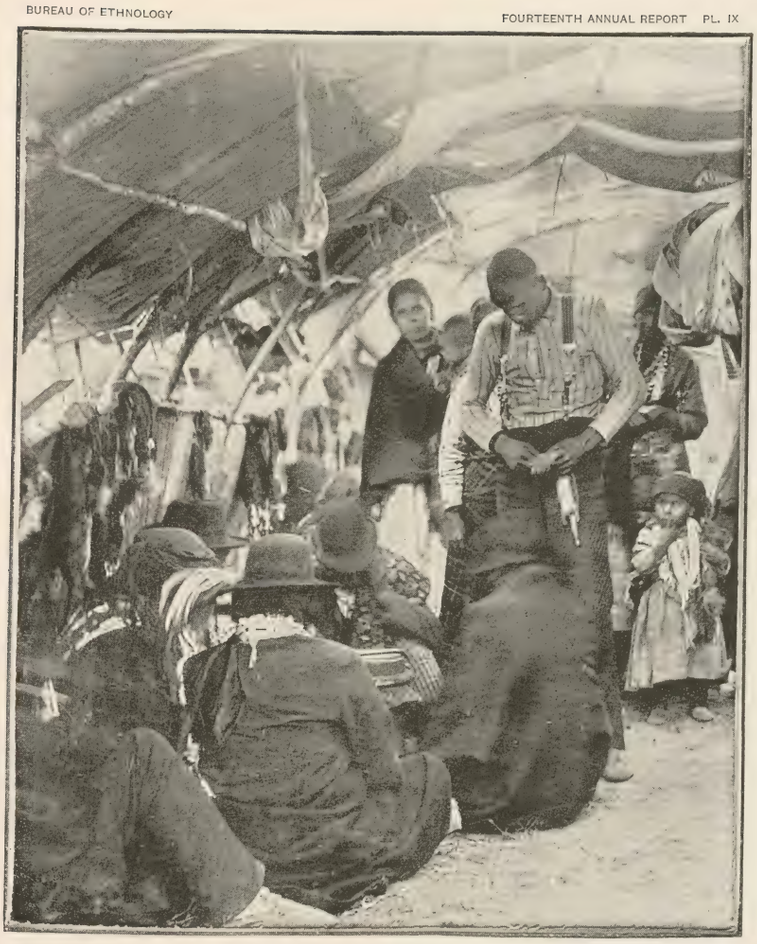


PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

CANDIDATE RECEIVING MEDICINE BAG

could appear as active participants. This peculiar movement of walking around the interior, shooting at one another with the medicine bag, and pretending in turn to have been wounded by the konä′pamik, continued for over an hour; suddenly there was an audible wailing sound, as of some one mortally wounded, which caused all but the chief officiating mitä′ᵛ, Shu′nien, and a companion to retire quickly to their seats. It was then discovered that a little girl, who had accompanied her mother to the ceremony, had been accidentally hit by a stray konä′pamik, shot from a medicine bag by a careless member. The difficulty that now presented itself was to discover the culprit, and as this could be learned only through an apparently difficult procedure by one whose "medicine" was stronger than that of anyone else, it was Shu′nien's duty, as chief medicine man pro tempore, to make the discovery. He called to his side his three chief assistants, with whom he seemed in animated, though serious, consultation. Presently one of them left the structure by the eastern doorway, the others becoming seated. There was a period of profound silence until the messenger returned with a finely embroidered medicine sack, which he delivered to Shu′nien, who

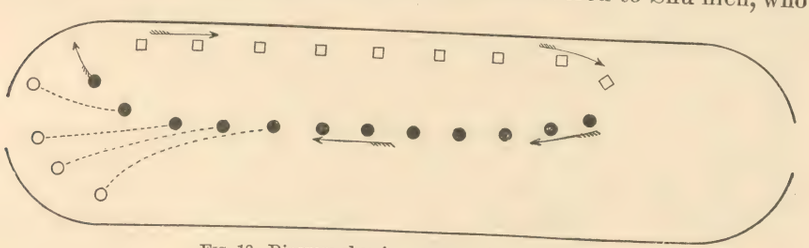


FIG. 18—Diagram showing movement of mitä′wok.

now approached the eastern door, followed by his three assistants, where he began a curious movement, consisting in passing the top, or head, end of the sack up and down and back and forth along each pole and mat of the wigwam, at the same time rapidly uttering the syllables, hŏ, hŏ, hŏ. In this he was joined by his companions, who, together with Shu′nien, crouched forward and kept up a rapid dancing step of hopping alternately on each foot; all of them, furthermore, appeared to watch intently the proceedings, as if to discover the hidden konä′pamik and restore it to its proper place.

This curious, rapid search, accompanied by the grunting sounds, as the medicine bag was made to pass along every possible portion of the structure, continued all along the northern side, around the western entrance, and on the return along the southern side, when suddenly Shu′nien stopped his movement, gazed at his medicine sack, which appeared to be attracted toward a woman who was seated a little apart from the rest, and who was closely enveloped in a shawl. As Shu′nien approached her she threw back the shawl and exposed to view her little girl, who had been wounded. In the child's lap lay the konä′pamik, which the chief seemed eager to secure. Taking it upon the palm of

his right hand, extended forward and about two feet from the ground, he danced rapidly forward and around the interior, closely followed by his companions, all of whom uttered, in rapid succession, the word hŏ, calling attention to the discovery. When the party again reached the place where the shell was found, Shu'nien placed his hand quickly to his mouth, apparently swallowing the shell, when he fell to the ground. He recovered in a moment, blew his breath upon the medicine sack so as to charge it with the mysterious influence and power contained in the shell now within his body, when he started forward aiming at each member present to ascertain who it was that had caused so much trouble and anxiety. The victim was a woman, her presence being discovered by the medicine sack being forcibly repelled within the hands of the experimenter. Thereupon he stopped before her, took deliberate aim and pretended to shoot her when she fell to one side apparently dead. The four medicine men then returned to their proper stations, while the usher carried the medicine bag used in the search to its owner.

The time had now arrived to distribute the presents, and the usher and an assistant removed the blankets, pieces of calico, mats, kettles, and other articles from the pole from which they had been suspended, and carried them before the second group of officiating medicine men. The leader of these gave one blanket each to the chief officiating members, and to his own associates the pieces of calico, but instead of retaining them they presented these goods to the medicine women who had been engaged in the erection of the mitä'wikŏ'mik, the preparation of the feast, and in attendance on the candidate during the intervals at which he stood before the chiefs to listen to the chants. The kettles, mats, and a few other unimportant articles were divided among the second and third groups of medicine men.

By this time the day was almost spent, when the chief, Shu'nien, and the candidate—as mourner—started for the eastern door followed by two mitä'wok carrying the drum and chanting, who in turn were followed by all present, taking up a line of march to the grave, where they formed a circle. After considerable drumming, accompanied by a slight attempt at dancing, the procession returned and entered the inclosure at the western door. After all had taken their former positions, the drumming ceased, the chief announced the ceremonies ended, and all started for their respective homes.

Notes on the Ceremonies

Many others of the members present at the Mitä'wit ceremonies were credited with the power of performing tricks of various kinds, but only three, already referred to, could be induced to exhibit their skill. The Indians invariably claim that such tricks can be performed only through the intervention of ma'nidos, who must first be invoked by fasting and the making of gifts. The sweat bath must also be taken by these

prestigiators previous to such attempts at invocation. The ability of a medicine man to excel another in juggling is believed to be due to the fact that his "medicine" is the stronger. By the expression "medicine" is usually meant the power reputed to be possessed by a man's fetish or charmed object adopted after his first fast to typify his tutelary daimon, or so-called guardian mystery.

The Menomini Indians relate some curious tales of wonderful feats performed by medicine men and medicine women in the olden time, when greater faith was placed in the ma'nidos, and when people had the power to obtain "stronger medicine." One exploit referred to by the Menomini was later on also described by an Ottawa chief, as the incident occurred at a meeting of the Ottawa medicine society in Michigan, at which a number of medicine men from other tribes were present, because the Honorable Lewis Cass had also intimated his desire to witness the dance. The ceremonial had progressed with unflagging interest until toward the close of the day, and as Mr Cass is said to have observed an old Ojibwa medicine woman, who had come up at each dance to actively participate in the exercises, he asked someone near by why this old woman took such an active part, as she appeared rather uninteresting and had nothing to say, and apparently nothing to do except to shake her snake-skin medicine bag. The woman heard the remark and became offended, because she was known among her own people as a very powerful mitä'kwe. In an instant she threw the dry snake-skin bag toward the offender, when the skin became a live serpent which rushed at Mr Cass and ran him out of the crowd. The snake then returned to the medicine woman, who picked it up, when it appeared again as a dry skin bag.

In the chants rendered by the four chief mitä'wok, relating to the Indian genesis of mankind, the words are intoned in a recitative style, though rapidly and duplicated, as before mentioned. In addition to this there are but two tones employed, the initial two or three syllables being uttered in the first note, while the remainder of the phrase ends in a tone a third lower. This method is followed by each one throughout his chant. When the service is changed from the mortuary observance of the first evening and the following night to the preparatory course on the next morning, the music of the chants is entirely changed. The scope of the tones employed is limited, embracing as a rule but five, while the final syllable of each phrase is prolonged into a vowel sound, usually "hŏ" or "he," (which is merely interjectional and without definite meaning); though, unlike the songs of the Ojibwa, there is a pronounced quaver resulting from joining to the note a half-note lower, thus giving one the impression that the note was chanted in a tremulous manner.

It has been observed, too, at some of the meetings of the society, that certain mitä'wok, to prolong the ceremony, will invent a phrase to suit a circumstance that may occur, and as the musical notation is so simple

he will be joined, after two or three repetitions, by his assistants as readily as if they had for a long time been familiar with it. This

FIG. 18*a*—Mnemonic songs.

would scarcely be possible in the Ojibwa ceremonies as practiced in northern Minnesota.

The Menomini songs of the Ojibwa shamans have been carefully presented in my before-mentioned exposition of the cult society of

that tribe. The pictographic system was there explained, and numerous examples given to show in what manner the shaman is enabled to chant his medicine songs, the ritualistic language of the order of ceremonies, or to recount his exploits and deeds of valor. The Menomini admit that in former years they were more familiar with the recording upon birch bark of mnemonic characters, but that now but few such scrolls exist among them. After a careful search among the Menomini tribe, I met with but few examples of birch bark bearing rude outlines of human and geometric figures, which indicated clearly that they had no allusion to any portion of the medicine society. The only noteworthy instance met with is an illustration of a birch-bark record published by Mr J. G. Kohl.[1] This record was copied by him in the lodge of an Indian who had arrived from northern Wisconsin. Upon inquiry, the Indian informed him that the record had been received by him from his brother-in-law, "an Indien de la folle avoine," or a "Menomeenee," who had given it to him only on his deathbed. The Indian furthermore told Mr Kohl that his brother-in-law had spent much time to learn it all, and that he had studied and practiced it for months.

The record, of which figure 18*a* is a reproduction, although said to have been the property of a Menomini, has every indication of Ojibwa art, and if not made by that tribe, the influence of Ojibwa art as illustrated in the Mide' rites was strongly impressed upon the possible Menomini artist, he apparently having obtained his instruction and initiation among the Ojibwa at Lac Court Oreille, or Lac Flambeau, between all of which regions much intercourse between these two tribes is conducted. Kohl says:

> When I asked him [the Menomini informant] if he could teach me some of his knowledge, and explain the leading features, he replied that "it was very difficult to learn." I assured him that I should be satisfied if I could only reach so far with my weak understanding as to see how difficult it was, and why it was so; and he then condescended to give me a few explanations. I will repeat them exactly as I received them from him, and only interrupt them here and there with a parenthesis and marks of interrogation:
>
> "The crooked sign at *a* is the sign that the song commences here.
>
> "The bear (at *b*) begins the dance: 'Il marche là pour signe de la vie.'
>
> "At *c* stand a boy and his teacher (father, uncle, or grandfather), who instructs him. You see the heart of the good teacher, and the stream of discourse which flows in a serpentine line from his heart through his mouth to the head of the boy, as well as the boy's answers, which flow back from his mouth to the heart of his teacher.
>
> "*d* is the circle of the earth, with the sacred shells in it. (?)
>
> "*e*, repetition of the couple, the teacher and boy." (The scholar appears to have made considerable progress, for his head is inclosed in the "circle of heaven," as if in a nimbus of sanctity.)
>
> While pointing to the bear and his traces (at *f*), my Indian gave me the advice: "On doit suivre l'ours par ses pistes." I can not say whether this was a material part of the song, or merely the insertion of a good and useful Indian proverb.
>
> "*g* is a sign to pause. Up to that the song goes slowly. Afterwards a quicker time begins.

[1] Kitchi-Gami, Wanderings round Lake Superior, London, 1860, p. 292.

"At *h* a boy stands, watching a flying bird.

"*i*, two men, who expel shells from their mouths, as they are in the habit of doing at their ceremonies.

"*k*, the Midé priest, with his medicine-bag on his arm.

"*l* is not, as might be supposed, a flying eagle, but the medicine-bag of the man *k*." . . .

"*m*, pause, or concluding bar of a division of the song. At this bar dancing and beating the drum commence.

"At *n* a new division commences." (It represents a couple exerting themselves to expel a shell.)

"At *o* a man is walking, not, as might be supposed, on a many-branched tree (*p*), but on the path of the life and the law." . . . (This path, it will be seen, has many side paths. But over his head a bird (*q*) hovers, surrounded by a ring of small birds, like a cluster of stars. The man (*o*) appears to be looking up to this cluster as a reward or crown of victory.)

"Tibekana," the Indian said, "meant, in his language, 'the path of life.'" A portion of the word simply means, in the Ojibbeway, 'trail' or 'path.' And the whole means 'the way of the dead,' 'the path leading into paradise,' or 'the path of life.'

"*s*, the ring of heaven.

"The bear (*t*), who, by the way, is no bear, but a man in the form of a bear, is marching toward this ring. He is trying to reach the opening to it, 'le centre du monde,' or 'le trou de bonheur.'

"*u*, the priest of the temple, or medicine wigwam (*v*), who makes an oration at the end of this division. The speech is depicted by the undulating line, which goes down from his mouth to the roof of the temple.

"As a perfect conclusion of this part, there is a turn at eating and smoking, indicated by the pipe (*w*) and the dish (*x*).

1. "Great bar—grand pause. The main affair, the great ceremony of the reception of a new member into the order of the Midés, really terminates here.

"The man (at 2) is the new member just received. He emerges from the temple into the open air, with his powerful medicine-bag (3) in his hand. He tries its strength and consecration, and the animals, both bears and birds, appear to fly before him." (While blowing on them with his medicine-bag, he also seems to be snow-balling them with the sacred shell.)

Thus strengthened by magic arts, and initiated into the Midé order, he at length shoots (at 4) an arrow, and, like Max in the Freischütz, brings down a bird from the air. It falls at his feet (at 4). The Indian told me it was a kiniou (warrior-eagle).

"For this he is obliged to offer a dog, as a sacrifice to the Great Spirit (5).

6. "Pause, or concluding bar of this division." (The pictures that now follow are so fantastic, and my Indian's explanations were so fragmentary, that I must give up all attempt at any continuous description.)

At 7, instructions about the constantly recurring vomiting of shells seems to be again represented.

"At 8," I was told, "a song is represented between the sun (9) and the earth (10). The song," my Indian said, "must be sung exactly at mid-day, because the sun is then floating perpendicularly over the earth."

The quadrangle (at 11) is meant for a piece of cloth, such as the priests receive as a reward and payment after their exertions. I cannot say, though, why this piece of cloth again hangs between the sun and earth.

The priest (at 12) sings "Le voilà! le sacrifice, qui a été donné au grand-prêtre!"[1]

There are a number of statements in the preceding remarks that are not exactly in accordance with the teachings of the society, and the true

[1] Kohl, Kitchi-Gami, op. cit., pp. 292–296.

interpretation can be obtained only from the priests of the order, after one is regularly entitled to receive such information by initiation and the payment of fees, presents, and food.

The figures marked *c* are in the attitude of conversation, as above mentioned and as is indicated by the voice lines extending between the two persons indicated. Two similar characters at *i* are, according to the general system of pictographic interpretation of the Indians, conversing about the migis or konä′pamik, both voice lines centering on the same object.

The figure at *o* is at the beginning of the path of life, the first step of which is made in the mitä′wikŏ′mik, and the interpretation of which is explained with more or less clearness in the mitä′ᵛ recitative chant rendered by Shu′nien (see page 79).

Reference to the pipe (*w*) and dish (*x*) indicates the observance of ceremonial smoking, for upon the ring are noticed four spots at the cardinal points, the four directions in which smoke is puffed by those participating.

The new member, at 2, is said to be trying his powers as a mitä′ᵛ. The konä′pamik is shown between his face and his medicine bag, while the three oblong characters beneath the bear denote the footprints of that animal as he departs.

It is probable that the slight dissimilarities and inconsistencies which appear from year to year in the dramatic and ritualistic order of ceremonies of the Mitä′wit are attributable largely to the fact that no pictographic records or mnemonic songs are now employed. In consequence of this carelessness and disregard of an old custom, the newly elected member is enabled to familiarize himself with the traditional order of procedure only by close observation and by regular attendance at the recurring annual meetings. He has no mnemonic guide by means of which he can refresh his memory by instant reference to a bark record; neither are the members of the society in perfect accord in the general conduct of the ceremonies, since among the tribe under consideration no cosmogonic charts, such as exist among the northern Ojibwa, and of which three variants have been presented in connection with the subject of the cult society of the latter tribe,[1] are now known. It is quite apparent, therefore, that under such circumstances a gradual degeneration and abbreviation of the dramatic rendering of the ritual as well as of the original phraseology pertaining thereto is practically unavoidable and accounts to a greater or less extent for the changes observed and above referred to.

As before stated, the Menomini and Winnebago lived side by side for an indefinite period, and through constant intercourse, which thus became possible, the mitä′ᵛ ceremonies, as performed by these tribes, without doubt became very similar in detail. The analogous medicine ceremonial of the Winnebago Indians is described somewhat fully in a

[1] Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, for 1885–86, 1891, pp. 143–300.

report to Henry R. Schoolcraft by J. E. Fletcher, United States Indian subagent for that tribe in 1848, in the following words:

This feast is an ancient custom or ceremony; it is accompanied with dancing and is sometimes called the medicine dance. The members or communicants of this feast constitute a society having secrets known only to the initiated. . . .

They have no regular or stated times for holding this feast; and all the members do not attend at the same time, but only such as are invited by the master of the feast. Persons desirous of joining this society will, in some cases, use the most rigid economy for years, to enable them to lay up goods to pay the initiating fee. This fee is not fixed at any stipulated amount; those who join pay according to their ability. Sometimes goods to the amount of $200 and $300 are given by an individual. Goods given for this purpose generally consist of blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, wampum, and trinkets, and are given to the medicine men, who perform the ceremony of initiating the member. When one or more persons make application to join the society, preparations are made for a feast and dance, which is held in an arched lodge, or bower, constructed of poles, and covered with tent-cloth and other materials. The size of the bower is made to conform to the number of persons to be invited, and this number depends much on the ability of the person who makes the feast. The width of a bower is about 16 feet, the length varying from 10 to 75 yards. The members of the society sit on each side of the bower, the center being reserved for dancing. Candidates for admission into this society are required to fast three days previous to being initiated. At some period during this fast they are taken by the old medicine men to some secluded secret spot, and instructed in the doctrines and mysteries of the society; and it is said that the candidates are, during this fast, subjected to a severe sweating process, by covering them with blankets and steaming them with herbs. The truth of this saying is not here vouched for, but the appearance of the candidate, when brought forward to be initiated in public, corroborates it.

The public ceremony of initiation usually takes place about 11 o'clock a. m. The public exercises of dancing, singing, praying, and exhorting, which precede the initiations, commence the previous morning. Before the candidates are brought forward, the ground through the center of the bower is carpeted with blankets and broadcloth laid over the blankets. The candidates are then led forward and placed on their knees upon the carpet, near one end of the bower, and facing the opposite end. Some eight or ten medicine men then march in single file round the bower with their medical bags in their hands. Each time they perform the circuit they halt, and one of them makes a short address; this is repeated until all have spoken. They then form a circle and lay their medicine bags on the carpet before them; then they commence retching and making efforts to vomit, bending over until their heads come nearly in contact with their medicine bags, on which they vomit, or deposit from their mouth a small white sea-shell about the size of a bean; this they call the medicine stone and claim that it is carried in the stomach and vomited up on these occasions. These stones they put in the mouth of their medicine bags, and take their position at the end of the bower opposite to and facing the candidates. They then advance in line, as many abreast as there are candidates; holding their medicine bags before them with both hands, they dance forward, slowly at first, and uttering low, gutteral sounds as they approach the candidates, their step and voice increasing in energy, until with a violent "Ough!" they thrust their medicine bags at their breasts. Instantly, as if struck with an electric shock, the candidates fall prostrate on their faces, their limbs extended, their muscles rigid, and quivering in every fiber. Blankets are now thrown over them, and they are suffered to lie thus a few moments. As soon as they show signs of recovering from the shock, they are assisted to their feet and led forward. Medicine bags are then put in their hands and medicine stones in their mouths; they are now medicine men or women, as the

case may be, in full communion and fellowship. The new members, in company with the old, now go round the bower in single file, knocking members down promiscuously by thrusting their medicine bags at them (plate XXXI). After continuing this exercise for some time, refreshments are brought in, of which they all partake. Dog's flesh is always a component part of the dish served on these occasions. After partaking of the feast they generally continue the dance and other exercises for several hours. The drum and rattle are the musical instruments used at this feast. The most perfect order and decorum are observed throughout the entire ceremony. The members of this society are remarkably strict in their attendance at this feast. Nothing but sickness is admitted as an excuse for not complying with an invitation to attend. Members sometimes travel 50 miles, and even farther, to be present at a feast when invited.

The secret of the society is kept sacred. It is remarkable that neither want nor a thirst for whisky will tempt the members of this society to part with their medicine bags.

Whether these medicine men possess the secret of mesmerism or magnetic influence, or whether the whole system is a humbug and imposition, is difficult to determine. A careful observation of the ceremonies of this order for six years has been unable to detect the imposition, if there be one; and it is unreasonable to suppose that an imposition of this character could be practiced for centuries without detection. There is no doubt that the tribe generally believe that their medicine men possess great power.[1]

This ceremonial, which appears from all available evidence to have been originally an Algonquian production, seems to have made its impress upon the cult ceremonies of, or perhaps even to have been adopted by, other tribes. When Carver[2] met with the Naudowessies (Sioux), he "found that the nations to the westward of the Mississippi, and on the borders of Lake Superior" still continued the "use of the Pawwaw or Black dance," which partook of the character of the jugglers' performances, as he speaks of "the devil being raised in this dance by the Indians." He next refers to the society of the "Wakon-Kitchewah," or "Friendly Society of the Spirit," which is composed of persons of both sexes, but such only as are of exceptional character, and who receive the approbation of the whole body. His description is sufficiently intelligible to show that the ceremonial was that of the Algonquian medicine society, though it has been greatly perverted, as practiced even in former times by the Ojibwa and Menomini Indians. The assemblage occurred at about 12 oclock, when the sun was near the zenith, which they consider a good omen. The chiefs were dressed in their best apparel, in long robes, and painted. In the words of this author—

When the assembly was seated and silence proclaimed, one of the principal chiefs arose, and in a short but masterly speech informed his audience of the occasion of their meeting. He acquainted them that one of their young men wished to be admitted into their society, and taking him by the hand presented him to their view, asking them at the same time whether they had any objection to his becoming one of their community.

No objection being made, the young candidate was placed in the center and four of the chiefs took their stations close to him. After exhorting him by turns not to

[1] Schoolcraft, Inform. Ind. Tribes, pt. iii, Philadelphia, 1853, pp. 286–288, pl. xxxi.

[2] Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America, London, 1778, p. 270 et seq.

faint under the operation he was about to go through, but to behave like an Indian and a man, two of them took hold of his arms and caused him to kneel; another placed himself behind him so as to receive him when he fell, and the last of the four retired to the distance of about 12 feet from him, exactly in front.

This disposition being completed, the chief that stood before the kneeling candidate began to speak to him with an audible voice. He told him that he himself was now agitated by the same spirit which he should in a few moments communicate to him; that it would strike him dead, but that he would instantly be restored again to life; to this he added that the communication, however terrifying, was a necessary introduction to the advantages enjoyed by the community into which he was on the point of being admitted.

As he spoke this he appeared to be greatly agitated, till at last his emotions became so violent that his countenance was distorted and his whole frame convulsed. At this juncture he threw something that appeared both in shape and color like a small bean at the young man, which seemed to enter his mouth, and he instantly fell as motionless as if he had been shot. The chief that was placed behind him received him in his arms, and by the assistance of the other two laid him on the ground to all appearance bereft of life.

Having done this, they immediately began to rub his limbs and to strike him on the back, giving him such blows as seemed more calculated to still the quick than to raise the dead. During these extraordinary applications the speaker continued his harangue, desiring the spectators not to be surprised, or to despair of the young man's recovery, as his present inanimate situation proceeded only from the forcible operation of the spirit on faculties that had hitherto been unused to inspirations of this kind.

The candidate lay several minutes without sense or motion, but at length, after receiving many violent blows, he began to discover some symptoms of returning life. These, however, were attended with strong convulsions and an apparent obstruction in his throat. But they were soon at an end, for having discharged from his mouth the bean, or whatever it was that the chief had thrown at him, but which on the closest inspection I had not perceived to enter it, he soon after appeared to be tolerably recovered. . . . He then also charged the newly elected brother to receive with humility and to follow with punctuality the advice of his elder brethren.

All those who had been admitted within the rails now formed a circle around their new brother, and, the music striking up, the great chief sung a song, celebrating as usual their martial exploits.

The only music they make use of is a drum, which is composed of a piece of a hollow tree curiously wrought, and over one end of which is strained a skin. This they beat with a single stick, and it gives a sound that is far from harmonious, but it just serves to beat time with. To this they sometimes add the chichicoe, and in their war dances they likewise use a kind of fife, formed of a reed, which makes a shrill harsh noise.

The whole assembly were by this time united, and the dance began. Several singers assisted the music with their voices, and the women joining in the chorus at certain intervals, they produce together a not unpleasing but savage harmony. This was one of the most agreeable entertainments I saw whilst I was among them.

I could not help laughing at a singular childish custom I observed they introduced into this dance, and which was the only one that had the least appearance of conjuration. Most of the members carried in their hands an otter or marten's skin, which, being taken whole from the body and filled with wind, on being compressed made a squeaking noise through a small piece of wood organically formed and fixed in its mouth. When this instrument was presented to the face of any of the company, and the sound emitted, the person receiving it instantly fell down to appear-

SPLITTING BARK

ance dead. Sometimes two or three, both men and women, were on the ground together; but immediately recovering, they rose up and joined again in the dance. This seemed to afford even the chiefs themselves infinite diversion.[1]

Ceremonies of 1891

During the summer of 1891, when the time arrived for holding a meeting of the Mitä′wit, I again visited Keshena. The promoter of the ceremony was Äkwinē′mi Mo′sihât, who desired to present as a candidate his nephew, son of his lately deceased sister. The usual arrangements respecting the sending of invitations and the designation of assistant mitä′wok were made; and two or three days before the holding of the ceremony Mo′sihât, accompanied by his wife and a few friends, went to the ground selected and prepared to erect the mitä′wikŏ′mik. The poles were cut and planted along the outline of the oblong structure projected, and both the vertical ones, which were arched across and secured to those on the opposite side, as well as the horizontal rods, were all tied securely together by means of strips of basswood bark. The interior bark only is used; it is made soft and pliable by soaking in boiling water, after which it is split into strands of a finger's width. This process of bark stripping is illustrated in plate x.

The mitä′wikŏ′mik was placed so as to extend north-and-south instead of east-and-west as directed according to the ritual. The reason given for this departure was that the place selected for the ceremony was the most favorable that could be found convenient to the grave; and as the grave of the deceased (in whose memory the feast as usual was given) was south of this spot it was necessary to have the traditional "western end" of the structure directed toward the grave. Thus the actual south was the ceremonial west. and was so treated and considered throughout the performance.

The chief mitä′wok at this ceremony were, for the first four, as follows: (1) Äkwinē′mi Mo′sihât; (2) Nio′pet; (3) Ni′aqtawâ′pomi; and (4) Naq′pote. The second set consisted of (1) Mai′akinĕ′u^{v}; (2) Kowâ′-pemĭ′u; (3) Shu′nien; and (4) Kimē′ân. All of the preceding were Menomini excepting Kowâ′pemĭ′u, who was a Potawatomi. Another set of four had been designated, but, as they were unavoidably prevented from reporting in time, substitutes were appointed for the first night's service. The recitations relating to the gifts, the tobacco, and the food prepared for the visitors, began as before, all in accordance with the injunctions of Mä′näbŭsh. The tradition relating to the birth of Mä′näbŭsh was somewhat different from that of the preceding year, as it was given by Shu′nien. Nio′pet chanted the following version of the genesis:

"There was an o_d woman, named Noko′m^{i}s, who had an unmarried daughter. The daughter gave birth to twin boys, one of whom died, as did also the mother.

[1] Op. cit., pp. 273–278.

"Noko′mis then wrapped the living child in soft, dry grass, laid it on the ground at the extreme end of her wigwam, and placed over it a wooden bowl to protect it. She then took the body of her daughter and the other grandchild and buried them at some distance from her habitation. When she returned to the wigwam, she sat down and mourned for four days; but at the expiration of the fourth day she heard a slight noise within the wigwam, which she soon found to come from the wooden bowl. The bowl moved, when she suddenly remembered that her living grandchild had been put under it. Upon removing the bowl she beheld a little white rabbit, with quivering ears, and on taking it up said: 'O, my dear little Rabbit, my Mä′näbŭsh!' She cherished it, and it grew. One day the Rabbit sat up on its haunches and hopped slowly across the floor of the wigwam, which caused the earth to tremble. Then the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, or evil underground beings, said to one another: 'What has happened? A great ma′nido is born somewhere,' and they immediately began to devise means whereby Mä′näbŭsh might be destroyed.

"When Mä′näbŭsh grew to be a young man he thought it time to prepare himself to assist his uncles (the people) to better their condition. He then said to Noko′mis, 'Grandmother, make me four sticks, that I may be able to sing.' She made for him four sticks, the pä′kähĕ′känäk′, with which he could beat time when singing. When he received these sticks he went away to an open flat place, where he built a long house or wigwam. He then began to sing: 'Ne′niki′anka, hē hē; E^{n}′toshē′hawŏk, hē, hē; mo′natoak′, hä, hē; Ni′nahapi′o nit esh′kodēm sasaq′kodek. Ne′pon ni′kati′nanan wike′iu na aoake me tshe, sho aietshaqketokek." [*Translation:* I am born to create animals (for my uncles). I can create my fire that the sparks may rèach the sky. My arrow I am going to take out, so that while the earth stands there will be enough to eat.][1]

"While thus singing and calling together his uncles he told them that he would give them the Mitä′wit, so that they could cure disease. He gave them plants for food so that they should no longer want for anything. He gave them medicine bags, made of the skins of the mink, the weasel, the black rattlesnake, the massasauga rattlesnake, and the panther. Into each of these he put samples of all the medicines, and taught their use. Mä′näbŭsh lived for many years after this, and taught his uncles how to do many useful things."[2]

When this portion of the recitative chant had been completed by Nio′pet, there was a lull in the proceedings while the drum was passed on to the next mitä′^{v}, to be used as an accompaniment to his chant; and after the others in succession completed their portions of the ritual, the

[1] The spoken words are different from those as pronounced in chanting. The chanted words, though not exactly archaic, are yet different from the modern Menomini, which may be attributable, perhaps, to their (supposed) Ojibwa ritualistic origin.

[2] The word Mä′näbūsh is derived from ma-shä′, "great," and wabūs′, "rabbit," and signifies, "Great Rabbit," because he was to perform great deeds. The Ojibwa etymology is almost identical—mishä′, and wäbus.

drum again came to Nio′pet in turn, when he concluded the story of Mä′näbŭsh, as follows:

"When Mä′näbŭsh had accomplished the works for which Kishä′ Ma′nido sent him down to the earth, he went far away and built his wigwam on the northeastern shore of a large lake, where he took up his abode. As he was alone, the good ma′nidos concluded to give him for a companion his twin brother, whom they brought to life and called Naq′pote [which signifies an expert marksman]. He was formed like a human being, but, being a ma′nido, could assume the shape of a wolf, in which form he hunted for food. Mä′näbŭsh was aware of the anger of the bad ma′nidos who dwelt beneath the earth, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and warned his brother, the Wolf, never to return home by crossing the lake, but always to go around along the shore. Once after the Wolf had been hunting all day long he found himself directly opposite his wigwam, and being tired, concluded to cross the lake. He had not gone halfway across when the ice broke, so the Wolf was seized by the bad ma′nidos, and destroyed.

"Mä′näbŭsh at once knew what had befallen his brother, and in his distress mourned for four days. Every time that Mä′näbŭsh sighed the earth trembled, which caused the hills and ridges to form over its surface. Then the shade of Moqwai′o, the Wolf, appeared before Mä′näbŭsh, and knowing that his brother could not be restored Mä′näbŭsh told him to follow the path of the setting sun and become the chief of the shades in the Hereafter where all would meet. Mä′näbŭsh then secreted himself in a large rock near Mackinaw. Here his uncles, the people, for many years visited Mä′näbŭsh, and always built a long lodge, the mitä′wikŏ′mik, where they sang; so when Mä′näbŭsh did not wish to see them in his human form he appeared to them in the form of a little white rabbit, with trembling ears, just as he had first appeared to Noko′mis."

Following is the notation of the song given by the mitä′ᵛ. The prolonged syllables employed were "he, he," with the lower note on "yo, ho."

On the completion of the chant, Nio′pet passed the drum to the next singer on his right. The subsequent portions of the ceremonies did not vary greatly from those of 1890.

The ceremony of shooting the konä′pamik was completed early in the afternoon, after which the new member tried his powers on those pres-

ent. As the grave of the dead was several miles away, the procession could not carry out the usual routine of ceremonies usually performed at the place of interment, but in lieu thereof they marched around the structure four times, the leading mitä'ᵛ carrying the drum and chanting a very monotonous song of few words, repeated an indefinite number of times.

NOTES ON THE CEREMONIES

Another version of the death of the brother of Mä'näbŭsh is given in the following Menomini myth, which accounts also for the white crescent on the breast of the kingfisher, *Ceryle alcyon;* it is called Okä'-skimâ'nĭ' häs Hä'tanukä'sit, the Story of the Kingfisher:

"One time the Wolves saw that Mä'näbŭsh was alone and without companions, so they decided to give him a Wolf, Moqwai'o, one of their own number, as a brother. These two, Mä'näbŭsh and Moqwai'o, encamped on the eastern shore of a large lake, and while Mä'näbŭsh remained near camp to attend to his duties Moqwai'o went off each day in search of food. Mä'näbŭsh told his brother, Moqwai'o, that when he returned to come back to their wigwam he should never cross the lake, but always come around by the shore line.

"One day, toward night, when Moqwai'o was returning, he came to the shore directly opposite the wigwam, and on looking across the ice he realized that if he were to go by the shore it would require a long time to get to the wigwam, whereas if he crossed the ice he could accomplish the remainder in a short time. Moqwai'o thought, 'Now, why should I not cross the ice; why should Mä'näbŭsh not wish me to do it; am I not one of the fleetest of all the runners in the world?' Then Moqwai'o decided to risk crossing the ice, and soon he was making long and rapid leaps over the surface. He had not gone more than half way before the ice began to break up, the pieces of ice separating so that each leap was greater than the one before, when suddenly Moqwai'o found that he had but one more leap to make to reach the shore, but upon attempting to make it he fell short of the distance, and was pulled beneath the water by Mi'shikine'nĭk, who killed him.

"When Moqwai'o failed to return to the wigwam, Mä'näbŭsh was much troubled and immediately began to search far and wide for his brother Moqwai'o. One time during this search Mä'näbŭsh was walking beneath some large trees, when he beheld, high up among the branches, Okä'skimâ'nĭ', the Kingfisher. Mä'näbŭsh then asked Okä'-skimâ'nĭ', 'What are you doing up there?' Then Okä'skimâ'nĭ' said, 'They have killed Moqwai'o, and in a short time they are going to throw out the carcass, so that as soon as I see it I am going to eat it.' This angered Mä'näbŭsh, and he decided to punish Okä'skimâ'nĭ', so he called to him, 'Come down, and I will give you this collar to hang about your neck.' Okä'skimâ'nĭ' then suspected that the speaker was Mä'näbŭsh, the brother of Moqwai'o, and was afraid to descend, but Mä'näbŭsh again spoke to Okä'skimâ'ni', 'Come down, and have no

SUDATORY WITH BLANKET REMOVED FROM FRONT

fear; I merely wish to place about your neck this necklace which I wear, and from which is suspended the white shell.' Then Okä'skimâ'ni' came down, but suspecting Mä'näbŭsh he kept a sharp watch over his movements. Mä'näbŭsh placed the necklace about the neck of Okä'skimâ'nĭ' so that the white shell ornament was suspended over the breast, and while pretending to tie the ends of the cord back of the neck of Okä'skimâ'nĭ', Mä'näbŭsh had made one turn and was going to strangle his victim when he slipped away and escaped. The white spot may be seen on the breast of Okä'skimâ'nĭ' even to this day."

The sweat lodge, already mentioned, is resorted to by the tshi'saqka, and frequently, also, by the mitä'ᵛ, before attempting any serious or dangerous undertaking. The structure is made by placing in the ground in a circular form, having a diameter of 4 or 5 feet, some saplings 1½ to 2 inches in thickness, then bending the tops over the middle of the inclosure thus formed and tying them to the opposite poles, so that each pair forms a perfect hoop (plate XI). This dome-shape structure is then covered with bark, canvas, or blankets, to make it as close and tight as possible. When the person desiring the bath enters the structure, an assistant is engaged near by in heating four large stones, each weighing from 8 to 15 pounds. While they are being prepared, the mitä'ᵛ within continues to chant, and as soon as the stones are sufficiently hot they are rolled in, when the mitä'ᵛ blows upon them a spray, which he produces by filling his mouth from a bowl of water. Presently the small structure becomes filled with hot vapor, which causes his body to perspire profusely. When the bather emerges he sometimes plunges into a stream if one be near at hand.

In the account of the customs of the savages of Canada, obtained from the French archives and now designated as the "Cass manuscripts," dated 1723, there is a reference to the alleged abiding place of Mä'näbŭsh, as follows:

> Near Mackinaw there is a rock which, from a distance, has the outline of a sitting rabbit, by them called "Michapaux," which they affirm to have been a Great Spirit or Manitou that once presided over their ancestors, not allowing them to want for anything. Then they succeeded in every undertaking. But by some misfortune, the Spirit has withdrawn into Michapaux. When they pass there, they always leave something to render him more favorable.[1]

Alloüez mentioned the same myth in his letter of 1660, referring to the Indians of Michilimackinac. He states that "Leurs fables sur cette Isle sont agréables," and adds:

> Ils disent que cette Isle est le Pays natal d'un de leurs Dieux nommé Michabous, c'est à dire le grand Lieure, Ovisaketchak, qui est celuy qui a creé la Terre, et que ce fut dans ces Isles qu'il inventa les rets pour prendre du poisson, aprés avoir consideré attentivement l'araignée dans le temps qu'elle travailloit à sa toile pour y prendre des mouches.[2]

Subsequent to the ceremony, Nio'pet gave an account of the experience of some men who wanted to see Mä'näbŭsh and to request of him

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii., 1857, p. 145.
[2] Relations des Jésuites, 1670, p. 93.

particular favors. The following is a translation of the story, without the repetition of words and phrases:

"A long time after Mä'näbŭsh had left his people, a party of ten men was made up to go in search of him. They set out and after a long day's journey went into camp for the night. On the next day they traveled far, and at night again slept on the ground. On the third day they started early, but after a long journey they still failed to find any trace of the whereabouts of Mä'näbŭsh. As they were sitting around the camp fire in the evening they heard some one drumming and singing. The sound did not appear to be very far away; still they retired, as they had had a long day's walk.

"On the following morning they still heard the sound of drumming and singing, so they started in the direction of it, but at night they appeared to be no nearer than when they started in the morning. In this way they went along each day until the tenth day after their departure from their camp, when they suddenly came to a large wigwam. The ground around on the outside was bare and smooth, and the party went forward to the entrance and looked in, where they saw Mä'näbŭsh seated at his drum, singing. When he saw the party he said, 'My uncles, come in and sit down. Tell me what it is that brought you so far to see me, for I am sure it must be something very important.'

"The first one to speak said to Mä'näbŭsh, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I came to you because I want to become a great warrior.' 'Hau;' said Mä'näbŭsh, 'you shall be a great warrior, as you desire, and you shall be engaged in four great battles, in which you and all of your warriors shall escape unhurt.'

"Then Mä'näbŭsh turned to the second one of the party and said, 'My uncle, what do you wish of me, that you have come so far to seek?'

"'Mä'näbŭsh,' replied the one spoken to, 'I can not get any girl to marry me, because there is nothing attractive about me. Beside that, I am a poor hunter and can not get any deer; and I also want to become a great warrior.'

"'My uncle,' said Mä'näbŭsh, 'your desire is granted; you shall have plenty of girls to admire you; you also shall become a great hunter and a brave and successful warrior.'

"Then Mä'näbŭsh looked toward the third of the visitors and said, 'My uncle, what is it that you desire?'

"The man then looked at Mä'näbŭsh and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want a pe'qtshikŭ'na (medicine bag), that I may be able to cure the sick and to heal wounds.'

"Mä'näbush replied to this request, saying, 'My uncle, you shall have a pe'qtshikŭ'na, and it shall be as you desire.'

"The fourth of the visitors, whose turn had now come to announce his request, sat with his head hanging down, and when Mä'näbŭsh looked at him he could not help laughing, because he knew what the

man wanted; but he said, nevertheless, 'My uncle, what is it that you want?' The man then raised his head, looked at Mä'näbŭsh and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want to live always; give me everlasting life.' Mä'näbŭsh walked over to where the man sat, picked him up and carried him a short distance, and while placing him firmly upon the ground said, 'You shall have your wish; here you shall always remain for future generations to look upon.' Then the others, who had come with this man, saw that he had been transformed into a stone, where he could remain for all time, as he had desired.

"Mä'näbŭsh then returned to his seat, and, looking toward the next of his visitors to speak, who, perceiving that he could now make his request, said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I am like my friend; I want to get married, but no one will have me. Give me some love medicine, so that all the girls will like me.'

"Mä'näbŭsh replied, 'My uncle, your request is granted, and you will find plenty of girls who will want to marry you.'

"Then the seventh of the visitors turned toward Mä'näbŭsh and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I would like to be a great warrior, and to be the first of each war party to kill an enemy.'

"Mä'näbŭsh smiled, and replying to the man, said, 'You shall have your wish, my uncle; you shall be the first to kill an enemy.'

"The eighth of the visitors then turned his face toward Mä'näbŭsh, and said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want to be a good hunter, so that I may always be able to kill plenty of game.'

"Mä'näbŭsh said, 'My uncle, you shall be a good and successful hunter as you wish; you shall always find plenty of game for your use.'

"The next of the visitors now to make known his desire, said, 'Mä'näbŭsh, I want to get some powerful medicine to cure the sick, and especially to help those who are child-bearing.'

"Mä'näbŭsh seemed pleased that such a request should be made, and replied, 'My uncle, your wish is granted; you shall have the medicine you desire.'

"The last of the party still remained to ask for favor, so Mä'näbŭsh presently turned to him and said, 'My uncle, what is it that you want me to grant you?' 'Mä'näbŭsh,' said the man addressed, 'I want a pē'qtshikŭ'na (medicine bag) like that used by the Inä'maqkwŏk' ("the birds of the air") and the Kinĕu'ᵛwŏk ("the eagles"), that will give me power over my enemies; and I want a missē'wŏs ("wound medicine") with which I may cure arrow wounds.'

"'My uncle,' said Mä'näbŭsh, 'your wish is granted; here is the pē'qtshikŭ'na.'

"Mä'näbŭsh then gave the warrior a medicine bag in which were all kinds of medicine (charms and amulets); an eagle feather, which was the eagle medicine; a raven skin to tie about the right arm above the elbow; a skunk skin to tie about the left arm above the elbow; and many other medicines with which he could arm his warriors to make them powerful in battle.

"Then, when all had received a response to their wishes, they made preparations to depart, but Mä′näbŭsh said, 'My uncles, you have come a long journey to see me, but it will not be so far for you to return to your village.' Then, taking a piece of buckskin, Mä′näbŭsh held it up so that all could see it. It was half an arm's length in size each way, and Mä′näbŭsh said, 'This represents the journey you have made;' then putting the buckskin against the fire it shrunk into a much smaller piece, when Mä′näbŭsh again took it up and said, 'My uncles, this piece of buckskin now represents the journey you have before you; you see it is not so long.'

"The warriors were much pleased with this, and took their departure. They traveled all day, but before going into camp the hunter had supplied the party with plenty of venison for supper. When they encamped, they soon made themselves comfortable, and while sitting in a circle smoking they saw two strange men approach, when one of the warriors grasped his warclub and attacked them, striking one of them a terrific blow on the side of the head. The club rebounded, it having caused the man's head only to sway a little; the warrior struck him a second time, with a similar result, when the man began to laugh, saying, 'What are you doing? you can not hurt me.' The friends of the warrior at once perceived that the two strangers were ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ (underground ma′nidos), and that he could not injure them, so they called out, 'Let them alone, you can not hurt either of them, for they are ma′nidos.' The warrior then desisted from his attack on the strangers and returned to the camp, whereupon the ma′nidos vanished.

"On the following morning the warriors continued their journey toward home, where they arrived on the fourth day after leaving the wigwam of Mä′näbŭsh.

"The people of the village were glad to see the return of the party and to learn of their success in finding Mä′näbŭsh, and the girls at once began to follow the warrior who had obtained the love medicine, even his own sister wishing to marry him.

"One night, four days after returning from his visit to Mä′näbŭsh, the warrior who had received the pē′qtshikŭ′na, dreamed that a war party of strange Indians was to pass at a certain point. In his dream he saw, at a distance of four days' journey, a hill beyond which was a stream of water, and again beyond which was another piece of rising ground, just over the crest of which he saw the trail where the war party was to appear. On awakening next morning, the warrior went out among his friends, and soon had a party of fifty men collected to join him. They then started in the direction shown to the warrior in his dream, and before the fourth day was spent they had crossed the first ridge and had reached the stream.

"Then the leader of the party halted and told his companions, 'My friends, we have arrived at the place where we must halt and prepare ourselves for battle, because just beyond the crest of that ridge ahead of us is the trail by which the war party will pass.' Then taking out

his pē′qtshikŭ′na, he selected the reed whistle to be used in commanding the warriors, telling the latter to select their medicine for the fight. One who had been with the leader to visit Mä′näbŭsh, and who desired always to be the first to strike an enemy, selected the eagle feather; another took the raven skin and tied it about his right arm just above the elbow; another took the skunk skin and secured it about his left arm just above the elbow. So each, in turn, selected his favorite medicine until all were provided. Then the leader told the two warriors who had the raven skin and the skunk skin medicines to go along the crest of the hill to watch for the war party; the remainder advanced, passed the crest and then awaited the return of the scouts. While the warriors were preparing to advance toward the trail, which was visible to the leader only, the scouts returned with the report that away to the right could be seen the approaching war party.

"Not long after the enemy was sighted the file of the strange Indians was observed coming on from the right, and so soon as they were opposite the waiting party the leader of the latter blew his reed whistle and the line advanced on a run. The warrior who had received from Mä′näbŭsh the medicine that made him a great fighter, and who desired always to be the first to strike the enemy, ran ahead of the column, as he was very fleet, struck down one of the enemy, secured his scalp and hastily returned and placed it in the hands of the leader, who remained on the crest of the hill to govern and direct the fight. The next to return to his leader with a scalp was the man who wore upon his right arm the raven-skin medicine. The conflict was short and decisive, only one or two of the enemy escaping during the fight. The warriors then returned to their village.

"The people lived for some time in peace and contentment, when they all decided to go on a hunt; so everybody prepared to move to the hunting ground which had been selected by the chief. Game was plentiful, and during the evening the hunters and warriors would sit around the camp fires smoking and talking about the success of the day.

"One evening a party of young men said to one another, 'Let us go over to the wigwam of the old man and have him tell us some stories.' So they all went over to where the old man lived. He was a very old man, and being regarded as well versed in the tales of bygone times, the young men were glad to sit around him and listen to his words.

"When the young men arrived at the wigwam the old man welcomed them, and bade them be seated. One of the young men was the warrior who always was the first to strike an enemy, and who had received the fighting medicine from Mä′näbŭsh. He went up to the right side of the old man and laid himself on the ground so that he could look up into his face. After the party had been seated and had passed the pipe, the spokesman said to the old man, 'Grandfather, tell us some stories of the olden times.' The old man sat quietly looking into space before him, his eyes partially closed, when he began to

relate things of his younger days and of the times of those who had gone before him.

"The young warrior lying on the ground turned toward the old man and said, 'Old man, lend me your knife that I may cut some tobacco; I want to take a smoke.' The old man paid no attention to this interruption, but continued his narrative. Presently the young warrior again spoke to the old man, in a more peremptory manner than before, 'Old man, lend me your knife that I may cut some tobacco; I want to take a smoke.' Again the old man appeared to take no notice of the interruption, but continued his narrative. Presently, the young warrior grasped the arm of the old man and, shaking it rather forcibly, said in a louder and more commanding tone than before, 'Old man, lend me your knife that I may cut some tobacco; I want to take a smoke.'

"Then the old man turned toward the young warrior and rebuked him, saying, 'My son, what are you, that you should ask me to lend you my knife? Is it not the duty of every warrior always to have his knife? What would you do if we were now surrounded by the enemy?' The young warrior held his clinched fist toward the old man and said, 'I have this, and with it could slay any man.' At that instant considerable commotion was heard outside, and one of the hunters came hastily into the wigwam saying that the village was surrounded by the enemy. Instantly every one rushed out to secure his weapons and to go into the fight, all excepting the old man, who retained his seat, and the young warrior who had been asking for a knife.

"The young warrior arose and looked about to see what weapons were at hand, but at that moment he perceived one of the enemy pushing aside the door, which consisted of a curtain made of skins, and entering the wigwam. Quick as a flash the young warrior threw his left hand against the intruder's forehead, thus forcing back his head, and with his fist struck him on the throat, breaking the cartilage (pomum Adami), when he fell down senseless. The victor then threw the body toward the old man, saying, 'Here, old man, you dispose of this one.' The old man then took his knife from its sheath and thrust it into the enemy's heart. By this time another of the enemy had entered the wigwam, whom the young warrior treated in a similar manner, and throwing the body toward the old man, told him to dispose also of him, whereupon the old man likewise stabbed this warrior as he had the first. Presently another of the enemy put his head in at the door, whom the young warrior also grasped with his left hand, planting a terrific blow upon the throat with the left hand, laying low the victim. Then, grasping the body and throwing it over to the old man, he said, 'Here, old man, dispose of this one also,' when the old man thrust his knife into the enemy's heart. A fourth one of the attacking party now entered the door of the wigwam, and he also was grasped by the young warrior who struck him upon the throat, knocking him senseless. This body was likewise thrown over to the old man, who thrust his knife into the victim's heart.

"Those without, not hearing the voices of their companions, hesitated to enter, and preferred to take possession of the wigwam by stratagem. The young warrior, finding no others courageous enough to come in, decided to go out and assume the aggressive. Taking a pole which he found in the wigwam, he approached the door, but, instead of putting out his head to have it crushed by those lying in wait outside, he took the pole and pushed out the curtain which covered the entrance, so as to make it appear like a human form about to go out, when in an instant all of the watchers discharged their arrows into it; then, rushing out before they could recover from their surprise, he began striking right and left, so that in the darkness no one could tell which was the aggressor. In the meantime the others of the encampment had driven back the attacking war party, so that now it required but a few moments for the young warrior to put to flight the small party who had surrounded the old man's wigwam. When it was learned that the enemy had withdrawn, everything resumed its usual tranquility.

"A few days later the same party of young warriors who had previously called at the wigwam of the old man to listen to the stories of bygone times, again decided to go there for an evening's entertainment. All of the visitors were asked to be seated, but the young warrior again lay down near the old man. Then the late attack became the subject of conversation, and one of the visitors, who sat away back in the wigwam, spoke, saying, 'Old man, how is it? We hear that the boaster at your feet killed four of the enemy with his fist; we want to hear about that exploit.' 'My son,' responded the old man, 'it is just as you say. He was with me when my wigwam was attacked, and struck down four men with his fist and threw them to me, for I killed them myself by stabbing them.'

"The young man who had asked this question felt abashed and kept silent. They all felt that the young warrior had greatly distinguished himself, and as he had received from Mä'näbŭsh the 'fighting medicine' (for he was one of the ten who had visited Mä'näbŭsh), they feared him. Soon they all returned to their wigwams, and a few days later the camp broke up and the hunters went home to their settlement.

"The young warrior was still living with his aged parents, and provided well for them; and it was for this reason chiefly that he had not yet taken a wife.

"One of the neighbors of this old couple had three daughters, so when the young warrior one day returned to his wigwam he found seated there a beautiful girl, who had been given to the old couple by their neighbor that she might look to their personal wants. The young warrior was pleased with the girl and at her apparent modesty—as she had not yet spoken a word—so he adopted the advice of his parents, by taking her to be his wife.

"In due course of time a child was born to them, but he soon found that his wife received the attentions of other warriors when he was

away from home hunting. Now, the fame of the young warrior became so well known that all who knew him feared him; but one man, the lover of the young wife, openly said that he was not afraid of the husband, and dared him. So the lover and the young wife, awaiting an opportunity to run away during the young warrior's absence, left the wigwam and went to a high cliff, in the face of which was a small opening. There they secreted themselves.

"When the young warrior returned to his wigwam he found that his child had cried so much at the loss of its mother that it was supposed to be dying. The father of the faithless wife then commanded his second daughter to go and care for the child, while the young warrior started away to overtake the runaway couple. He began to make a circuit about the camp, widening the circle at each turn so that no place would escape his attention, and that he might find their trail. When he had traveled long and far, he found himself in a valley opposite a high cliff, and looking up he saw his wife's red leggings projecting from a small cavern. He recognized these, because his wife wore red garments entirely, even down to her leggings. He saw, also, the projecting legs and feet of his false friend. Then going in the nearest possible direction to the summit of the cliff, where he could look down, he could scarcely understand how the couple had succeeded in gaining access to so inaccessible a spot, but called out, 'Wife, come up here to the top of the rock; I want you.' The wife, seeing that they were discovered, replied, 'Husband, is that you? I am coming up;' and with that she climbed up the narrow ledge to where her husband stood. He took her by the arm and led her a short distance away from the edge of the cliff, where he told her to remain and wait for him. Then the young warrior cut a forked stick, and sharpening the two prongs with his ax, went to the cliff and called to the lover to come up. As soon as the man responded by coming out of the cavern, the young warrior thrust down the forked stick so that one point passed on each side of his neck, and, giving him a hard thrust, threw the man down over the cliff, where his body was dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

"Then, returning to where his wife stood, the young warrior brought her to the edge of the cliff, and while she shrieked with fear he grasped her by both arms and, raising her above his head, he cast her out over the cliff, where her body went flying down among the rocks beneath. The woman fell on her head with such violence that she was forced into a rounded mass.

"Having accomplished his revenge, he returned to his wigwam and told the parents of the two dead ones to get the bodies and bury them. He said that he was determined to punish such faithlessness, and everybody, even the parents of the woman and her lover, said that the young warrior had done what was right.

"The second daughter of the neighbor, who had been sent to the young warrior's wigwam to care for the deserted child, took such good

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care of the little one that it recovered. Then, to make amends for the past, the neighbor gave to the young warrior the second daughter as a wife to take the place of her faithless sister."

Ceremonies of 1892

The annual meeting of the Mitä′wit in 1892 was held in June, and was called for the purpose of initiating a little girl named Dä′tĕwiata′mo ("Rumbling Noise"), 8 years of age. She had been selected by her father, Wa′naqkō′shĕ (The Little Apex), usually designated "John Smith." The meeting was held in a smaller structure than usual, 2 miles west of the village. The attendance numbered about 60 male and female shamans. At the northwestern corner of the mitä′wikŏ′mik a canvas tent was built against it so as to afford ready entrance to the interior, where the ceremonies were held. Plate XII represents a view of this structure, which differed in some respects from those already described. During an interval in the ceremonies, some myths were obtained from the officiating priests, including Shu′nien, Nio′pet, Shâwâq′ka, and Ni′aqtawâ′pomi.

The following version of the encounter between Mä′näbŭsh and the Water Monster, Mä′shenō′mak (also given as Mä′shekĭnē′bĭk), was related by Nio′pet. It is more complete than that given by Shu′nien, although that recited by the latter is claimed to be exactly as he had been taught it when he was prepared for the degree of the Mitä′wit.

Mä′shenō′mak, the Great Fish

"The people were much distressed about a water monster, or giant fish, which frequently caught fishermen, dragging them into the lake and there devouring them. So Mä′näbŭsh asked his grandmother to hand to him his singing sticks, and told her he was going to allow himself to be swallowed that he might be enabled to destroy the monster. Mä′näbŭsh then built a small raft and floated out on the lake, singing all the while, 'Mä′shenō′mak, come and eat me; you will feel good.' Then the monster, Mä′shenō′mak, saw that it was Mä′näbŭsh, and told his children to swallow him. When one of the young Mä′shenō′mak darted forward to swallow Mä′näbŭsh, the latter said, 'I want Mä′shenō′mak to swallow me.' This made the monster so angry that he swallowed Mä′näbŭsh, who thereupon became unconscious. When he recovered, he found himself in company with his brothers; he saw the Bear, the Deer, the Porcupine, the Raven, the Pine-squirrel, and many others. He inquired of them how they came to meet with such misfortune, and was very sad to find that other kinsmen also were lying dead.

"Then Mä′näbŭsh prepared to sing the war song, during which it is customary to state the object of making the attack and the manner in which it is to be attempted. He told his brothers to dance with him,

and all joined in singing. The Pine-squirrel alone had a curious voice and hopped around rapidly, singing, 'Sĕk-sĕk sĕk-sĕk,' which amused the rest, even in their distress. As the dancers passed around the interior of the monster it made him reel, and when Mä'näbŭsh danced past his heart he thrust his knife toward it, which caused the monster to have a convulsion. Then Mä'näbŭsh thrust his knife three times toward the monster's heart, after which he said, 'Mä'shenō'mak, swim toward my wigwam,' and immediately afterward he thrust his knife into the heart, which caused the monster's body to quake and roll so violently that everyone became unconscious. How long they remained in this condition they knew not, but on returning to consciousness Mä'näbŭsh found everything motionless and silent. He knew then that the monster was dead, and that his body was lying either on the shore or on the bottom of the lake; to make sure, he crawled over the bodies of his brothers to a point where he could cut an opening through the monster's body. When he had cut a small opening, he saw bright daylight, and immediately closed the hole, took his singing sticks, and began to sing:

'Kē'-sik-in-nâ'-min, kē'-sik-in-nâ'-min.'
'I see the sky! I see the sky!'

"As Mä'näbŭsh continued to sing his brothers recovered. The Squirrel alone was the one who hopped around singing the words 'Sĕk-sĕk, sĕk-sĕk, sĕk-sĕk, sĕk-sĕk.' When the dance was concluded, Mä'näbŭsh cut a large opening in the monster's belly through which they emerged. As the survivors were about to separate to go to their respective wigwams, they all complimented the Pine-squirrel on his fine voice, and Mä'näbŭsh said to him, 'My younger brother, you also will be happy, as you have a good voice.' Thus Mä'näbŭsh destroyed Mä'shenō'mak."

The following myth is sometimes chanted by the mitä'wok as part of the ritual, especially that portion which relates to the origin and source of the things needed by mankind. At no meeting of the Mitä'wit had it been rendered; so on my special desire Nio'pet chanted it for my instruction. This was done, however, during a short recess and when but a few confidential mitä'wok were present. The myth is called "The Origin of Fire and the Canoe," of which the following words are a translation:

"Mä'näbŭsh, when he was still a youth, once said to his grandmother Nokō'mis, 'Grandmother, it is cold here and we have no fire; let me go to get some.' Nokō'mis endeavored to dissuade him from such a perilous undertaking, but he insisted; so he made a canoe of bark, and, once more assuming the form of a rabbit, started eastward across a large body of water, where dwelt an old man who had fire. As the Rabbit approached the island it was still night; so he went on shore and traveled along until he came in sight of the sacred wigwam of the old man. This old man had two daughters, who, when they emerged from the sacred wigwam, saw a little Rabbit, wet and cold, and care-

fully taking it up they carried it into the sacred wigwam, where they set it down near the fire to warm.

"The Rabbit was permitted to remain near the fire while the girls went about the sacred wigwam to attend to their duties. The Rabbit then hopped a little nearer the fire to endeavor to grasp a coal, but as he moved the earth shook and disturbed the old man, who was slumbering. The old man said, 'My daughters, what causes this disturbance?' The daughters said it was nothing; that they were only trying to dry and warm a poor little rabbit which they had found. When the two girls were again occupied, the Rabbit grasped a stick of burning wood and ran with all speed toward the place where he had left his canoe, closely pursued by the girls and the old man. The Rabbit reached his canoe in safety and pushed off, hastening with all speed toward his grandmother's home. The velocity of the canoe caused such a current of air that the firebrand began to burn fiercely, so by the time he reached shore Nokō'mis, who had been awaiting the Rabbit's return, saw that sparks of fire had burned his skin in various places. She immediately took the fire from him and then dressed his wounds, after which they soon healed. The Thunderers received the fire from Nokō'mis, and have had the care of it ever since."

Notes on the Ceremonies

The preceding meeting of the Mitä'wit added little to the ritual obtained during the preceding years; but some information was gained relating to the method sometimes followed in preparing for a future meeting.

When a mitä'ᵛ feels that he has been unmindful of the injunctions and precepts taught through the ritual of the Mitä'wit by Mä'näbŭsh, he must show regret and pledge future sincerity by giving a ball game. A game is also sometimes given as an offering to Ki'shä' Ma'nido when a member of the family is sick; this offering being equivalent to giving to the poor. A feast is later on provided for the meeting of the Mitä'wit, and this every giver of a ball game is obliged to furnish. The following is a translation of remarks on this subject by Waio'skasĭt:

"When anyone prepares to have a game of ball, he selects the captains or leaders of the two sides who are to compete. Each leader then appoints his own player, and the ball sticks to be used are deposited at the ball ground on the day before the game is to occur. Then each of the leaders selects a powerful and influential mitä'ᵛ, whose services are solicited for taking charge of the safety of the ball sticks, and to prevent their being charmed or conjured by the opposing mitä'ᵛ. The mitä'ᵛ is not expected to be present at the ground during the night, because he is supposed to have the power to influence the sticks at any distance.

"Should one mitä'ᵛ succeed in obtaining such necromantic power over the sticks as to carry them away from the ground—that is, to carry

away the power of the sticks—then it is the duty of the opposing mitä'ᵛ to follow him and bring them back. In case the pursuing mitä'ᵛ does not succeed in catching the rival, on account of being outwitted or because of having insufficient power in overcoming him, then the pursuing mitä'ᵛ is killed by his rival's sorcery. It usually happens that the pursuer compels the rival to restore the virtue or power of the sticks before the day approaches."

FIG. 19—Ball stick.

Four innings are played, and usually the presents, consisting of pieces of cloth, are divided into four parts, one part being given to the victor of each inning. Sometimes, however, the presents are renewed until the end of the game.

The frames from which the presents are suspended are near the middle of the ground, but off toward the eastern side, the tobacco-tray and other accessories being placed on the ground between them and toward the center of the ball ground. The two horizontal parallel poles forming the upper part of the framework are used for the calico and blankets; before them, on the ground, a cloth is spread, and on this are placed tobacco, pipes, and matches, to which all the participants are at liberty to help themselves.

The accompanying plate XIII represents the players during a run for the ball. The latter is made of thongs of buckskin tightly wrapped and covered with buckskin or leather, and measures about 2½ inches in diameter. The sticks are made of hickory or ash, about 3 feet long, the wood being shaved thinner and bent into a hoop or ring at least 4 inches in diameter. Four or five thongs pass through holes in the hoop and cross in the center, forming a netted pocket in which the ball may rest half hidden (figure 19).

When the ball is caught, the runner carries the stick almost horizontally before him, moving it rapidly from side to side and at the same time turning the stick so as to keep the ball always in front and retained by the pocket. This constant swinging and twisting movement tends to prevent players of the opposing side from knocking the ball out or dislodging it by hitting the stick.

The manner of preparing for and playing the game is like that of the Ojibwa of northern Minnesota, which I have already described, and of which an abstract may be presented:

After selecting a level piece of ground, if a regular ball ground does not already exist, the goals are erected about one-third of a mile apart. These consist of two upright poles or saplings about 20 feet high. The best players of either side gather at the center of the ground. The poorer players arrange themselves around

BALL PLAYERS

their respective goals, while the heaviest in weight scatter across the field between the starting point and the goals.

The ball is tossed into the air in the center of the field. As soon as it descends it is caught with the ball stick by one of the players, when he immediately sets out at full speed toward the opposite goal. If too closely pursued, or if intercepted by an opponent, he throws the ball in the direction of one of his own side, who takes up the race.

The usual method of depriving a player of the ball is to strike the handle of the ball stick so as to dislodge the ball; but this is frequently a difficult matter on account of a peculiar horizontal motion of the ball stick maintained by the runner. Frequently the ball carrier is disabled by being struck across the arm or leg, thus compelling his retirement. Severe injuries occur only when playing for high stakes or when ill-feeling exists between some of the players.

Should the ball carrier of one side reach the opposite goal, it is necessary for him to throw the ball so that it touches the post. This is always a difficult matter, because, even if the ball be well directed, one of the numerous players surrounding the post as guards may intercept it and throw it back into the field. In this manner a single inning may be continued for an hour or more. The game may come to a close at the end of any inning by mutual agreement of the players, that side winning the greater number of scores being declared the victor.

During the intervals of rest the players approach the place of the presents and smoke. The giver of the game also awards to the successful players a part of the presents, the whole quantity being divided into four portions, so that equal portions are distributed at each of the intervals.

The players frequently hang to the belt the tail of a deer, an antelope, or some other fleet animal, or the wings of swift-flying birds, with the idea that through these they are endowed with the swiftness of the animal. There are, however, no special preparations preceding a game, as feasting or fasting, dancing, etc.—additional evidence that the game is not so highly regarded among the Ojibwa tribe. To continue the quotation—

The game played by the Dakota Indians of the upper Missouri was probably learned from the Ojibwa, as these two tribes have been upon amicable terms for many years; the ball sticks are identical in construction, and the game is played in the same manner. Sometimes, however, the goals at either end of the ground consist of two heaps of blankets about 20 feet apart, between which the ball is passed.

When the Dakota play a game the village is equally divided into sides. A player offers as a wager some article of clothing, a robe, or a blanket, when an opponent lays down an object of equal value. This parcel is laid aside, and the next two deposit their stakes, and so on until all have concluded. The game then begins, two of the three innings deciding the issue.

When the women play against the men, five of the women are matched against one of the latter. A mixed game of this kind is very amusing. The fact that among the Dakota women are allowed to participate in the game is considered excellent evidence that the game is a borrowed one. Among most other tribes women are not even allowed to touch a ball stick.

The Chactas, Chickasaws, and allied tribes of Indian territory frequently perform acts of conjuring in the ball field to invoke the assistance of their tutelary daimons. The games of these Indians are much more brutal than those of the northern tribes.

The game sticks are longer, and made of hickory, and blows are frequently directed so as to disable a runner.[1]

The game of lacrosse originated without doubt among some one of the eastern Algonquian tribes, possibly in the valley of Saint Lawrence river, and from there was carried down among the Huron-Iroquois, and later on into the country of the more southern members of the Iroquoian linguistic stock, as the Cherokee, etc. Westward the game was taken by the various tribes of the Algonquian stock, and afterward adopted by other tribes, until at this day there is evidence of its influence among many tribes of diverse stocks. The French name of the game has been preserved in the geography of Wisconsin, both in the Prairie de la Crosse and in the city of that name; and in the history of that state by the ball-play conspiracy, made use of by Pontiac for the purpose of gaining admission to the fort at Michilimackinac to massacre the garrison.

When Mackinaw passed into the possession of the British in 1763, the Menomini, who had gone to aid the French, returned to their homes at Green bay, with the exception, possibly, of a few who, for the purpose of trading, may have accompanied the French settlers in their journey to Mackinaw to take the oath of allegiance. Some of the Ottawa and Ojibwa had espoused the cause of Pontiac, who was endeavoring to surprise the garrison and thus embroil the Indian tribes in difficulties with the English. De Langlade, who had located near the garrison, and who had been informed by his Indian allies of the plan, several times warned Captain Etherington, the commandant, of the plot, in which a game of ball was to figure, the throwing of the ball over the picketing being the signal to strike. Etherington doubted the truthfulness of the report, believing it to be nothing but idle rumor, and persisted in his belief that no precautions were necessary.

Francis Parkman[2] gives the following graphic account of this celebrated game and its results:

Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie stood near the gate, the former indulging his inveterate English propensity; for, as Henry informs us, he had promised the Ojibwas that he would bet on their side against the Sacs. Indian chiefs and warriors were also among the spectators, intent apparently on watching the game, but with thoughts, in fact, far otherwise employed.

The plain in front was covered by ball players. The game in which they were engaged, called *baggattaway* by the Ojibwas, is still, as it always has been, a favorite with many Indian tribes. At either extremity of the ground a tall post was planted, marking the stations of the rival parties. The object of each was to defend its own post and drive the ball to that of its adversary. Hundreds of lithe and agile figures were leaping and bounding upon the plain. Each was nearly naked, his loose, black hair flying in the wind, and each bore in his hand a bat of a form peculiar to this game. At one moment the whole were crowded together, a dense throng of combatants, all struggling for the ball; at the next they were scattered again and running over the ground like hounds in full cry. Each in his excitement yelled and

[1] American Anthropologist, Washington, D. C., April, 1890, vol. iii, pp. 134–135.
[2] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Boston, 1868, vol. i, pp. 297–298.

shouted at the height of his voice. Rushing and striking, tripping their adversaries or hurling them to the ground, they pursued the animating contest amid the laughter and applause of the spectators. Suddenly, from the midst of the multitude, the ball soared into the air and, descending in a wide curve, fell near the pickets of the fort. This was no chance stroke. It was part of a preconcerted stratagem to insure the surprise and destruction of the garrison. As if in pursuit of the ball, the players turned and came rushing, a maddened and tumultuous throng, toward the gate. In a moment they had reached it. The amazed English had no time to think or act. The shrill cries of the ball players were changed to the ferocious war-whoop. The warriors snatched from the squaws the hatchets, which the latter, with this design, had concealed beneath their blankets. Some of the Indians assailed the spectators without, while others rushed into the fort, and all was carnage and confusion. At the outset several strong hands had fastened their grip upon Etherington and Leslie and led them away from the scene of massacre towards the woods. Within the area of the fort the men were slaughtered without mercy.

Henry[1] escaped and ran to the house of Langlade, secreting himself in the garret. Quoting Henry, Parkman continues:

This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture, which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking under the unsatiated knife and tomahawk; and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. I was shaken not only with horror, but with fear. The sufferings which I witnessed I seemed on the point of experiencing. No long time elapsed before, every one being destroyed who could be found, there was a general cry of "All is finished."

According to Shu'nien and other prominent mitä'wok, the traditional origin of the ball game is as follows:

Mä'näbŭsh wanted to discover and destroy those of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ or underground evil ma'nidos, who were instrumental in the death of his brother, the Wolf. He therefore instituted the ball game, and asked the Thunderers to come and play against the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ as their opponents, after which the game should be the property of the Thunderers. The Kine'ŭ^{v}, Golden-eagle, came in response to this invitation, and brought with him the ball. He was accompanied by all the other Thunderers, his brothers and younger brothers. Then the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ began to come out of the ground, the first two to appear being the head chiefs in the guise of bears—one a powerful silvery white bear, the other having a gray coat. These were followed by their brothers and younger brothers.

The place selected by Mä'näbŭsh for a ball ground was near a large sand bar on a great lake not far from where Mackinaw is now located. Adjoining the sand bar was a large grove of trees, in the midst of which was a glade, smooth and covered with grass. At one end of this clearing was a knoll, which was taken possession of by the bear chiefs, from which point they could watch the progress of the game. Then the

[1] Parkman, op. cit., pp. 300–301.

ânâ′maqkĭ′u placed themselves on one side of the ball ground, while the Thunderers took the other, each of the latter selecting a player from among their opponents, as the players always go by pairs.

After the game was started, Mä′näbŭsh approached the grove of trees, and, while cautiously following a stream which led near to the knoll, he discovered an Indian painting himself. While watching the process, Mä′näbŭsh saw the Indian take clay, spread it on his hands, and then scratching off some with the finger nails, so that the remainder appeared like parallel stripes, the hands were then slapped upon the shoulders, the arms, and the sides of the body. Then Mä′näbŭsh said to the Indian, "Who are you and what are you doing?" The Indian replied in the Ottawa tongue, "I am Ketä′kĭbihŏt′, and I am dressing myself to play ball. Do you not see they are going to have a great time out there on the ball ground? Come and join the game." "No," said Mä′näbŭsh, "I will not play; I will look on." (Ketä′kibihŏt′ in the Menomini language is Ketä′kibihit′, and signifies "the striped one." His modern name is Nakū′ti, the Sunfish.)

Mä′näbŭsh watched Nakū′ti as he went on the ball field, and saw that he paired himself with Una′waninк, the Pine-squirrel of the Thunderers. Män′äbŭsh′ then continued toward the knoll to see who were his chief enemies. When he had gone as near as possible without being seen, he climbed a large tree, from which he had a good view of the progress of the game, and on looking at the knoll he saw the two Bear chiefs lying there quietly, also watching the ball game. The game lasted all day without either side gaining any advantage, and when the sun was setting the players returned to their wigwams.

When night came Mä′näbŭsh descended the tree in which he had been sitting, approached the knoll, and stood on a spot between the places which had been occupied by the Bear chiefs. He then said, "I want to be a pine tree, cut off half way between the ground and the top, with two strong branches reaching over the places on which the Bear chiefs lie down." Being a ma′nido, he immediately became a tree. When the players returned next morning to resume the ball game, the Bear chiefs and the other ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ said, "This tree was not standing here yesterday;" but the Thunderers all replied that it had been there. Then a discussion followed, during which the two sets of players retired to their respective sides, and the game was postponed for awhile. The Bear chiefs concluded that the tree must be Mä′näbŭsh, and they at once decided to destroy him. So they sent for the Grizzly Bear to come to their assistance, and asked him to climb the tree, tear the bark from the trunk, and scratch its throat and face. When the Grizzly Bear had torn the bark from the trunk and bitten the branches, and had scratched the top of the trunk at a point where the head and neck of a human being should be, he gave it up and descended. The Bear chiefs then called up a monster Serpent, which was lying in the brush close by, and asked it to bite and strangle the tree. The Serpent

wrapped itself around the trunk and tightened its coils until Mä′näbŭsh was almost strangled, although he was able to endure the bites which the Serpent inflicted on his head, neck, and arms. Before Mä′näbŭsh became entirely unconscious the Serpent uncoiled and glided down. The Bear chiefs then believed that the tree was not Mä′näbŭsh, so they lay down near the trunk and caused the game to begin. After a long and furious struggle the ball was carried so far from the starting point that the Bear chiefs were left entirely alone, when in an instant Mä′näbŭsh drew an arrow from the quiver hanging at his side, shot one into the body of the silvery-white Bear chief, and another into the body of the gray Bear chief. Then Mä′näbŭsh resumed his human form and ran for the sand bar. He had not proceeded far, however, when the defeated ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ returned, saw what had happened, and set out in pursuit of Mä′näbŭsh. The waters poured out of the ground and followed with such speed that Mä′näbŭsh was about being overtaken, when he saw Ma′nakwō, the Badger, whom he begged to help secrete him in the earth. The Badger took Mä′näbush down into the earth, and as he burrowed threw the loose dirt behind him, which retarded the waters.

The ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ could nowhere find Mä′näbŭsh, so they gave up the pursuit, and just as the waters were sinking into the depths of the burrow, Mä′näbŭsh and the Badger returned to the surface.

When the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ returned to the ball ground, they took up their wounded chiefs and carried them home, erecting at a short distance from camp a sick lodge, in which the wounded were attended by a mitä′ᵛ or shaman. Fearing that Mä′näbŭsh might return to complete his work of destroying the two Bear chiefs, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ began the erection of a network of strands of basswood, which was to inclose the entire sick lodge. When Mä′näbŭsh came near the camp of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, he met an old woman carrying a bundle of basswood bark upon her back and asked her, "Grandmother, what have you on your back?" The old woman replied, "You are Mä′näbŭsh, and wish to kill me." "No," he replied, "I am not Mä′näbŭsh, for if I were Mä′näbŭsh I should have killed you at once, without asking you a question." So, the old woman's fears being quieted, she began to relate to Mä′näbŭsh all of the troubles which had befallen the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, adding, "We have built a network of strands of basswood bark around the wigwam in which the Bear chiefs are lying sick, so that if Mä′näbŭsh should come to kill them he would have to cut his way through it, which would cause it to shake, when the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ would discover and kill him. We have only a little more of the network to make, when it will be complete." The old woman also told Mä′näbŭsh that she herself was the meta who attended to the two chiefs, and that no other person was permitted to enter the wigwam.

When Mä′näbŭsh heard all this, he struck the old woman and killed her, after which he removed her skin and got into it himself, took the bundle of basswood bark on his back, and in this disguise passed undetected into the sick lodge. Here he found the two Bear chiefs with the

arrowshafts still protruding from their bodies. Mä′näbŭsh then took hold of the shaft of the arrow protruding from the body of the silvery-white Bear chief and, thrusting it deeper into the wound, killed him. Then he killed the gray Bear chief in the same way, after which he skinned both bodies, dressed the skins, and rolled them into a bundle. When Mä′näbŭsh was ready to depart, he went out of the wigwam through the opening left by the old woman, and when he reached the extreme outside end of the network he shook it violently to let the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ know that he had been there and had accomplished the destruction of his chief enemies. The ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ at once pursued Mä′näbŭsh, as did also the waters, which flowed out of the earth at many places. Mä′näbŭsh, fearing to be overtaken, at once ascended the highest mountain in view, the waters closely pursuing him. On the summit he found a gigantic pine tree, to the very top of which he climbed. But the waters soon reached him, so he called out to the tree to grow twice its height, which it did; but soon the waters were again at his feet, when he again caused the tree to grow twice its original height. Yet in time the waters rose to where Mä′näbŭsh was perched, and he again caused the tree to grow twice its original height, to which the waters gradually made their way. A fourth time Mä′näbŭsh caused the tree to grow, and for the fourth time the water rose until it reached his armpits. Then Mä′näbŭsh called to Kishä′ Ma′nido for help, saying that as he had been sent to the earth he begged for help against the anger of the ânâmaqkĭ′ŭ. The Good Mystery caused the waters to subside, and then Mä′näbŭsh looked around and saw only small animals struggling in the water, seeking a foothold which was nowhere visible.

Presently Mä′näbŭsh observed the Otter, so he called to him saying, "Otter, come to me and be my brother; dive down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." The Otter dived down into the water, where he remained for a long time; but when he returned to the surface Mä′näbŭsh saw him floating with his belly uppermost and knew that the Otter was dead. Then Mä′näbŭsh looked around and saw the Beaver swimming upon the surface of the water, so he said, "Beaver, come to me and be my brother; dive down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." The Beaver dived down into the water and tried to reach the bottom. After a long interval Mä′näbŭsh saw him floating upon the surface belly uppermost, and then knew that he too had failed to reach the bottom. Again Mä′näbŭsh looked about to see who could accomplish the feat, when he observed the Mink, so he said, "Mink, come to me and be my brother; dive down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." Then the Mink disappeared beneath the water, where he remained for a long time, and when he reappeared he was floating with his belly uppermost, and Mä′näbŭsh knew that the Mink also had perished.

Mä′näbŭsh looked about once more and saw only the Muskrat, when he called out and said, "Muskrat, come to me and be my brother; dive

down into the water and bring up some earth, that I may make a new world." The Muskrat immediately complied with the wish of Mä′näbŭsh, and dived down into the water. He remained so long beneath the surface that Mä′näbŭsh thought he could not return alive; and when he did come to the surface it was with the belly uppermost. Then Mä′näbŭsh took the Muskrat in his hands and found adhering to the forepaws a minute quantity of earth. Then Mä′näbŭsh held the Muskrat up, blew on him, and restored him to life; he then rubbed between his palms the particle of earth and scattered it broadcast, when the new earth was formed and trees appeared. Then Mä′näbŭsh thanked the Muskrat and told him his people should always be numerous and have enough to eat wherever he should choose to live.

Then Mä′näbŭsh found the Badger, to whom he gave the skin of the gray Bear chief, which he wears to this day; but he retained the skin of the silvery-white Bear chief for his own use.

Then it became necessary for Män′äbŭsh to institute the ball game, so that his uncles could play it. He therefore called them all together, and when he had announced to them his intention, he named Kinĕ′u^{v}, the Golden-eagle, the chief of the Oqpe′tawŏk or Flyers, as leader of one side, and Owa′sse, the Bear, as leader of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ hawa′itokŏk, the underground beings. Kinĕ′u^{v} is in the west, and when he advances with the ball the sky darkens and the wind blows. Then Owa′sse tries to prevent Kinĕ′u^{v} from approaching to win the game, and the wind and rain may for awhile be held back, but Kinĕ′u^{v} always wins in the end. That is why the Thunderers always win the game even at this day, whether it be played for pleasure or to help a sick man.

The Mitä′wok furthermore related various matters concerning the ball game, of which the following is a translation:

When a young man fasts and dreams of his ma′nido, he always wears that ma′nido in the shape of a small effigy or as an amulet. His ma′nido helps him to succeed in his undertakings. But if he forgets his ma′nido and does not make offerings to him, then he will lose his power, and his ma′nido will not assist him. Then the man must give a ball game and offer presents to his ma′nido, and thus again receive his favor. The man thus giving the feast selects the leaders of the two sides, which consists respectively of players of the wi′dishi′anun (or phratry) of which the leaders are members. The leaders are persons conspicuous for their endurance and skill, and for the possession of special powers conferred by their ma′nidos.

When one becomes sick through neglecting his ma′nido, and is unable to prepare a ball game, some relation or friend of his wi′dishi′anun assumes the responsibility of getting up the game, by which the anger of the sick man's ma′nido will be appeased and the sufferer again be taken under his protection.

Should a man dream of the Wâ′banunä′qsiwŏk, the Eastern people, he will have to prepare a ball game to avert evil or danger. The Wâ′banunä′qsiwŏk are dressed in red, both the men and the women;

therefore the players constituting the side named to assist the organizer wear something red about the person—a piece of red ribbon, a red feather, or something else of that color. The ball must be colored red on the "eastern" half and yellow on the "western" half in order to conform with these symbolic requirements.

If a woman dreams that she sees the Wâ′banunä′qsiwŏk, she also is obliged to prepare a game as an offering to appease the evil ma′nidos that are favorable to those people. The woman must dress in red, and perhaps all those on her side will do the same; perhaps they will wear only some red ribbons or pieces of cloth to denote their side. But in any game, those who are members of the wi′dishi′anun of which the Kinē′uˇ is leader, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ will always win, because the ma′nidos first won when Mä′näbŭsh instituted the game.

When the ball game is played for amusement, or as a simple test of physical endurance and skill, some of the players are sometimes enabled to procure from the mitä′ˇ a medicine called psha′kiwis, which is made by boiling certain plants and roots. The decoction is then rubbed all over the legs up to the knees, and sometimes even to the thighs. The players also rub charcoal or charred wood on their legs to strengthen them. A player who does this is considered certain to win in such games, because when an opponent approaches, the medicine will take away his strength and he may fall down. If a player, not prepared by having used suitable medicine, gets the ball and runs toward the goal, then an adversary whose legs have been rubbed with medicine has only to run after him and step on one of his footprints when the ball carrier will become weak and may be overtaken.

The leader of a party of players generally goes to the ball ground just before the game begins and prays to his ma′nido for aid. Then he often finds success and assistance; for example, when throwing the ball straight up in the air, he says to his ma′nido, as it is flying upward, "Take the ball toward my side;" and as the ball turns to descend it goes in the direction desired.

Ceremonies of 1893

The last annual meeting of the Mitä′wit was held in August, 1893. It was called at that time in compliance with my request, the shamans having previously informed me that I had authority to ask for a meeting by virtue of my previous admission. The candidate was a little girl, 4 years of age. She was admitted to membership for two reasons, as will hereafter be set forth.

The promoter of the ceremonies was Ä′kwinē′mi Mo′sihât, and the mitä′wikŏ′mik was erected 3 miles southwest of Keshena, amidst the pines and oaks of an open grove, near an Indian farm. The structure was smaller than usual, measuring only about 65 feet in length, with the usual width of 20 feet and an interior height of 7 or 7½ feet.

The chief mitä′wok of the first or leading quartette, consisted of Shu′nien, Nio′pet, Mo′sihât, and Ni′aqtawâ′pomi, although the last

mentioned did not arrive in time for the beginning, his place being filled ad interim by another man.

The ceremonies were in nowise different from those of the preceding years, with the exception that some of the chants heard during the afternoon of the last day consisted of but a few words, although the music was repeated again and again, until the monotony of the utterances and drumming became absolutely painful. This was caused by the desire to prolong the ceremonies so far as possible, in the hope of impressing some of the visiting Indians who were known to be opposed to the Mitä′wit, being members of the Dreamers' society, hereafter to be more fully described. One of the attending mitä′wok was a girl but 4 years of age, almost loaded down with elaborate beadwork, consisting of necklaces, medicine bags, and other ornaments. A singular fact connected with this little mitä′kwe, or female mitä′ᵛ, was that the mother, a mixed blood, was a staunch church member, and yet sat outside the mitä′wikŏ′mik, eagerly watching her child as the latter went through her part of the walks and dances.

It has been stated that, apart from admitting into the society a candidate to fill a vacancy caused by death, some obtain membership by virtue of having been brought into the mitä′wikŏ′mik for treatment, after all other means appear to have failed. A sick person may not be able to undergo any part of the ceremony himself, but for that purpose a mitä′ᵛ friend is delegated to act for the patient, the latter receiving the benefit of new life by proxy, as it were. The candidate or patient, should he recover, will subsequently be deemed a full-fledged member, and may, if he so desire, be regularly initiated at some future time.

It has been mentioned in connection with the ball game that when a mitä′ᵛ feels that he has neglected his duties to his ma′nido, or tutelary deity, his "heart feels sick;" and for the purpose of treating his heart as another patient, he brings forward as a candidate for initiation some one whom he may wish to honor by admission into the society, as well as to fulfill his obligations to his ma′nido and to Mä′näbŭsh. In this wise the candidate enacts, for the giver of the ceremony, the part of a delegated mitä′ᵛ, as in the case of a sick person. In this manner the little girl candidate produced by Mo′sihât acted for him, as he himself had a "sick heart," and was unable personally to go through the necessary procedure demanded by the ritual. The little girl was presented for initiation, first, to enact the part of a mitä′ᵛ, as Mo′sihât believed himself to be not in a proper mood or condition to do so, and second, he thus gave a favored relation the advantage of receiving the coveted honor of membership in the Mitä′wit.

Supplementary Note on the Ceremonies

The Mitä′wit of the Menomini appears to receive less attention each year, the reasons being attributable to a variety of causes, chief among which are (1) the fact that many of the Indians are adopting the Christian religion, as they begin to perceive the improved condition of those

who have done so; (2) because many of the younger men are attending school, and begin to observe the futility and uselessness of the various dances; and (3) the old men and women mitä'wok are slowly dying off, which makes it difficult to find candidates to fill their places. It is evident, therefore, that the life of the society is a question of only a few years more, and that the ceremonials of the Mitä'wit, as well as the exhibition of alleged powers, and the dances of the several classes of shamans, will ere long be a matter of tradition only.

TSHI'SAQKA, OR JUGGLERS

The greatest powers were always believed to be possessed by the tshi'saqka, though, on account of their greater number, the mitä'wok have been treated first.

The tshi'saqka, or juggler, class of shamans is limited, in the Menomini tribe, to very few individuals, probably not more than half a dozen professing the powers usually attributed to them. The jugglers were early mentioned by the Jesuits as being their greatest opponents in Christianizing the Indians; and as early as 1632 the Nipissing Indians of Canada had been designated as the nation of sorcerers. The Spaniards met with similar opposition when attempting to Christianize the Mexicans; and Father José de Acosta's description of one class of their sorcerers corresponds very closely to the accounts of pretensions of some of the Algonquian jugglers. He says:

> There were an infinite number of these witches, divines, enchanters, and other false prophets. There remaines yet at this day of this infection, althogh they be secret, not daring publikely to exercise their sacrileges, divelish ceremonies, and superstitions, but their abuses and wickednes are discovered more at large and particularly in the confessions made by the Prelates of Peru.
>
> There is a kinde of sorcerers amongst the Indians allowed by the Kings Yncas, which are, as it were, sooth-saiers, they take vpon them what forme and figure they please, flying farre through the aire in a short time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Divell, who answereth them in certaine stones or other things which they reverence much. They serve as coniurers, to tell what hath passed in the farthest partes, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced since the Spaniardes arrived there, that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they have knowne the mutinies, battailes, rebellions, and deaths, both of tyrants, and those of the King's partie, and of private men, the which have beene knowne the same day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impossible by the course of nature. To worke this divination, they shut themselves into a house, and became drunk vntil they lost their sences, a day after they answered to that which was demanded. Some affirme they vse certaine vnctions. The Indians say that the old women do commonly vse this office of witchcraft, and specially those of one Province, which they call Coaillo, and of another towne called Manchay, and of the Province of Huarochiri. They likewise shew what is become of things stolne and lost. There are of these kindes of Sorcerers in all partes, to whom commonly doe come the Anaconas, and Chinas, which serve the Spaniardes, and when they have lost any thing of their masters, or when they desire to know the successe of things past or to come, as when they goe to the Spaniardes citties for their private affaires, or for the publike, they demaund if their voyage shall be prosperous, if they shall be sicke, if they shall die, or return safe, if they shall obtaine that which they pretend:

and the witches or coniurers answer, yea, or no, having first spoken with the Divell, in an obscure place; so as these Anaconas do well heare the sound of the voyce, but they see not to whom these coniurers speake, neither do they vnderstand what they say.[1]

Jugglers were common in perhaps all of the Algonquian tribes, and indeed we have evidence of jugglery also among the Iroquois, for Charlevoix[2] says of the Hurons, whom he visited in 1635, that the jugglers had informed the Indians that the religion of the French was not applicable to them, and that they, furthermore, had a religion of their own. On account of this antagonism the missionary fathers were frequently compelled to perform their priestly offices in secret.

The Indians of Acadia are said to have had their jugglers, termed autmoins, and Charlevoix[3] says of them—

A sick person often takes it into his head that his disease is owing to witchcraft, in which case their whole attention is employed in discovering it, which is the juggler's province. This personage begins with causing himself to be sweated, and after he has quite fatigued himself with shouting, beating himself, and invoking his genius, the first out-of-the-way thing that comes into his head, is that to which he attributes the cause of the disease. There are some who, before they enter the stove, take a draft of a composition very proper, they say, for disposing them to receive the divine impulse, and they pretend that the advent of the spirit is made manifest by a rushing wind, which suddenly rises; or by a bellowing heard under the ground; or by the agitation and shaking of the stove. Then, full of his pretended divinity, and more like a person possessed by the devil than one inspired of Heaven, he pronounces in a positive tone of voice on the state of the patient, and sometimes guesses tolerably just.

The "stove" mentioned in the above quotation is the conical structure usually designated as the jugglery, a description of which will hereafter be given. "These autmoins," continues Charlevoix, "had much more authority than the other jugglers, although they were not possessed of greater ability, nor were they less impostors."

It appears from this remark that the class of shamans, known among the western Algonquian tribes as the mitä′ᵛ, or midē′, was also represented among the eastern Indians of that stock, although the several classes are usually described under the designation of juggler or sorcerer.

Baron Lahontan, who was lord-lieutenant of the French colony at Placentia, in Newfoundland, and who visited the Algonquian tribes of

[1] Acosta, Natural and Moral History of the Indies; in Hakluyt Society publications, vol. 61, pp. 367–368, London, 1880 (from the English translation, edition of Ed. Grimston, 1604).

[2] Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, tome i, p. 295 et seq., Paris, 1744. "Ces Charlatans, qui craignoient de perdre la considération, où les mettoit l'exercice de leur art, si les Missionnaires s'accréditoient dans le Pays, entreprirent de les rendre odieux & méprisables, & ils n'eurent pas dans ces commencemens beaucoup de peine à y réussir; non-seulement parce qu'ils avoient à faire à une Nation excessivement superstitieuse & ombrageuse, mais encore parce que plusieurs s'étoient déja mis dans la tête, que la Religion des François ne leur convenoit point, & qu'elle leur seroit même funeste, si elle s'établissoit parmi eux.

"Les Jongleurs vinrent donc aisément à bout de rendre suspectes toutes les démarches des Pères, & surtout leurs Prières, qu'ils faisoient regarder comme des maléfices; en sorte que ces Religieux étoient obligés de se cacher pour réciter leur Office, & pour s'acquitter des autres Exercices de dévotion."

[3] Journal of a Voyage to North America, vol. ii, p. 177, London, 1761.

the northwest in the latter part of the seventeenth century, speaks of the treatment of the sick by the natives, and with reference to the shaman says:

A *Jongleur* is a sort of *Physician*, or rather a *Quack*, who being once cur'd of some dangerous Distemper, has the Presumption and Folly to fancy that he is immortal, and possessed of the Power of curing all Diseases, by speaking to the Good and Evil Spirits. Now though every Body rallies upon these Fellows when they are absent, and looks upon 'em as Fools that have lost their Senses by some violent Distemper, yet they allow 'em to visit the Sick; whether it be to divert 'em with their Idle Stories, or to have an Opportunity of seeing them rave, skip about, cry, houl, and make Grimaces and Wry Faces, as if they were possess'd. When all the Bustle is over, they demand a Feast of a Stag and some large Trouts for the Company, who are thus regal'd at once with Diversion and Good Cheer.

When the Quack comes to visit the Patient, he examines him very carefully; *If the Evil Spirit be here,* says he, *we shall quickly dislodge him.* This said, he withdraws by himself to a little Tent made on purpose, where he dances and sings houling like an Owl; (which gives the Jesuits Occasion to say, *That the Devil converses with 'em.*) After he has made an end of this Quack Jargon, he comes and rubs the Patient in some part of his Body, and pulling some little Bones out of his Mouth, acquaints the Patient, *That these very Bones came out of his Body; that he ought to pluck up a good heart, in regard that his Distemper is but a Trifle; and in fine, that in order to accelerate the Cure, 'twill be convenient to send his own and his Relations Slaves to shoot Elks, Deer, &c., to the end they may all eat of that sort of Meat, upon which his Cure does absolutely depend.*

Commonly these Quacks bring 'em some Juices of Plants, which are a sort of Purges, and are called Maskikik. But the Patients choose to keep them by 'em rather than to drink them; for think all Purgatives inflame the Mass of the Blood, and weaken the Veins and Arteries by their violent Shocks.[1]

In his reference to the Indians (Ojibwa?) in the vicinity of Fort Nelson, on Hudson bay, M. de Bacqueville de la Potherie[2] remarks:

Ils reconnoissent comme ces anciens heretiques un bon & un mauvais esprit. Ils appellent le premier le *Quichemanitou.* C'est le Dieu de prosperité. C'est celui dont ils imaginent recevoir tous les secours de la vie, qui préside dans tous les effets heureux de la nature. Le *Matchimanitou* au contraire est le Dieu fatal. Ils l'adorent plus par crainte que par amour. . . .

"Faire fumer le Soleil ne se pratique guere que dans des occasions de grande consequence, & pour ce qui regarde leur culte ordinaire ils s'adressent à leur *Manitou,* qui est proprement leur Dieu tutelaire. Ce *Manitou* est quelquefois un ongle de castor, le bout de la corne d'un pied de Caribou, une petite peau d'hermine. J'en vis une attachée derriere le dos d'un Esquimau lorsque nous étions dans le détroit qu'il ne voulut jamais me donner, quoiqu'il me traita generalement tous les habits dont il étoit vétu, un morceau de dents de vache marine, de nageoite de loup marin, & la plûpart reçoivent des Jongleurs ce *Manitou* qu'ils portent toûjours avec eux.

Le démon paroît s'être emparé de l'esprit de ces infortunez qui voulant sçavoir l'évenement de quelques affaires, s'adressent à leurs Jongleurs, qui sont, si je peux me servir de ce terme, des Sorciers. La Jonglerie se fait differemment. Elle se fait de cette maniere parmi plûpart des Sauvages qui viennent faire le traite. Le Jongleur fait une cabane en rond, faite de perches extrémement enforcées dans la terre, entourée de peaux de Caribou ou d'autres animaux, avec une ouverture en haut assez large pour passer un homme. Le Jongleur qui s'y renferme tout seul, chante, pleure,

[1] New Voyages to North-America, vol. ii, pp. 47, 48, London, 1703.

[2] Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, vol. i., p. 121 et seq., Paris, 1753.

s'agite, se tourmente, fait des invocations & des imprécations, à peu prés comme la Sibille dont parle Virgile, qui poussée de l'esprit d'Apollon rendoit ses Oracles avec cette même fureur,

> At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro,
> Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit,
> Excussisse Deum: tanto magis ille fatigat,
> Os rabidum? fera corda domans, fingit que premendo.—*Vir. I, 6, v. 77.*

Il fait au *Matchimanitou* les demandes qu'il souhaite. Celui-ci voulant donner réponse, l'on entend tout à coup un bruit sourd comme une roche qui tombe, & toutes ces perches sont agitées avec une violence si surprenante, qui l'on croiroit que tout est renversé. Le Jongleur reçoit ainsi l'oracle: & cette confiance qu'ils ont aux veritez qu'il prononce souvent, sont autant d'obstacles à tout ce que l'on peut leur reprocher sur la fausse erreur où ils sont: aussi se donnent ils de garde, qu'aucun François n'entre dans l'endroit où se fait la Jonglerie.

Hennepin[1] speaks of the religion and sorcerers of the tribes of the Saint Lawrence and those living about the great lakes, as follows:

We have been all too sadly convinced, that almost all the Salvages in general have no notion of a God, and that they are not able to comprehend the most ordinary Arguments on that Subject; others will have a Spirit that commands, say they, in the Air. Some among 'em look upon the Skie as a kind of Divinity; others as an *Otkon* or *Manitou*, either Good or Evil.

These People admit of some sort of Genius in all things; they all believe there is a Master of Life, as they call him, but hereof they made various applications; some of them have a lean Raven, which they carry always along with them, and which they say is the Master of their Life; others have an Owl, and some again a Bone, a Sea-Shell, or some such thing.

There is no Nation among 'em which has not a sort of Juglers or Conjuerers, which some look upon to be Wizards, but in my Opinion there is no Great reason to believe 'em such, or to think that their Practice favours any thing of a Communication with the Devil.

These Impostors cause themselves to be reverenced as Prophets which fore-tell Futurity. They will needs be look'd upon to have an unlimited Power. They boast of being able to make it Wet or Dry; to cause a Calm or a Storm; to render Land Fruitful or Barren; and, in a Word, to make Hunters Fortunate or Unfortunate. They also pretend to Physick, and to apply Medicines, but which are such, for the most part as having little Virtue at all in 'em, especially to Cure that Distemper which they pretend to.

It is impossible to imagine, the horrible Howlings and strange Contortions that those Jugglers make of their Bodies, when they are disposing themselves to Conjure, or raise their Enchantments.

Carver gives a description of a Killistino, or Cree, juggler's performance, which will further illustrate the method of procedure as followed by this division of the Algonquian peoples. The narrator had been expecting the arrival of the traders, as provisions were getting very low, and, while in a state of anxiety, the "chief priest" of the tribe said he would endeavor to obtain a conference with the Great Spirit, and thus ascertain when the traders would come. Carver[2] says:

I paid little attention to this declaration, supposing that it would be productive of some juggling trick, just sufficiently covered to deceive the ignorant Indians.

[1] A continuation of the New Discovery, etc., p. 59 et seq., London, 1689.

[2] Travels through the interior of North America in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, p. 123 et seq., London, 1778.

But the king of that tribe, telling me that this was chiefly undertaken by the priest to alleviate my anxiety, and at the same time to convince me how much interest he had with the Great Spirit, I thought it necessary to restrain my animadversions on his design.

The following evening was fixed upon for this spiritual conference. When everything had been properly prepared, the king came to me and led me to a capacious tent, the covering of which was drawn up, so as to render what was transacting within visible to those who stood without. We found the tent surrounded by a great number of the Indians, but we readily gained admission, and seated ourselves on skins laid on the ground for that purpose.

In the centre I observed that there was a place of an oblong shape, which was composed of stakes stuck in the ground, with intervals between, so as to form a kind of chest or coffin, large enough to contain the body of a man. These were of a middle size, and placed at such a distance from each other that whatever lay within them was readily to be discerned. . . . In a few minutes the priest entered, when, an amazingly large elk's skin being spread on the ground just at my feet, he laid himself down upon it, after having stripped himself of every garment except that which he wore close about his middle. Being now prostrate on his back, he first laid hold of one side of the skin and folded it over him, and then the other, leaving only his head uncovered. This was no sooner done than two of the young men who stood by took about 40 yards of strong cord, made also of an elk's hide, and rolled it tight round his body, so that he was completely swathed within the skin. Being thus bound up like an Egyptian mummy, one took him by the heels and the other by the head and lifted him over the pales into the inclosure. I could now also discern him as plain as I had hitherto done, and I took care not to turn my eyes a moment from the object before me, that I might the more readily detect the artifice, for such I doubted not but that it would turn out to be.

The priest had not lain in this situation more than a few seconds when he began to mutter. This he continued to do for some time, and then by degrees grew louder and louder till at length he spoke articulately; however, what he uttered was in such a mixed jargon of the Chippeway, Ottawaw, and Killistinoe languages that I could understand but very little of it. Having continued in this tone for a considerable while, he at last exerted his voice to its utmost pitch, sometimes raving and sometimes praying, till he had worked himself into such an agitation that he foamed at his mouth.

After having remained near three-quarters of an hour in the place, and continued his vociferation with unabated vigor, he seemed quite exhausted, and remained speechless. But in an instant he sprung upon his feet, notwithstanding at the time he was put in, it appeared impossible for him to move either his legs or arms, and shaking off his covering, as quick as if the bands with which it had been bound were burned asunder, he began to address those who stood around in a firm and audible voice. "My brothers," said he, "the Great Spirit has deigned to hold a talk with his servant at my earnest request. He has not, indeed, told me when the persons we expect will be here, but to-morrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the people in that will inform us when the traders will come." Having said this, he stepped out of the inclosure, and after he had put on his robes, dismissed the assembly. I own I was greatly astonished at what I had seen, but, as I observed that every eye in the company was fixed on me with a view to discover my sentiments, I carefully concealed every emotion.

The next day the sun shone bright, and long before noon all the Indians were gathered together on the eminence that overlooked the lake. The old king came to me and asked me whether I had so much confidence in what the priest had foretold as to join his people on the hill and wait for the completion of it. I told him that I was at a loss what opinion to form of the prediction, but that I would readily attend him. On this, we walked together to the place where the others were assembled.

Every eye was again fixed by turns on me and on the lake; when, just as the sun had reached his zenith, agreeable to what the priest had foretold, a canoe came round a point of land about a league distant. The Indians no sooner beheld it than they sent up an universal shout, and by their looks seemed to triumph in the interest their priest thus evidently had with the Great Spirit.

In less than an hour the canoe reached the shore, when I attended the king and chiefs to receive those who were on board. . . . The king inquired of them whether they had seen anything of the traders? The men replied that they had parted from them a few days before, and that they proposed being here the second day from the present. They accordingly arrived at that time, greatly to our satisfaction. . . .

This story I acknowledge appears to carry with it marks of great credulity in the relator. But no one is less tinctured with that weakness than myself. The circumstances of it I own are of a very extraordinary nature; however, as I can vouch for their being free from either exaggeration or misrepresentation, being myself a cool and dispassionate observer of them all, I thought it necessary to give them to the public, . . . but leaving them to draw from it what conclusions they please.

Thus it will be observed that the juggler, after having been carefully wrapped and tied, was placed within his tshi'saqkan or jugglery, which in Carver's description is likened to a chest or a coffin. The juggler, at this day, enters his jugglery alone and unassisted, although it is reported that some of the Ojibwa performers will permit themselves to be securely tied, placed within the jugglery, and a moment later be at liberty and the cords at some other locality. Further information in regard to this subject, as relating to the Ojibwa, has already been presented in a paper entitled "The Midē'wiwin or Grand Medicine society of the Ojibwa," published in the seventh annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The power of prophecy and prevision is claimed by the juggler, and the citation of an instance of this, from the work of Peter Jones,[1] may not be without interest. The author mentioned was a Protestant Episcopal clergyman and a member of the Misasauga tribe of the Ojibwa nation, of Canada. He thus remarks:

I have sometimes been inclined to think that, if witchcraft still exists in the world, it is to be found among the aborigines of America. They seem to possess a power which, it would appear, may be fairly imputed to the agency of an evil spirit.

The conjurers not only pretend to have the powers already specified, but they profess also to have the gift of foretelling future events. The following curious account on this subject I received from a respectable gentleman who had spent most of his life in the Indian country, and who is therefore well acquainted with their character and pretensions. He is now one of the Government Indian agents in Upper Canada.

The following account is then given by this author:

In the year 1804, wintering with the Winnebagoes on the Rock river, I had occasion to send three of my men to another wintering house for some flour which I had left there in the fall, on my way up the river. The distance being about one and a half days' journey from where I lived, they were expected to return in about three days. On the sixth day after their absence, I was about sending in quest of them, when some Indians, arriving from the spot, said that they had seen nothing of them. I could now use no means to ascertain where they were. The plains were extensive,

[1] Hist. of the Ojebway Indians, p. 147 et seq., London, [1843?].

the paths numerous, and the tracks they had made were the next moment covered by the drift snow. Patience was my only resource, and at length I gave them up for lost.

On the fourteenth night after their departure, as several Indians were smoking their pipes, and telling stories of their war parties, hunting, etc, an old fellow, who was a daily visitor, came in. My interpreter, a Canadian named Felix, pressed me, as he had frequently done before, to employ this conjurer, as he could inform me about the men in question. The dread of being laughed at had hitherto prevented my acceding to his importunities; but now, excited by curiosity, I gave the old man a quarter-pound of tobacco and two yards of ribbon, telling him that if he gave me a true account of them, I would, when I ascertained the fact, give him a bottle of rum. . . . The old fellow withdrew, and the other Indians retired to their lodges.

A few minutes after, I heard Wahwun (an egg) begin a lamentable song, his voice increasing to such a degree that I really thought he would have injured himself. The whole forest appeared to be in agitation, as if the trees were knocking against each other, then all would be silent for a few seconds; again the old fellow would scream and yell as if he were in great distress. A chill seized me and my hair stood on end; the interpreter and I stared at each other without power to express our feelings.

The narrative states that finally everything became quiet, and the next morning the Indian was sent for, for an explanation.

"I went," said he, "to smoke the pipe with your men last night, and found them cooking some elk meat which they got from an Ottawa Indian. On leaving this place they took the wrong road on the top of the hill; they traveled hard on and did not know for two days that they were lost. When they discovered their situation they were much alarmed, and, having nothing more to eat, were afraid they would starve to death. They walked on without knowing which way they were going until the seventh day, when they were met near the Illinois river by the Ottawa before named, who was out hunting. He took them to his lodge, fed them well, and wanted to detain them some days until they had recovered their strength; but they would not stay. He then gave them some elk meat for their journey home, and sent his son to put them into the right road. They will go to Lagothenes for the flour you sent them, and will be at home in three days." I then asked him what kind of place they were encamped in when he was there. He said "they had made a shelter by the side of a large oak tree that had been torn up by the roots, and which had fallen with the head towards the rising sun."

All this I noted down, and from the circumstantial manner in which he related every particular—though he could not possibly have had any personal communication with or from them by any other Indians—I began to hope my men were safe and that I should again see them.

Suffice it to say that on the appointed day the men returned, and, upon being asked to give an account of their experience, they told exactly what the Indian had before stated, not omitting the tree or any other circumstance.

In an account of the life and customs of the Indians of Canada in 1723, found in the archives of France by the Honorable Lewis Cass,[1] while minister to that country, the narrator says:

They perform a thousand tricks of magic, pretending they can bring back dead animals to life, cause an otter to run across the lodge, or a bear to walk in there.

[1] Cass MS., translated by Charles Whittlesey, in Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1856, vol. iii, pp. 145, 146, 1857.

They do this by means of young girls and noises that are apparently under ground. With an arrow they pretend to stab the naked body of a man. To show the blood flowing, they lay upon the supposed wound, very adroitly, the juice of a red root. The arrow has its stem so made that when it strikes the body, instead of entering it, it slides within itself. The pretended wound is rubbed with a salve composed of roots, and by this means the injured man is cured upon the spot. This is done to prove the virtue of their medicines. They cure gun-shot wounds in the same way, before the whole tribe. But, in truth, the ball is made of earth, rubbed over with lead, which they break in pieces in the barrel of the piece as it is driven down.

The locality referred to appears to be near Mackinaw, and may refer either to the Ojibwa or to the Ottawa Indians.

The Abbé J. A. Maurault,[1] says regarding the subject:

La jonglerie était en grande vénération chez ces sauvages, et les jongleurs jouissaient d'une très-grande influence auprès d'eux. Ces pauvres gens, extrêmement superstitieux, avaient une telle confiance aux sortiléges de ces imposteurs qu'ils se soumettaient aveuglement à toutes leurs ordonnances, les considérant comme venant de l'autre monde. Les jongleurs, suivant eux, évoquaient les Esprits du Mal, qu'ils appelaient "Madaôdos," avaient le pouvoir de les vaincre, prédisaient le beau temps et le mauvais temps, l'heureuse ou la mauvaise fortune dans la chasse, les accidents qui devaient arriver dans un voyage, le résultat d'une expédition contre l'ennemi, et mille autres choses. Les sauvages avait une telle confiance aux sentences des jongleurs qu'ils n'entreprenaient jamais une chose de quelqu'importance sans les consulter.

Chaque sauvage recevait d'eux certains objets, qui étaient appelés "Madaôdos." Ces objets étaient des petites pierres, ou des os, ou des morceaux de certains bois, ou autres choses semblables. Les sauvages conservaient ces objets dans des sacs, et les considéraient comme un grand préservatif contre les attaques des Esprits du Mal. Plusieurs conservaient un grand nombre de ces "Madaôdos."

La jonglerie solennelle était une chose qui inspirait de l'horreur. Elle se faisait dans les circonstances importantes comme à la veille d'une guerre, pour en connaître d'avance le résultat. Voici comment se faisait cette jonglerie. Le jongleur s'enfermait seul dans une petite cabane, faite ordinairement d'écorces de bouleau. Alors, il évoquait hautement l'Esprit du Mal. Il passait quelque fois plusieurs heures dans cette cabane à se débattre et à crier comme un démon. Les sauvages se tenaient à une certaine distance de la loge aux sortiléges, attendant avec une grande anxiété la prophétie favorable ou défavorable. Lorsque le jongleur en était rendu à un tel état d'épuisement qu'il ne pouvait plus crier, il sortait de sa loge, le corps tout ruisselant de sueurs, et annonçait le résultat de son sortilége. Sa parole était alors reçue comme venant du ciel.

Les jongleurs soignaient les malades, prédisaient leur guérison ou leur mort, évoquaient et chassaient les "Madaôdos," qui les tourmentaient et les faisaient souffrir.

Lorsqu'un jongleur était appelé auprès d'un malade, il déclarait ordinairement de suite qu'un "Madaôdo" voulait faire mourir ce malade. Il sortait alors du wiguam, faisant mine d'aller à la recherche de cet Esprit; puis revenait bientôt, et annonçait qu'il était caché sous terre, à un endroit qu'il indiquait, mais qu'il saurait bien l'en arracher et le détuire. Voici ce qu'il faisait alors. Il enfonçait profondément dans le sol un poteau, auquel il attachait une longue corde, par le moyen de laquelle les sauvages devaient réunir leurs efforts pour l'arracher. Ordinairement les premiers efforts des sauvages étaient inutiles. Alors le jongleur, faisant mine d'aller menacer le "Madaôdo" obstiné, remuait la terre au pied du poteau, qui, après plusieurs essais, était enfin arraché. Le jongleur, tout rayonnant de joie, montrait alors aux sauvages étonnés des arêtes de poisson, des os ou autres objets, fixés à l'extrémité

[1] Histoire des Abenakis, Québec, 1866, pp. 29–32.

du poteau qui sortait de terre, disant que ces objets étaient les restes du "Madaôdo" qu'il venait de détruire. Les sauvages, ignorant que le jongleur avait lui-même préalablement fixé ces objets au poteau, admiraient ce grand prodige.

Si la maladie ne diminuait pas à la suite de ce sortilége, le jongleur annonçait que le malade mourrait dans trois ou quatre jours. Alors, le pauvre malade, effrayé par cette prédiction, et convaincu désormais qu'il allait mourir, refusait de prendre nourriture, et mourait d'inanition, à peu près au temps fixé par le jongleur.

Mr Hiram Calkins[1] mentions the performance of an Ojibwa who lived on Wisconsin river, near the Menomini country, which apparently embraced the pretensions of both the tshi'saqka and the wâ'beno:

The chief medicine man or conjurer is Mah-ca-da-o-gung, or The Black Nail, who performed the feat of descending the Long Falls in his canoe, and is represented by the other Indians as being a great medicine man. He is always called upon, far and near, in cases of sickness, or in the absence of relatives, to foretell whether the sickness will prove fatal or whether the friends will return in safety, and at what time. He is also consulted by the Indians when they go out to hunt the bear, to foretell whether success will crown their efforts. Before performing these services, he is always paid by the Indians with such articles as they have, which generally consist of tobacco, steel-traps, kettles, broadcloth, calico, and a variety of other commodities. He usually performs after dark, in a wigwam just large enough to admit of his standing erect. This lodge or wigwam is tightly covered with mats, so as entirely to exclude all light and the prying curiosity of all outsiders. Having no light within the lodge, the acts and utterances of the medicine man or conjurer are regarded as mysterious, and credulously received by the wondering crowd surrounding the tent. He first prepares himself in his family wigwam by stripping off all his clothing, when he emerges singing, and the Indians outside join him in the song with their drums, and accompany him to the lodge, which he enters alone. Upon entering, the lodge commences shaking violently, which is supposed by the Indians outside to be caused by the spirits. The shaking of the lodge produces a great noise by the rattling of bells and deers' hoofs fastened to the poles of the lodge at the top, and at the same time three voices are distinctly heard intermingled with this noise. One is a very heavy hoarse voice, which the Indians are made to believe is that of the Great Spirit; another is a very fine voice, represented to be that of a Small Spirit, while the third is that of the medicine man himself. He pretends that the Great Spirit converses in the heavy voice to the lesser spirit, unintelligibly to the conjurer, and the lesser spirit interprets it to him, and he communicates the intelligence to his brethren without. The ceremony lasts about three hours, when he comes out in a high state of perspiration, supposed by the superstitious Indians to be produced by mental excitement.

The structure described by the Reverend Peter Jones,[2] which he saw occupied by a juggler while the latter was engaged in consulting the ma'nidos, was "made by putting seven poles in the ground to the depth of about a cubit, in a circle of about 3 or 4 feet in diameter, and about 6 feet high, with one or more hoops tied fast to the poles to keep them in a circle. The sides were covered with birch bark, but the top was left open. Into this the pow-wow had entered, and was chanting a song to the spirit with whom he wished to converse. The jeesuhkon began to shake as if filled with wind."

The Menomini structure is about the same size as that above named, but not so large as the jugglery usually erected by the Ojibwa of north-

[1] Coll. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin for 1854, vol. i, pp. 123, 124, 1855.

[2] Op. cit., p. 115.

ern Minnesota. The Menomini tshi′saqkan is composed of four upright poles from 6 to 8 feet high, securely planted in the ground at the east, south, west, and north sides of a circle measuring 3 to 4 feet in diameter. These poles are from 4 to 6 inches thick. Around them is wrapped bark, and sometimes even pieces of cloth, to make the interior invisible from without (figure 20).

The tshi′saqka sometimes enters this place when he wants to consult the ma′nidos about the future. The latter come here and tell him what

FIG. 20—Tshi′saqkan or jugglery.

he wishes to know. To invoke their presence, he first enters the inclosure, then facing the east, addresses the ma′nidos who are supposed to abide in that direction, that they come to him; then he faces the south, and invokes the presence of the ma′nidos from that direction; then he talks to the ma′nidos who live in the west; and finally he turns to the north, and appeals to the ma′nidos of that region.

The following data are obtained from Menomini Indians who are members of the Mitä′wit, as well as from others who have laid aside their aboriginal beliefs and embraced Christianity. Although the structures exist at the present day, no prophecies have been made in this manner

for some years, but the ma'nidos have been consulted for remedies wherewith to combat violent symptoms of disease supposed to have been caused by angry or jealous rivals.

Then the tshi'saqka lies on the ground and begins to chant, during which time the ma'nidos begin to arrive. Their arrival is made known to those outside by the air swaying the top of the structure, and the wind also can be felt and heard.

The ma'nidos are next heard dropping upon the ground within, and their voices can be distinguished. Presently the assistant, or perhaps the one who desires information, goes to the tshi'saqkan and taps—with a stick or other object—upon the four upright poles in regular order, beginning at the east, then passing to the south, the west, and the north, and asks if all the ma'nidos have arrived. The tshi'saqka replies that all have arrived save one—his own personal ma'nido. Then the tshi'saqka sings and drums again, and presently a voice is heard above the tshi'saqkan, resembling the voice of the tshi'saqka. Their voices are similar, and the conversation between them is heard by all those seated or standing near by.

FIG. 21—Juggler's rattle.

The rattle employed by the juggler, both in the jugglery and when exorcising demons, is shown in figure 21.

The Miqkä'no—the turtle—is the most powerful of all the ma'nidos, and he, as the speaker for the others, is consulted for information; but should the tshi'saqka ask too many, or any injudicious questions, the personal ma'nido will be heard above the tshi'saqkan, in the same tone of voice as the interrogation, advising the latter to be careful, or not to be incautious in his demands.

When such a service has been performed in the interest of a sick person, the friends and family of the sick believe that the illness has been caused by the anger of an enemy through the influence of another tshi'saqka. The one consulted by the friends of the sick man is expected to reveal the name of the injuring conjurer, and to bring his shade into the tshi'saqkan. This is done, and the Miqkä'no is then the ma'nido who kicks the shade of the conjurer almost to death; if he is too much hurt and loses consciousness, the other ma'nidos bring his shade back to life, so that he is able to respond to the questions of the tshi'saqka, who asks him how and why he caused the illness of the person. The shade of the conjurer then relates how he did this wrong, and the reason therefor, and he is then told to restore him to health. If the conjurer promises to do this, all is well, and the patient is expected to recover in a short time.

If the conjurer refuses to comply with the demands of the tshi'saqka, the latter asks for a cedar knife, which the assistant throws into the

structure, when the Miqkä′no takes it and stabs the conjurer's shade to death. The bloody knife is then thrown out into the crowd, but it falls on the ground without touching any one, no matter how large the crowd may be. As the knife falls near one of the friends or relations of the sick, the person is by this token called on to kill the conjurer. In a short time, perhaps after a lapse of several weeks, the conjurer is found in his own wigwam stabbed to death.

When the tutelary daimon of the conjurer reveals the nature of the remedies used by him in having caused the illness of any one, he often reveals the remedy necessary to cure him; then the tshi′saqka may prepare it and give it himself. People always pay the tshi′saqka in presents of cloth, robes, furs, or any other objects which they may possess and which may be regarded by the tshi′saqka as a satisfactory return for his services.

The method of removing disease by sucking the cause thereof through bone tubes has been fully described in my paper on the Ojibwa Midē′wiwin, before mentioned. The juggler, after taking a vapor bath, returns to his everyday wigwam, seats himself upon a blanket, and awaits the arrival of the patient, if the latter is in condition to be brought.

When the patient is laid down near the juggler, the latter has also before him a basin or bowl containing some water, and several bone tubes varying in length from 2 to 5 inches, and from one-third to one-half an inch in diameter. An assistant drums upon the tambourine drum, as the juggler uses the rattle with one hand, while with the other he grasps a tube which he places over the part of the patient's body affected by the presence of a demon, or by some substance put there by another sorcerer, juggler, or wâ′beno. After chanting for a short time, the operator places his mouth to the tube and sucks violently; then assuming his former position he strikes the bone, which projects from his mouth, with the palm of his hand and apparently drives it down his throat. Then he goes through a similar performance until the disappearance of the second, the third, and every other tube that he may have. After considerable contortion and retching, he pretends to vomit into the basin the poison which had been extracted from the patient, the bones also making their appearance.

Alexander Henry, who was among the Ojibwa Indians at Mackinaw, and also through the surrounding country, over one hundred years ago, says:

> I was once present at a performance of this kind, in which the patient was a female child of about 12 years of age. Several of the elder chiefs were invited to the scene, and the same compliment was paid to myself on account of the medical skill for which it was pleased to give me credit.
>
> The physician (so to call him) seated himself on the ground, and before him, on a new stroud blanket, was placed a basin of water, in which were three bones, the larger ones, as it appeared to me, of a swan's wing. In his hand he had his shishiquoi, or rattle, with which he beat time to his medicine-song. The sick child lay

on a blanket near the physician. She appeared to have much fever and a severe oppression of the lungs, breathing with difficulty, and betraying symptoms of the last stage of consumption.

After singing for some time, the physician took one of the bones out of the basin. The bone was hollow, and one end being applied to the breast of the patient, he put the other into his mouth, in order to remove the disorder by suction. Having persevered in this as long as he thought proper, he suddenly seemed to force the bone into his mouth and swallow it. He now acted the part of one suffering severe pain, but presently finding relief he made a long speech, and after this returned to singing and to the accompaniment of his rattle. With the latter, during his song, he struck his head, breast, sides, and back, at the same time straining as if to vomit forth the bone.

Relinquishing this attempt, he applied himself to suction a second time, and with the second of the three bones; and this also he soon seemed to swallow.

Upon its disappearance he began to distort himself in the most frightful manner, using every gesture which could convey the idea of pain. At length he succeeded, or pretended to succeed, in throwing up one of the bones. This was handed about to the spectators and strictly examined, but nothing remarkable could be discovered. Upon this, he went back to his song and rattle, and after some time threw up the second of the two bones. In the groove of this the physician, upon examination, found and displayed to all present a small white substance resembling a piece of the quill of a feather. It was passed round the company, from one to the other, and declared by the physician to be the thing causing the disorder of his patient.

The multitude believe that these physicians, whom the French call jongleurs, or jugglers, can inflict as well as remove disorders. They believe that by drawing the figure of any person in sand or ashes, or on clay, or by considering any object as the figure of a person, and then pricking it with a sharp stick or other substance, or doing in any other manner that which done to a living body would cause pain or injury, the individual represented, or supposed to be represented, will suffer accordingly. On the other hand, the mischief being done, another physician, of equal pretensions, can by suction remove it. Unfortunately, however, the operations which I have described were not successful in the instance referred to, for on the day after they had taken place the girl died.[1]

The office of "rainmaker" is also held by a conspicuous juggler, when one of sufficient ability is supposed to abide with the tribe. When in times of great drought the chief demands rain for the benefit of the crops and disappearing streams, the juggler is commanded to cause the necessary rainfall; or, when too much rain has fallen, his powers are likewise called into requisition to stay the storm. The rainmaker is found in various tribes in which but little evidence of the existence of other pretenders is met with, though reference is made by Father Juan Bautista, in a work published at Mexico, as early as the year 1600,[2] that—

There are magicians who call themselves teciuhtlazque, and also by the term nanahualtin, who conjure the clouds when there is danger of hail, so that the crops may not be injured. They can also make a stick look like a serpent, a mat like a centipede, a piece of stone like a scorpion, and similar deceptions. Others of these nanahualtin will transform themselves to all appearances (segun la aparencia), into a tiger, a dog, or a weasel. Others again will take the form of an owl, a cock, or a

[1] Travels and Adventures (1760–1776), pp. 119–121, New York, 1809.

[2] Quoted from Brinton's Nagualism, A Study in Native American Folk-Lore and History, in Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., vol. xxxiii, p. 14, Philadelphia, 1894.

weasel; and when one is preparing to seize them, they will appear now as a cock, now as an owl, and again as a weasel. These call themselves nanahualtin.

In this connection it may be said that the powers of both the juggler and the wâ′beno of the Algonquian tribes appear to be combined. It it is quite probable, however, that more specific distinctions might have been observed to exist between the two professions had more thorough investigation and careful discrimination been made, though this is always a difficult proceeding with shamans when attempted by ecclesiastics, the so-called agents of the Kishä′ Ma′nido of a common enemy.

THE WÂ′BENO

The term wâ′beno has been explained by various intelligent Indians as signifying "men of the dawn," "eastern men," etc. The profession of the wâ′beno has not been thoroughly understood and little mention of it has been made by authors, but from personal investigation it has been ascertained that a wâ′beno does not affiliate with others of his class so as to constitute a society, but indulges in his pretensions individually. A wâ′beno is primarily prompted by dreams or visions which may occur during his youth, for which purpose he leaves his village to fast for an indefinite number of days. It is positively affirmed that evil ma′nidos favor his desires, and apart from his general routine of furnishing "hunting medicine," "love powders," etc, he pretends also to practice medical magic. When a hunter has been successful through the supposed aid of the wâ′beno, he supplies the latter with part of the game; then, in giving a feast to his tutelary daimon, the wâ′beno will invite a number of friends, but all who desire to come are welcome. This feast is given at night; singing and dancing are boisterously indulged in, and the wâ′beno, to sustain his reputation, entertains his visitors with a further exhibition of his skill. Through the use of plants he is alleged to be enabled to take up and handle with impunity red-hot stones and burning brands, and without evincing the slightest discomfort it is said that he will bathe his hands in boiling water, or even in boiling sirup. On account of such performances, the general impression prevails among the Indians that the wâ′beno is a "dealer in fire," or a "fire handler." Such exhibitions always terminate at the approach of day.

The wâ′beno is believed to appear at times in the guise of various animals, in which form he may inflict injuries on an individual for whose destruction he has received a fee. At night he may be seen flying rapidly along in the shape of a ball of fire, or of a pair of fiery sparks, like the eyes of some monstrous beast.

The nahual or sorcerer of Mexico of the present day is accredited by the lower classes with similar powers. Orozco y Berra[1] says:

> The nahual is generally an old Indian with red eyes, who knows how to turn himself into a dog, woolly, black, and ugly. The female which can convert herself into

[1] Historia Antigua de Mexico, vol. ii, 25. (Quoted from Brinton's Nagualism, op. cit. p. 18.)

a ball of fire; she has the power of flight, and at night will enter the windows and suck the blood of little children. These sorcerers will make little images of rags or of clay; then stick into them the thorn of the maguey and place them in some secret place. You can be sure that the person against whom the conjuration is practiced will feel pain in the part where the thorn is inserted.

The number of these pretenders who are not members of the Midē′wiwin is very limited. For instance, there are at present but two or three at White Earth reservation and none at Leech lake. As a general rule, however, the wâ′beno will seek entrance into the Midē′wiwin when he becomes more of a specialist in the practice of medical magic, incantations, and the exorcism of malevolent ma′nidos.

Concerning the wâ′beno, Reverend Peter Jones[1] says:

> Witches and wizards are persons supposed to possess the agency of familiar spirits, from whom they receive power to inflict diseases on their enemies, prevent the good luck of the hunter, and the success of the warrior. They are believed to fly invisibly at pleasure from place to place; to turn themselves into bears, wolves, foxes, owls, bats, and snakes. Such metamorphoses they pretend to accomplish by putting on the skins of these animals, at the same time crying and howling in imitation of the creature they wish to represent. Several of our people have informed me that they have seen and heard witches in the shape of these animals, especially the bear and the fox. They say that when a witch in the shape of a bear is being chased, all at once she will run round a tree or a hill, so as to be lost sight of for a time by her pursuers; and then, instead of seeing a bear, they behold an old woman walking quietly along, or digging up roots, and looking as innocent as a lamb. The fox witches are known by the flame of fire which proceeds out of their mouths every time they bark.

This belief in the transformation of the wâ′beno into some animate form, under which disguise he may inflict injury on his victim and immediately thereafter resume his natural form, is still very prevalent among the primitive Menomini, and frequently I have had considerable difficulty in persuading some of the younger men to accompany me through a forest, after nightfall, either in going to, or returning from, ceremonies at which I was to be in attendance.

The tricks accredited to the wâ′beno are numerous, and often exceedingly romantic. The following performance is said to have occurred at White Earth, Minnesota, in the presence of a large gathering of Indians and mixed bloods. Two small wigwams were erected, about 50 paces from each other, and after the wâ′beno had crawled into one of them his disparagers built around each of the structures a continuous heap of brush and firewood, which was then kindled. When the blaze was at its height all became hushed for a moment. Presently the wâ′beno called to the crowd that he had transferred himself to the other wigwam, and immediately, to their profound astonishment, crawled forth therefrom unharmed.

Charlevoix alludes to certain magic of the Indians which he refers to the juggling: but as all shamans were, at the time of the description, designated jugglers, and as no specific name was suggested for

[1] History of the Ojebway Indians, p. 145.

the wâ′beno, I am rather inclined to the opinion that, as the practice mentioned below was with fire, the performers alluded to were the wâ′beno. The above-named writer says:

It is pretended that all the Algonquins and Abenaquis formerly practiced a kind of pyromancy, the whole mystery of which is as follows: They reduced to a very fine powder some charcoal, made of cedar; they disposed this powder in their own manner, and afterwards set fire to it, and by the form which the fire took whilst it ran along this powder, they pretended to discover what they wanted to know.

The wâ′beno′ak were also formerly believed to be familiar with the properties of plants and other substances, which, if properly combined, would prove efficacious in causing the most indifferent man or woman to fall in love with the person wearing it about his person. Such preparations are termed love powders, and have been frequently alluded to by various writers, the statement of only one being here quoted. The Reverend Peter Jones remarks on this preparation:

This is a particular kind of charm which they use when they wish to obtain the object of their affections. It is made of roots and red ochre. With this they paint their faces, believing it to possess a power so irresistible as to cause the object of their desire to love them. But the moment this medicine is taken away, and the charm withdrawn, the person who before was almost frantic with love, hates with a perfect hatred.[1]

It is doubtful whether the reverend gentleman, although himself an Indian, had any suspicion of the actual composition of the preparation of which he speaks as having been employed by the Misasauga Ojibwa. The Ojibwa of Minnesota are very expert in this line of preparing so-called charm remedies—so much so, in fact, that the less-cultured whites are firm believers in the reputed properties of the substance named, while many of the more intelligent seriously ask if there is truth in the stories related.

While treating of this class of shamans and their alleged powers in the exposition of the ritual and ceremonies of the Midē′wiwin of the Ojibwa Indians,[2] I had occasion to explain, in the following words, the composition and method of preparation of some remedies which had been, until that time, unknown:

It consists of the following ingredients: Vermilion; powdered snakeroot (Polygala senega, L.); exiguam particulam sanguinis a puella effusi, quum in primis menstruis esset; and a piece of ginseng cut from the bifurcation of the root, and powdered. These are mixed and put into a small buckskin bag. The preparation is undertaken only after an offering to Ki′tshi Ma′nido of tobacco and a Midē′ song with rattle accompaniment.

This preparation is not employed as that previously mentioned by Reverend Peter Jones, nor even as that used by the Menomini, as will now be explained.

During a recent visit to one of the reservations in Minnesota, I had occasion to confer with a Catholic missionary regarding some of the

[1] History of the Ojebway Indians, London [1861], p. 155.
[2] Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 258.

peculiar medical practices of the Indians, and the implements and other accessories employed in connection with their profession. He related the following incident as having, but a short time previously, come under his personal observation:

One of the members of his church, a Norwegian, 62 years of age, and a widower, had for the last preceding year been considered by most of the residents as demented. The missionary himself had observed his erratic and frequently irrational conduct, and was impressed with the probable truth of the prevailing rumor. One morning, however, as the missionary was seated in his study, he was surprised at receiving a very early call, and upon invitation his visitor took a seat and explained the object of his visit. He said that for a year he had been so disturbed in his peace of mind that he now came to seek advice. He was fully aware of the common report respecting his conduct, but was utterly unable to control himself, and attributed the cause of his unfortunate condition to an occurrence of the year before. On waking one morning his thoughts were unwillingly concentrated on an Indian woman with whom he had no personal acquaintance whatever, and, notwithstanding the absurdity of the impression, he was unable to cast it aside. After breakfast he was, by some inexplicable influence, compelled to call upon her, and to introduce himself, and although he expected to be able to avoid repeating the visit, he never had sufficient control over himself to resist lurking in the vicinity of her habitation.

On his return home, after the first visit, he discovered lying upon the floor under his bed a midē′ sack, which contained some small parcels with which he was unfamiliar, but was afterward told that one of them consisted of "love powder." He stated that he had grown children, and the idea of marrying again was out of the question, not only on their account but because he was now too old. The missionary reasoned with him and suggested a course of procedure, the result of which had not been learned when the incident was related.

The Menomini love powder, termed takosa′wos, "the powder that causes people to love one another," is composed of vermilion and mica laminæ, ground very fine and put into a thimble which is carried suspended from the neck or from some part of the wearing apparel. It is necessary, however, to secure from the one whose affection is desired a hair, a finger paring, or some small scrap of clothing, which must also be put into the thimble. The thimble has a small orifice at the top through which passes a cord for attaching it to the neck, while the bottom is securely closed by means of a block of wood, some pine resin, or some other substance. Figure 22 represents a charm of this character. It is also decorated with a few hairs of some animal and a small hawk feather. In former times, it is affirmed, the composition of the powder was similar to that made by the Ojibwa of Minnesota, the most desirable ingredient having always to be obtained through the intermediary of some old medicine woman.

The wâ′beno′ak sometimes profess the ability to furnish medicine to aid the hunter in finding and securing game, though such pretensions are made equally by the tshi′saqka. To be able to furnish the desired information, for which a fee as well as part of the game secured are necessary, the wâ′beno familiarizes himself with the topography and characteristics of a wide area, in order to ascertain the best feeding grounds of the various animals and their haunts at various seasons. He keeps himself informed also by careful inquiry of returning hunters, and thus becomes possessed of a body of valuable information respecting the natural history of the surrounding country, by which means he can with a tolerable amount of certainty direct a hunter to the best localities for such varieties of game as may be particularly desired by him.

FIG. 22—Thimble charm containing love powder.

It is claimed that in former times the wâ′beno was much more highly regarded than at present, but that now the number of these individuals has been reduced to two or three within the entire tribe, in consequence of which gradual reduction, faith in their pretensions has become weakened, and with apparent good reason. The tshi′saqka is more respected, and consequently more feared, than the wâ′beno, although the mitä′wok greatly outrank in numbers these classes of shamans.

The reason that the wâ′beno′ak in former times were admitted to be more powerful than the mitä′wok is explained in the following myth, related to me by Shu′nien, and entitled "The contest between the mitä′ᵛ and the wâ′beno":

There was a mitä′ᵛ who considered himself the chief of all the mitä′wok, and was therefore the most powerful man on earth. But the leader of the wâ′beno′ak claimed that he himself was the more powerful of the two; so, after an angry altercation, the mitä′ᵛ challenged the wâ′beno—morning or daylight—to meet him, in order to see which could destroy the other. So the two agreed to meet in the spring, and during the whole winter each was engaged in preparing for the coming encounter.

Finally, the day was set when this contest of strength and power should be decided, and the mitä′ᵛ built a long medicine wigwam, or mitä′wikŏ′mik, extending east-and-west. The mitä′ᵛ and his friends were the first to arrive, and, entering the wigwam, the chief mitä′ᵛ marched in the eastern door and seated his companions at the northern side.

The wâ′beno was the last to arrive, but he was accompanied by his prophet, followed by the Akui′kikaᵛ—"he who draws out arrows"—and following the latter came the rest of the wâ′beno′ak, friends of the wâ′beno contestant. The mitä′wok were all painted with red paint from the chin up to the top of the forehead, whereas the wâ′beno′ak had their faces covered with red paint from the line of the nostrils downward to the breast.

When the wâ′beno entered the eastern door, at the head of the procession of his friends, he held before him a wâ′beno drum, tapping it and singing, and each time he struck it there issued tiny, magic arrows, which were directed toward the mitä′wok. To ward off these fatal missiles the mitä′wok held out the palms of their hands. The wâ′beno walked around the interior of the mitä′wikŏmik several times, going westward on the northern side and returning on the side opposite. Finally, the wâ′beno′ak seated themselves, when the mitä′ᵛ began to drum, saying to the wâ′beno, "You challenged me to a contest of skill and power; now go to work and do your best." To this the wâ′beno replied, "No, you challenged me; you began the trouble; now begin your work." The mitä′ᵛ then arose and said to the people on the outside, who were at each end of the wigwam, "My friends, go away from the opening of the wigwam, and stand at the sides; you might become the victims of evil ma′nidos by standing in the way." So the people hurried away from the openings at the eastern and western ends of the wigwam, and took places on the northern and southern sides, where they could watch the contest.

The wâ′beno, who took his place at the western end of the wigwam, placed his drum before his breast, and said to the mitä′ᵛ: "Now, come and try your power; I shall not resist your attempts, but will show you that any power you may possess and direct at me will fail when it reaches my drum, for nothing can penetrate it." The mitä′ᵛ then went to the eastern end of the wigwam, and grasping his medicine sack held it as if holding a gun when charging; then he slowly danced forward toward the wâ′beno, with the bag directed at his breast, and sang the words ho′, ho′, ho′, ho′, in imitation of the sound made by the Bear ma′nido. He next advanced to within a short distance of the wâ′beno, when the mitä′ᵛ thrust the bag forward, shooting from it his magic konä′pamik, consisting of a bear's claw, which crushed through the drum and into the wâ′beno's breast, striking him senseless.

The wâ′beno lay outstretched on the ground. The prophet, the first of the wâ′beno's companions, came forward, and, placing his finger

on the wound, located the konä′pamik. Calling to the second friend of the wâ′beno, the first companion said, "Akui′kikaᵛ, come, draw out the magic bullet; it will kill the wâ′beno if you do not hasten." Then the arrow drawer approached the body of the wâ′beno, and, stooping over it, reached toward the wound. With a vigorous gesture he pulled out the bear's claw, whereupon the wâ′beno jumped up well as before.

The wâ′beno now said to the mitä′ᵛ, "You see, I made no attempt to destroy you, but allowed you to try to kill me. Now, take care, for I am going to exercise my powers." The mitä′ᵛ went to the eastern end of the wigwam, and the wâ′beno began slowly to approach him, drumming upon the little wâ′beno drum until he got very close to the mitä′ᵛ. The wâ′beno had turned his drum upside down and was drumming upon the bottom, during which time the spirit arrows could be seen to fly from the drum at each stroke. Presently the wâ′beno gave the drum a hard stroke, and a magic arrow darted forward striking and entering the mitä′ᵛ's forehead, when he fell to the ground apparently dead.

The mitä′wok were alarmed, but the wâ′beno called his chief assistant, the prophet, and said, "Place your finger on the wound that he may not die; I want merely to show him that I am more powerful than he." The prophet came and put his finger on the wound in the forehead of the mitä′ᵛ. The wâ′beno then told Akui′kikaᵛ to come and extract the mystery arrow. So soon as the arrow was pulled from the wound, the mitä′ᵛ arose, when the wâ′beno said to him, "You see now that I am more powerful than you; and had I so desired I could have left you lying here dead. I am more powerful, for I am the chief of those who receive their power from Wâ′benona′sĭĕ—Mystery of the Dawn!"

The mitä′ᵛ then admitted that he had been in error, saying, "I had always been led to think that the mitä′wok were the more powerful, but now I know that the wâ′beno′ak are more powerful."

The mitä′ᵛ then went out to his own wigwam, gathered up all his goods and killed a little dog which he had prized very much, and, returning to the wigwam occupied by the mitä′wok and the wâ′beno′ak, laid upon the ground before the wâ′beno the goods and the carcass of the dog, saying, "Here are gifts for restoring me to life. I wish to retain your friendship, so accept them." The wâ′beno received the gifts, and soon both the mitä′ᵛ and the wâ′beno left, each going to his respective wigwam.

THE DREAMERS

The fourth class of shamans are termed the Ne′moak, literally "the dance," commonly designated "The Dreamers." This society became known to the Menomini in the autumn of 1880, through the Potawatomi of the Prairie, or those living in Indian territory and Kansas.

It is asserted by the Menomini that Kishä′ Ma′nido became angered at the Indians because the old customs and ceremonials of the Mitä′wit

became corrupted, and that, desiring to give to the Indians a purer ritual and religious observance, Kishă′ Ma′nido gave to them the "dance."

There are three localities in the neighborhood of Keshena where meetings are held for the exercises and the promulgation of the doctrines entertained.

The accompanying illustration (figure 23) represents the form of the inclosure in which the meetings are held. The structure consists of a low fence of boards, not more than 2½ feet high, around the interior of which are arranged other boards placed against the wall to serve as benches. At the eastern and western sides are spaces for entrance and exit. The diameter of the circle averages about 50 feet, the size depending on the number of members any given community may contain.

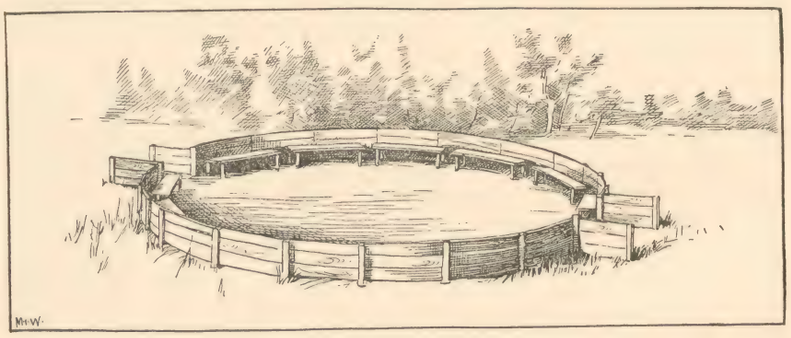


FIG. 23—Dancing place of the Dreamers.

When a meeting is to be held, the chief, or okwē′maŭ, informs the four nä′nauwĕ′qtawok, or braves, of the fact, who then carry the intelligence to all the members.

When entering the inclosure for a meeting, they all march in at the western door, pass around on the left hand, and continue until their proper stations are reached, when they become seated (figure 24). The pipe is lighted and passed four times, after which the chief of the braves stations himself at one side of the western door, and an appointed old man at the other side, after which no one is permitted to leave, unless by permission of the okwē′maŭ, or otherwise, as hereafter mentioned. The os′kabai′wĭs, or messenger, seated to the left of the braves, may leave at any time, as he is obliged to keep the gathering supplied with food, water, or anything else that may be required. The uq′puokan′inä′nĭŭᵛ, or "pipe man," the attendant to the musicians, also has power to leave whenever necessary, but he can not extend this privilege to any other.

After the four ceremonial smokes have been indulged in, no one can leave the inclosure, as two members guard the western entrance, unless

permission to depart be given by the chief of the musicians (14). Should the latter go out first, however, a person previously requesting permission to leave the inclosure may follow him.

When the first song is finished, the orator is called on by the four braves to preach. In case he should decline, he must make known his reason for so doing to one of the four braves, one of whom then delivers an address. If a particularly forceful address is demanded or required, the chief (1) himself speaks.

If an objectionable person enters, the chief drummer carries the drum out at the eastern entrance. This is a signal that the meeting is dissolved. After the completion of the service, all depart from the western door

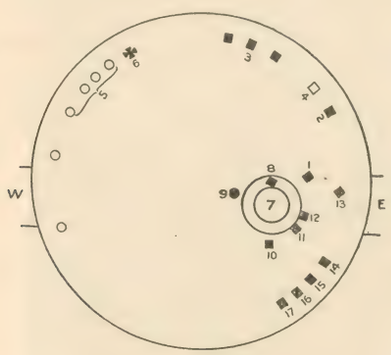


FIG. 24—Diagram of the Dreamers' dancing place.

1. Okwē′maŭ, chief of Ne′moak and keeper of the drum. 2. Ke′kitoina′nĭŭ, orator or "speaking man." 3. Boys who are members or candidates for membership. 4. Oski′nauwä′ŭokwē′maŭ, "young-boy-chief," leader of boys. 5. Nä′nauwĕ′qtawok, four "braves." 6. O′skabai′wĭs, "messenger" to braves; the brave seated next to the messenger is called Missu′akan, "Wounded leg." 7. The Drum society owns two sets, one (3 pieces) called okwē′maŭ täwäq′ikanŏk′, "chiefs' drums," and nä′nauwĕ′qtawok täwäq′ikanŏk, "braves' drums" (2 pieces). 8, 9, 10, 11, musicians; (No. 8 is called miau′nika′mo inä′nĭŭ^{v}, "principal singer"). 12. Okwē′maŭ opi′kishi′ka^{v}, one who dried the drum; the drum cover is wet, and he is supposed to dry it by drumming. 13. Uq′puokan′ inä′nĭŭ^{v}, "pipe man;" attendant to singers who keeps the musicians supplied; the assistants sit between the chief musicians, 8–11, and around, behind them, is a circle of women singers (14–17). 14, 15, 16, 17, chiefs of women musicians; the last (17) is called Missu′akan, "Wounded drum leg;" also termed Mussu′akanoq kâtapē′′ta, "Wounded (drum) leg," who sits by it; as the drum is supposed to rest on four legs the name is only an illusion.

The keeper of the drum resided near the Dreamers' dancing inclosure, and had suspended the inclosed drum in the northeast corner of the only room in the house, as shown in figure 25.

Beneath the drum was placed a large rush mat, while behind it, near the corner, was a box containing the drumstick, medicine pouch—as the owner was also a mitä′^{v}—and other mysterious or sacred objects. Upon the mat was deposited a silk handkerchief, on the rear portion of which was placed the ceremonial pipe of catlinite with an ash-wood stem. Before the pipe was a saucer containing tobacco and a box with a quantity of matches stuck into it. The place of the drum and pipe was never approached unless for the purpose of making a smoke offer-

ing in company with a visiting member of the society or when the sacred articles were removed to the dancing arena.

The Reverend Clay MacCauley, late of Washington, District of Columbia, delivered a lecture before the Tokyo (Japan) conference on the 9th of March, 1893,[1] in which he related his experience of a visit to the Menomini Indians at Keshena, Wisconsin, about twelve years previously, for the purpose of gathering information in connection with the federal census of 1880. Mr MacCauley gives a description of the meeting place of the Dreamers, the same dancing ground as above described, and a subsequent conversation with Mat′sikinĕ′uˢ (Bad Eagle) as to the doctrine of the advocates. This Indian long since left the society and is now a convert to Christianity. The explanation generally is in accord with what the members now believe, though some portions bear strong suggestions of the personal feeling of the interpreter rather than of the opinion of the rest of the common members of the society.

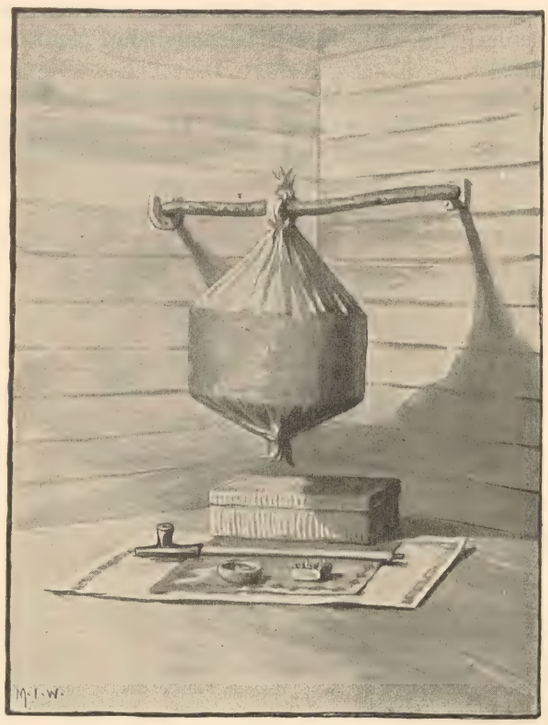


FIG. 25—Place of the drum.

After relating superficially what he witnessed during a brief visit to the ceremonies, Mr MacCauley says:

> I have told you of the Dreamers just as I saw them. The members of the league were evidently thoroughly, even fanatically, in earnest. That was clear. But what did they believe; what did they teach; what was their aim? I could not tell, and many had assured me they meant ill. The day following, I therefore sent for Metchikeni to interpret for me what I had seen. . . . Here is the interpretation of the Dreamers' ceremonies and statement of their doctrines, as Metchikeni gave them to me. . . . "If I thought that our dance was a step backward, I would have nothing to do with it; neither would Niopet. . . . We are dressed in the old dress of our fathers, and we sing and dance; but I have been in the theater in Washington and have seen the white men do about the same things, with no one to blame them.

[1] Published in the Japan Daily Mail of March 21, 1893.

These things are not necessary, I know, and by and by we may drop them. We do not take the young men from their work. We dance the dance only six times in the year. You ask me who we are. I will tell you the truth. Not many years ago, in the West, when some Indians were at war, while they were fighting, a woman fled from them to save her life. As she ran she lost her way and fell into the water of a river. But she did not die. She lay in the water asleep many days—eight days and nights. All this time she dreamed and saw wonderful sights of beauty and peace. At the end of eight days she heard a voice calling to her to rise up; then some power lifted her out of the water and made her well and strong. She knew that the Great Spirit had brought her back to the world. And this the Great Spirit told her: 'Go at once to your people and tell them to stop their war and to become friends with one another and with the white man. They will hear you and will believe you, and you and they must spread my words among all Indians. Do you see the sky, how it is round?' continued the divine voice. 'Go, then, and tell your people to make a circle on the ground just like the round sky. Call that holy ground. Go there, and with a big drum in the center, sing and dance and pray to me, and speak my words. And when you speak, say always these things: "You are all children of one Father, and are brothers. You must live in peace with one another. You must not drink intoxicating drink. You must always speak the truth. If you are struck, you must count the blow as nothing and not strike back again." Do these things and all Indians and white men will soon be prosperous and at peace and happy. You will all have one heart.' Now, that is what our dance is for. We teach these words of the Great Spirit. You saw a sick girl carried into our holy place. She was carried there that there we might pray to the Great Spirit to make her well. We have no medicine dance. We hope with our dance to break up by and by the old medicine dance, and all such things. So we teach. You saw the flag above us. That is to show that we are friends of the Great Father. You saw some men dancing and acting as though they were firing off guns, hunting, and running hard. They show that some of us helped the Great Father in the big war, and are ready to help him again. . . . We lifted our hands to the sky; that was for prayer. We held out our hands, palms upward; that was to receive the answers to our prayers. We scattered from our hands to the ground; that was to show that we give what we receive. You saw us all give presents to one another; that was to show that we are brothers, and that brothers must help brothers. . . . But that ground is holy while we are there with the Great Spirit, and the dog is not clean. He may not live if he comes onto the ground. We have three watchmen to keep all away, but sometimes they will get in, and then there is no help for them. If our friend could only have understood our speeches he would know that we are trying to do well. We do not take the young men from their work. We try to help them to work better. If I had a flag of my own I should want to have painted on it a picture of a plow and over that my totem, the eagle. This flag I should like to see always waving over our dance. I want all my children to go to school to learn just what white men know. . . . We are doing the best we can. I am sorry that there are some here who wish to do us harm and would make trouble for us if they could."

. . . My general conclusion, however, is that the Dreamers, if the Menomini branch of the league may be accepted as representative, are religious enthusiasts, somewhat fanatic in their enthusiasm, devoted to a strange admixture of pagan ritual, monolatory, or degenerate Christian theology and Christian ethics.

MYTHOLOGY

FORMER CONDITION OF THE MYTHS

The following myths were obtained from Shu'nien and Nio'pet, two of the better informed men of the tribe. The subjects pertain to the exploits and adventures of Mä'näbŭsh, but do not come within the

scope of the ritual of the Mitä′wit, although some of the older mitä′wok believe that at some time in the past they were part of the instruction given to the candidate. There appears to have been a time, according to both the Ojibwa and Menomini Indians, when Mä′näbŭsh became degraded on account of his foolish actions. In the Ottawa dialect Mä′näbŭsh signifies a "foolish fellow," because of the ridiculous performances of this demigod previous to his final departure from the Indian country.[1]

Some of these myths will be recognized as having, at some time in the past, formed part of the cosmogonic ritual of the Menomini, but when and how they became separated and so altered as to have lost their reverential character it is impossible even to surmise.

THE TRAVELS OF MÄ′NÄBŬSH

When Mä′näbŭsh had completed the erection of the mitä′wikŏ′mik, and had made the presentation to his uncles of the mysteries of the Mitä′wit, he decided to go on a journey to visit his brothers (some of the mitä′wok who had been so constituted by him), because there were many evil ma′nidos, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who were constantly endeavoring to destroy them.

The following is a translation of the myth given by Shu′nien:

One time after a long journey Mä′näbŭsh thought he heard some singing, and thinking there were some people having a dance, he went forward and soon beheld a multitude of dancers, greatly interested in their ceremony. He saw the headfeathers moving about in every direction, but as it was late in the evening he could not distinguish those about him. Receiving no friendly greeting from anyone, he said, "My brothers, I have come to join you in the dance," but he had scarcely uttered these words when he heard some one derisively laughing at him. The same voice then spoke, "We have fooled Mä′näbŭsh," whereupon he knew that some of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ were the authors of the deception and that he had mistaken the tall reeds with feathery plumes for well-clad warriors with eagle-feather headdresses.

When Mä′näbŭsh looked about and saw how he had been deceived, he was very angry; so he said to the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, "That is all well for you, but I shall remember this occurrence." He left the place and continued to walk for a long time, when he again heard the sounds of music and dancing. Approaching near enough to see that he was not deceived a second time, he observed a large number of birds, of many kinds, dancing round in a circle. Mä′näbŭsh said to them, "My brothers, I have brought some songs with me, and will sing for you while you dance, but you must all keep your eyes closed as you dance, for otherwise it will not be so enjoyable." The birds began to dance, and as one would come within easy reach of Mä′näbŭsh he would

[1] According to verbal information received from Mr A. J. Blackbird, an educated Ottawa chief and interpreter of Michigan.

grasp it by the neck, so as to prevent its crying out, and twist off its head. In this way he secured four birds; but one, not hearing the voices of his friends, opened his eyes, notwithstanding the advice of Mä′näbŭsh, and beheld the bodies of four of the dancers lying on the ground at the feet of Mä′näbŭsh. When the bird saw this, he flew up and cried out, "My brothers, Mä′näbŭsh is killing our friends; fly, or we shall all be destroyed!" This bird was a Duck, and his wings made a great noise as he rose into the air, which instantly startled the rest, so that they escaped. Mä′näbŭsh called to the Duck, and said, "For your disobedience you shall always have red eyes." And to this day the rings around the eyes of this bird are red.

After the long journey which Mä′näbŭsh had made, and the exertion which he had undergone while singing for the dancers, he had become very hungry; so he immediately gathered together enough wood to make a large fire to cook his birds. He buried the bodies in a sandy spot on the bank of the stream near by, leaving the legs exposed so that he could find the birds when baked. Over these he built the fire, and to rest himself he laid down near the fire, placing his buttocks toward it. He said to his own buttocks, "You must not go to sleep while I do so, but must watch that no one comes to rob me of my feast." Then Mä′näbŭsh fell asleep, confident that, when he had rested, he would awaken to find the birds ready to eat.

Now, it chanced that two Winnebago, who had been out hunting, came by the place where Mä′näbŭsh was sleeping, and, seeing smoke, approached, under cover of the bushes, to see what caused the fire. They soon beheld some one asleep near by, and, going still closer, saw that it was Mä′näbŭsh preparing a feast. Then one of the Winnebago said to the other, "It is Mä′näbŭsh, and he has prepared a feast; let us go and eat it while he is asleep." The other agreed, so, going to the fire and beholding the feet of the birds protruding from the sand, they pulled them out. The birds were eaten, and when the Winnebago were ready to leave, they placed the legs back into the ground, in order to make it appear that they had not been disturbed.

After a long sleep Mä′näbŭsh awoke, and thinking the birds had by this time become cooked, he pulled up the first pair of legs, but found nothing attached to them. Not knowing what to make of this, unless the bird had become overcooked, he dug into the sand, but the body had gone. Then he pulled out the second pair of legs, but, finding that the body to which they belonged had also disappeared, he became very much alarmed. He pulled out the third pair of legs with the same result as before, so he hurried to the fourth pair, only to discover that all his birds had been devoured by some one. Then Mä′näbŭsh threw up his hands in distress and cried, "Ah! I have been robbed of my feast; who could have done this?" Looking about in every direction he failed to learn anything of the thieves who had plundered him during his sleep. Then Mä′näbŭsh slapped his buttocks and asked, "Who robbed me of

my feast? Did I not tell you to watch while I slept? Some one has robbed me of my birds and I am now unable to appease my hunger." Then, to punish his buttocks for their carelessness, he sat down against the fire to scorch them; but finding that the heat reached his legs and back, he went away from the fire, though not before burning himself so severely that he had to travel by means of two sticks. He limped along as well as he could from the place where he had slept, and after awhile saw a Mink crossing the path which he was following. The Mink had a long tail, to which were attached many small bells of shell which jingled at every step. Mä'näbŭsh said to the Mink, "My brother, you have a long tail with many ornaments on it; would you object to telling me where you got those beautiful shells, and if I might get some likewise?" "No, Mä'näbŭsh," said the Mink, "I do not object to telling you where I got my bells, and I will show you how you may obtain some. I cut these from my body, from the back of my buttocks."

Mä'näbŭsh then asked the Mink to take a knife and cut some from his body that he also might ornament a tail and hang it to his back. The Mink, in compliance with the request of Mä'näbŭsh, cut away a number of slices of flesh from his buttocks and, handing the pieces to Mä'näbŭsh, the latter tied them to a tail of buckskin and fastened them to his back; but every time Mä'näbŭsh attempted to walk it hurt him, because the exertion caused the cut flesh to move. Mä'näbŭsh went along slowly for a short distance, when, happening to look back at his trailing tail, he saw that the Mink had cut away so much flesh that his entrails were dragging along the ground. Gathering his entrails together, he threw them up into the air so that they fell upon a tree; then he said, "Now, you remain there and become food for the people." The vines are still found clinging to the trees, and people even now cut them in pieces and boil them to eat, for they are very good.

The rough skin which had been caused by the scorching of Män'äbŭsh's buttocks gave him much inconvenience. He went forward until he reached a rocky hilltop, where he crawled and slid around among the rocks in order to slip the roughened cuticle from his body, just as a snake casts its skin. Then he said to the old skin, "There, you remain here and become food for the people." Pieces of the skin of Mä'näbŭsh are found hanging to the rocks even to this day.

Mä'näbŭsh, resuming his journey, came to a river, down the bank of which he went to get a drink. While stooping over he saw fruit in the water, and being very fond of it, for it was wild cherries, he dived into the water, but it being shallow he struck the bottom, hurting himself very much. Disappointed and bruised, he went to the top of the bank, where he laid down upon his back. While in this position he looked toward the sky and saw among the branches of the trees the wild cherries which he had before thought were down in the water. So soon as he had rested from his journey and his body became less painful, he crawled up into the tree and ate all the cherries he desired.

Mä′näbŭsh continued his journey. Looking about him he perceived Pä′skosē—the Buzzard—flying high in the air. Then said Mä′näbŭsh to himself, "If I could only fly like Pä′skosē, how I should enjoy looking down to behold the earth." While thus meditating he moved his arms as if flying, and Pä′skosē, seeing him, soared down. Mä′näbŭsh then said to Pä′skosē, "I should like to be able to fly as you do; to soar away through the sky and look down upon the earth to see what everybody is doing there."

Pä′skosē laughed and replied, "You can not fly, Mä′näbŭsh, even by moving your arms like that. What would you do if you could fly?"

Mä′näbŭsh responded, saying, "I would then transport myself much quicker than I do in the way I am obliged to travel. Take me up, my brother, and let me see how the earth appears from up in the sky."

Pä′skosē then told Mä′näbŭsh to get upon his back, which he did, and, securely holding on to Pä′skosē, the latter flew far into the air. He flew to the top of a very high mountain peak with precipitous sides, where Mä′näbŭsh alighted to look about. Then Pä′skosē flew away, leaving Mä′näbŭsh in a very dangerous place. Mä′näbŭsh looked for some way to descend from the peak, but, finding none, he decided to leap down; so, taking a jump forward to clear the rock, he descended toward the earth like an arrow.

It happened that Mä′näbŭsh reached the earth near a camp of his people, but fell into a hollow tree, from which he was unable to extricate himself. Here he was held a prisoner for four days, when some women, coming from the camp in search of wood, found the large dead tree in which Mä′näbŭsh happened to be a prisoner. One of the women, on seeing the tree, said, "Here is some dry timber; let us cut it down." Then Mä′näbŭsh, hearing that help was at hand, and desiring to avoid alarming the women by speaking to them, imitated a porcupine by crying, yä hē′, yä hē′, yä hē′, yä hē! The women, thinking they had discovered a porcupine, immediately set to work to fell the tree; but as Mä′näbŭsh, after the tree had fallen, was afraid they might cut into it again and wound him, he said to the one with the ax, "Cut a small opening into the trunk, and let me show you how many beautiful colored quills I shall give you." The woman did so, being careful not to cut too large an opening; then Mä′näbŭsh again spoke to the woman and told her to take off her skirt and cover the opening in the tree until he could put out the quills where she could get them. She took off her skirt and placed it over the opening, when Mä′näbŭsh hastily crawled out and ran away laughing.

Mä′näbŭsh was glad to escape from these women, so he hurried away toward the north where eight other women lived. The first was called Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis ("she who governs"); the second Ki′skapanuq′kĭu ("early dawn"); the third Pa′shapanoq′kiu ("the yellow streak of cloudy vapor of the dawn"); the fourth Kashki′qkapan ("the dark haze at the horizon"); and the eighth was called Osa′wapano′qkĭuv

("the green tint seen at early dawn"). They were sisters, but Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis and Pa'shapanoq'kiu were women of evil disposition, while Ki'skpanuq'kĭu and Kashki'qkapan were well disposed and friendly to everybody. Osa'wapano'qkĭu^{v} was the wife of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}.

Mä'näbŭsh reached a wigwam occupied by a woman, who was the sister of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}, and, as he was very hungry, he asked her to give him something to eat. She prepared him food, and, being welcomed by the woman, Mä'näbŭsh decided to remain there for some time.

Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} also returned to his sister's wigwam, and one morning he flew away to get some food. He went far to the north and found a large bare place where some people were running and playing ball. Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} knew that he was a good runner; so he went to the edge of a lake, put down a martin which he had caught, and said to the ball players: "My brothers, you see the sun is shining upon the forehead of this martin—upon this spot, exactly between the eyes. By the time I run around this lake the sun will not have had time to travel from that spot to the corner of the eye."

"Hau," said all the players, because they were anxious to see an apparently impossible feat accomplished.

Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} started to run, and by the time he had made the circuit of the lake and returned to the martin the sun had scarcely moved from the spot indicated upon the martin's forehead. Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis approached to see who the runner really was, and as she came close to him she suspected some trickery, so she raised the leggins of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} and exposed his shin bone.

"O, it is Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}," cried she; "I know who you are now!"

"The ball players wanted him to join them, but he said, "No, I will come again to play with you," and with that he grasped up his martin and flew away to his sister's wigwam.

Now, the sister of Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} was the one who governed all the birds, and she knew the treacherous character of the people of the camp ruled by Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis; so she said, "My brother, do not go to that camp any more; the people of Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis eat people who are not of their kind, and they will surely devour you." Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}, however, made no reply, but next morning started to fly back to the place where the ball game was to be played, but this time he did not take the martin with him. When he arrived at the camp of Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis it was nearly night, and no ball players were in sight. Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis came forward, and, grasping Pä'skinĕ'u^{v}, held him fast, saying, "Remain with us tonight, brother, and in the morning I will give you a feast." Then Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis went out and caught the Kinĕ'u^{v} (golden eagle), the Buzzard, and the Pinäsh'iu (bald eagle). These with Pä'skinĕ'u^{v} she took to her wigwam, where they found four old men lying upon a mat made of rushes.

Early next morning Mä'tshiwiqkwa'wis started out to seek food for her guests, as she said, but the four men, the birds, suspecting some-

thing wrong in her curious behavior, followed her. She ran so fast that her pursuers were soon left far in the rear. Then Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} flew into the air and saw Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis far in advance, and still running rapidly. Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} flew forward, passing the woman, and finding a log lying across the path by which she was to pass, he laid himself down behind it and awaited her arrival. When she approached the log and attempted to leap across it, Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} caught her and, with his bow, struck her across the legs until she cried out frantically for him not to beat her, as she was only going to get him and his friends something to eat.

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} looked back for his friends and the other people who were following (for the sisters of Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis were also in the throng), but they were so far behind that he compelled Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis to open a bag which she had with her, take out a piece of buckskin, and place four little sticks at the corners. Then Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} took out of his quiver an arrow, which he cut into short pieces, and which in turn were transformed into tobacco. He lighted each stick by means of these, when the buckskin began to shrink from the heat, thus shortening the distance between the spot where Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis and Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} were and the place where their followers were still running along. The latter soon came up, and Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis gave them a feast.

When Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} and his friends awoke next morning they found that Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis had again run away from them. They started in pursuit, but could not overtake her, so Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} again flew into the air to see where the woman was. He espied her far ahead of them—so far that she seemed like a mere speck. Then Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} flew forward and ahead of her to a hillside, where he lay in wait. When Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis came up to where Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} was awaiting her arrival, he grasped her by the arm and with his bow beat her severely about the legs. Again she screamed, and said, "I am only going ahead to get something for you to eat. You see that mountain stretching away to the east and west; that is where my father abides; it is his wigwam. We will now go on and visit him, and his daughter will get some food ready."

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} seemed satisfied with this explanation, but awaited the arrival of his friends and her sisters, all of whom were still far behind, but were running as rapidly as ever. When they came up to the hillside where Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} was awaiting them, they prepared beds of boughs and leaves, and lay down to sleep.

Early the next morning the party went forward together, and as they approached the mountain in which the father of Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wis lived, the side opened and they entered. Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} saw the old man seated opposite the entrance of the wigwam, and observed that his breechcloth consisted of the skin of a wildcat. The old man doffed this garment and threw it at Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, and as it flew through the

air like a knife it assumed life. Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ struck the flying animal upon the head, bringing it to the ground; then, picking it up and throwing it back to the old man, he said, "Here, old man, is your breechcloth; do you expect that you can harm me with a piece of wildcat skin?" The old man became infuriated and threw the cloth a second time, hoping by this means to cleave the skull of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ, but Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ again struck it to the ground, after which he picked it up and threw it across the room to the old man, this time saying, "Here, old man, keep your breechcloth; you can do me no harm."

The old man was one of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who dwell under the ground, and who are the enemy of mankind. But he found that Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ was a very powerful being and was afraid to attempt openly to destroy him.

Finally the old man said, "My daughter has prepared a feast for you; so take seats and the food will be brought out."

Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ and the Buzzard were requested to eat before the old man, and, while each of the guests received a bowl of food, Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ found that his dish held nothing but a mass of eyeballs taken from the victims which the old man had destroyed. Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ then pushed the dish toward the old man, saying, "Here, old man, I do not care for this dish; I am not accustomed to eating human flesh, especially eyeballs, so you take them." The old man received the dish, but left it by his side untasted.

Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ then remarked upon the good looks of the old man's daughter—the youngest one, who remained at home and who attended to his wants. To this the old man replied, "Whoever is able to jump across my wigwam may have her for his wife."

Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ then said, "I am able to jump across your wigwam, so we will go outside."

They all went to the outside of the mountain, when Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ leaped into the air and jumped across the mountain without any difficulty; whereupon the old man said to Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ, "You have won the girl; take her."

The old man did this so that he might gain more power over Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ in order to destroy him, but his first wife, who was also a daughter of the old man, remained with Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ, so as to guard him against danger.

The new young wife then said to Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ, "Let us visit my mother; she lives on the top of a steep rock, and will be glad to see my husband." So they all left the abode of the old man and started off to visit his wife, the mother of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ's wives. After a long journey they saw in the distance a high rock, upon which was perched a solitary wigwam covered with rush mats. When they arrived at the base of the rock, the young wife called out to her mother, "Mother, let down your ladder, so that we may come up to visit you." The old woman then let down a ladder and told them to ascend, after which

the ladder was again pulled up, so that they might not be taken by surprise.

The wigwam was well provided with everything that was necessary for comfort, and food seemed abundant. The visitors had not been many days at the old woman's wigwam before the latter began to complain of feeling ill. This was feigned, however, for her plan was to devise some means of bringing about the destruction of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} and his friends, the Buzzard, Kinĕ′u^{v}, and Pinäsh′iu. The younger wife of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} then said to the old woman, "Mother, what can we do for you to make you well again?"—to which the old woman replied, "If I had the paw of a white bear to eat I would recover, but I fear that such can not be procured for me." To this Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} responded, saying, "The paw of a white bear is easily procured, and I will get one;" whereupon he left the wigwam and flew away to search for a white bear.

Now, the old woman had no idea that Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} would be successful in procuring the paw of a white bear, because such was to be found only upon some of her kindred, the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, the evil ma′nidos of the underworld, and she was also aware that anyone who might attack a white bear would be killed unless he was more powerful than the bear ma′nido. For this reason she had demanded something which she considered impossible to obtain, and if Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} attempted to comply with her request she might cause his destruction very easily.

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, soaring through the air at great height, perceived the object of his search. Pulling an arrow out of his quiver, he fixed it to the string of his bow, and shot it down into the body of the white bear, killing him. He then descended, cut off the paw of the animal, and returned with it to the old woman's wigwam. When he entered, she said to Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, in a very faint voice, "Did you get me the paw of the white bear, son-in-law?"—to which he replied, "Yes; I got it," and, throwing it across to where she was lying upon a mat, said, "Here it is; I hope you will get well, now."

The younger daughter prepared the paw for the old woman and gave it to her to eat, but the mother did not appear to derive any benefit from the food. Then, seeing her mother continue ill as before, she said, "Mother, is there anything else that you wish to eat to make you well?" To this the old woman replied, "Yes; I should get well if I had the paw of a yellow bear to eat." Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, hearing the words of the old woman, now said, "If that be all, I can soon bring you the paw of a yellow bear;" whereupon he left the wigwam and flew away in search of that animal.

The old woman thought that this demand would certainly bring about the destruction of Pä′skinĕ′u^{v}, as the yellow bear also was one of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and even a more powerful ma′nido than the white bear.

Pä′skinĕ′u^{v} soon descried a yellow bear. Drawing an arrow from his quiver and placing it to the string of his bow, he shot it down

into the body of the yellow bear, killing him instantly. He then severed one of the paws and carried it back to the old woman's wigwam, on entering which he threw the paw toward the old woman, saying, "Here is the paw of the yellow bear which you desired in order that you might recover; now use it." The old woman made no response to this, but bade the younger wife of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ prepare the paw for her that she might eat it. She was aware by this time that Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ was more powerful than she was, and while devising some plan by which she could yet bring about his destruction, Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ complained that he himself was sick. This was only a ruse on his part which had been suggested by his elder wife, who did not wish Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ harmed.

After the old woman had eaten the paw of the yellow bear, she asked her daughters where Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ was, and was told that he was lying down and complained of being very ill. The old woman was alarmed lest her victim might escape her plans of destruction, and, desiring to preserve him for her own vengeance, asked him what he required to help his recovery.

Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ's elder wife whispered to him to make a request of the old woman for something difficult of fulfillment; so he responded, "I have at my sister's wigwam some birds, and there are among them some maqkwa′nine′ŭk (red birds) which, if I could get to eat, would bring about my recovery." The old woman had a headband and breechcloth made of fox skins, which enabled her to travel with great speed, so when she heard the wish of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ and realized the great distance she had to travel to get the birds, she was not dismayed, but said, "Grandson, I shall go for the birds which you require," and hastened to prepare for the journey. She called to her daughters and said, "Put down the ladder that I may descend, and so soon as you see me touch the earth below, draw it up that no one may molest you during my absence." They then put down the ladder and the old woman descended, and as soon as they could see her running away over the earth below, they pulled up the ladder, as they had been directed, and returned to the wigwam.

The old woman had a long journey before her, but her speed was great, and she traveled along day after day until she approached the wigwam in which dwelt the sister of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ. When the old woman approached near enough to the wigwam to observe the nature of the surroundings, she saw on one side of the wigwam a tall post upon which was perched a nest containing the red birds. On the other side of the wigwam she saw the sister of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ combing her hair. Desiring not to be discovered, she quietly approached the pole upon which the nest was built and began slowly to climb it. The movement of the tree disturbed the birds, when they began to cry out in alarm. The sister of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ, hearing something unusual going on, went around the wigwam where she could see the nest, and discov-

ered the old woman about to rob her of her brother's birds. She thereupon ran into the wigwam, and, grasping a firebrand, went out to the post, and said, "What are you doing up there, robbing me of birds which I am charged for to care?" The old woman began to remonstrate and to render an explanation, but the sister of Pä′skinĕ′uv thrust the burning brand against the hips and legs of the old woman, burning her so badly that she was glad to slip down and escape, returning homeward as rapidly as possible.

When she reached the base of the cliff upon which her wigwam was situated, she called out, "My daughters, let down the ladder that I may get up to the wigwam." The girls, hearing their mother calling, approached the cliff and, looking down, saw her beneath, when they immediately lowered the ladder to allow her to ascend.

When she reached the top of the rock she was very tired from the journey and the difficulty under which she had traveled by reason of the burns, so she entered the wigwam and immediately sat down without uttering a word. The elder wife of Pä′skinĕ′uv smiled when she perceived that her wicked mother had failed in her quest, and Pä′skinĕ′uv said, "Have you brought me the red birds which I wanted?"—to which the old woman replied saying, "No; I did not succeed in getting them for you." The old woman felt that she had been defeated in her schemes and no longer attempted to detain her visitors, for she knew she was powerless to harm Pä′skinĕ′uv, so she did not oppose their leaving after Pä′skinĕ′uv recovery, which followed soon after the old woman had delivered her message.

When Pä′skinĕ′uv started to return to his own wigwam, where his sister dwelt, he was accompanied by his elder wife, the younger going back to her father in the mountain, while the three companions went each his own way to their home in the air.

The sisters of the wife of Pä′skinĕ′uv returned to their encampment where the ball players lived, and Pä′skinĕ′uv and his wife went their own way, arriving at the end of the first day's journey at a forest. Here they gathered branches and leaves, upon which they lay down and slept.

Early on the following day they arose to resume their journey, but were surprised to find that quite a clearing had been made during the night, by some unaccountable means, and an abundance of food was observed. After partaking of the food they set out on their journey. The next night they encamped amongst the trees, as before, and on the following morning again found the trees cleared away and food supplied for their wants. They ate heartily, but, taking none with them, they resumed their travels for the third day, in the evening of which they again made beds of branches and leaves, upon which they lay down and slept.

On the morning of the fourth day they again found that some unknown one had provided for their wants. After eating sufficiently, they

traveled onward until night. Then said Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ to his wife, "Here we will remain, for we are near to my sister's wigwam."

Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ then gathered materials for the erection of a wigwam, in which work his wife assisted. On the following morning Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ went to visit his sister, who, on seeing him, said, "Brother, where have you been so long? I have been faring very badly during your absence, for I have had scarcely anything to eat. I am therefore very glad you have returned."

Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ then told his sister where he had been, and said to her, "We live over there in the grove where you see the smoke ascending. Come over to see us."

She accompanied her brother to his wigwam and saw that he had an abundance of food, some of which he gave her. Thereafter she had sufficient to enable her to live comfortably, as Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ remained living near by.

Mä′näbŭsh left the wigwam occupied by the sister of Pä′skinĕ′uᵛ, as he had thus far aided in the success of one of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who were his friends. He went to the place where his grandmother, Oqkomä′si, dwelt. Her wigwam was near a stream which passed by a huge rock called O′qkonē′me ("the place of the liver"), over which the water fell, forming a dam, beyond which the beavers could neither ascend nor descend. One day Mä′näbŭsh wanted some beaver meat to eat; so he went to the water and dug a deep trench to entrap a beaver. In this he was successful, and the next day he dug another deep ditch, from which he secured another beaver. On the third day, while digging out another beaver, he heard the voices of many animals and birds. These proved to be ma′nidos, who were discussing how they would stop him from getting out any more beavers. But Mä′näbŭsh succeeded in obtaining a third beaver, which, with the others, he ate, throwing the bones on the ground for his grandmother.

The animals, among which were the Wolf, the Fox, the Mink, and many others, were still excitedly discussing how they would attack Mä′näbŭsh. Yet he heeded them not, but told his grandmother to put a kettle over the fire and boil some water, as he wanted to make some soup for her. While she was doing this, Mä′näbŭsh gathered together the bones and cracked them so that the marrow would readily come out into the water. Mä′näbŭsh then said to the old woman, "Grandmother, now I will sing while you dance around the kettle."

"No," replied the grandmother, "I can not dance, for I am too old."

"Yes, you can, and you must dance, because that is the only way the soup will become strong and more palatable," returned Mä′näbŭsh.

The old woman still hesitated, but when Mä′näbush began to sing she could not resist dancing around the kettle. When she had gone but halfway around, Mä′näbŭsh said, "Grandmother, to make the dance more effective, and to strengthen the soup, you must remove the skirts from your body." She gradually removed her clothing while

she was dancing, and continued around toward the side where Mä′näbŭsh sat singing.

"Now, grandmother," said he, "come close to the kettle so that the soup will be good."

While Mä′näbŭsh was occupied in singing, and his grandmother in dancing, the ma′nidos became very much excited and made preparations to drive both of them away. On the opposite side of the stream, Mä′näbŭsh saw the Owl and the Wildcat talking to each other. Suddenly the Owl said, "Hŭ-hŭ-hŭ-hŭ, hŭ-hŭ-hŭ-hŭ; see how I shall strike him; I shall drive him off easily enough." Then Mä′näbŭsh became alarmed, and said to his grandmother, "Grandmother, they are going to attack us; let us fly!"

"But I can not run; I am too old and feeble to run fast," replied she. "Take me on your back and carry me with you." "Well," said Mä′näbŭsh, "catch hold of my back and I will bear you off, for they are coming at us now."

So the grandmother of Mä′näbŭsh grasped him by the shoulders, he helping her to get upon his back, when he ran away just in time to escape the attack of the ma′nidos, who were ânâ′maqkī′ŭ.

When Mä′näbŭsh had gone far enough for safety, he threw his grandmother from his back upon the ground and hurt her considerably. She was then told to gather together some birchbark and other materials to make a wigwam, which they soon erected and made habitable.

One day Mä′näbŭsh went off into the woods to hunt, and when he returned he found that his grandmother was awaiting him to prepare their meal, but he had not succeeded in procuring any game.

THE ORIGIN OF MAPLE SUGAR AND OF MENSTRUATION

The decrepit condition of Noko′mis is lost sight of in the following myth, which pretends to account for the origin of maple sugar. When Mä′näbŭsh returned empty-handed from his hunting trip, as related above, he and his grandmother, Noko′mis, gathered together all their effects, moved away from the place where they had dwelt, and built a new wigwam among the trees in the new locality.

These trees were maples, and the grandmother of Mä′näbŭsh said to him, "Now, my grandson, you go into the woods and gather for me some pieces of birchbark; I am going to make sugar." So Mä′näbŭsh went into the woods and gathered some strips of birchbark, which he took back to the wigwam, where his grandmother had cut some pieces of bark to make thread for sewing together pieces of birchbark to make vessels to contain the sugar.

The grandmother of Mä′näbŭsh then went from tree to tree, cutting a small hole into the bark of each and inserting into each cut a small piece of wood over which the sap ran into the vessels placed beneath. Mä′näbŭsh followed his grandmother from tree to tree, watching her

and looking for the sap to drop into the vessels, but none was to be seen. When she had gone around among the trees, and cut holes for as many vessels as she had made, Mä′näbŭsh went back and looking into the vessels saw that all of them had suddenly become half full of thick sirup.

Mä′näbŭsh dipped his finger into the sirup and tasted it. Finding it sweet, he said, "My grandmother, this is all very good, but it will not do to have these trees produce sirup in this manner. The people will not have any work if they make sugar so easily; they must cut wood to boil the sirup for several nights, and to keep them occupied that they may not get into bad habits; I will change all this."

So Mä′näbŭsh climbed to the very top of one of the trees, when he took his hand and scattered water all over the maples, like rain, so that the sugar should dissolve and flow from the trees in the form of sap. This is why the uncles of Mä′näbŭsh and their descendants always have to work hard when they want to make sugar. Wood must be cut, vessels must be made, and the sap that is collected must be boiled for a long time, otherwise the people would spend too much time in idleness.

Having brought about this benefit to the Indians, Mä′näbŭsh finally became jealous of the attentions of the Bear, who always called at his grandmother's wigwam when he went away. Killing this intruder, Mä′näbŭsh finally left the land of the Indians and sought a resting place where the hunters, already referred to in the ritual of the Mitä′wit, went to seek him and to ask for favors.

The myth then continues as follows:

One day Ma′näbŭsh went away into the woods to hunt for something to eat, but being unsuccessful he returned to his wigwam. When he entered he saw his grandmother seated upon a mat with her hair nicely combed, as he had never seen it before. So he said to her:

"Grandmother, I see you have combed your hair very nicely and put on clean clothes; have you had a visitor, or why have you done so?"

His grandmother made no satisfactory reply, and he asked nothing further regarding the circumstance; but he suspected that some one had been there and that she did not want him to know it.

On the following day Mä′näbŭsh again went away into the woods to hunt, and when he returned he again found his grandmother seated upon a mat, her hair nicely arranged, and her best skirt and leggings on. He said nothing, but his suspicions became stronger that someone had been to the wigwam during his absence.

On the following morning Mä′näbŭsh again went away into the woods to hunt, and when he returned to the wigwam he found his grandmother just as he had found her twice before.

The next morning Mä′näbŭsh pretended to go into the woods to hunt as before, but he soon came back near to his wigwam to discover who visited his grandmother. He suspected that it was the Bear, but he wanted to be certain. He had not long to wait before he heard the Bear

coming along a trail leading to the wigwam, snorting and grunting, so he kept very quiet. Presently the Bear came into view, waddling from side to side and making directly for the wigwam, which he entered. Then Mä′näbŭsh got a piece of dry birchbark and lit one end of it, making a fierce blaze; he then went quietly up to the doorway of the wigwam, and, pulling aside the cover, saw the Bear with his grandmother. He threw the burning bark at the Bear, striking him on the back just above the loin. The Bear, frantic with pain, rushed out of the opposite door of the wigwam, and sped away through the woods and down the hill toward a stream. Before reaching the water, however, the flames had burnt the hair from the Bear's back, because the bark was still adhering to his body, and he fell dead.

After Mä′näbŭsh had thrown the blazing bark at the Bear, he ran away from the wigwam to hide in the brush, but when he saw the Bear running away through the woods, he followed him, and ere he came up to where the Bear was, the latter was already dead. Taking up the carcass, Mä′näbŭsh carried it back to his wigwam, which he entered and threw the body down on the floor before his grandmother, saying, "There, grandmother, I have killed a bear; now we shall have something to eat."

"How did you kill him, my grandson?" said the grandmother.

"I killed him," replied Mä′näbŭsh, not wishing to admit that he had burnt him to death.

Mä′näbŭsh cut up the Bear and offered a piece to his grandmother; but she cried out excitedly, "No, my grandson, that was my husband; I can not eat it."

Mä′näbŭsh then took up a clot of the Bear's blood and threw it at his grandmother, hitting her upon the abdomen, saying, "There, take that!" Then she replied, "For that act your aunts will always have trouble every moon, and will give birth to just such clots as this."

Mä′näbŭsh then ate all he wanted of the meat and put the rest aside for another time.

MÄ′NÄBŬSH AND THE BEAR ÂNÂ′MAQKĬ′Ŭ

A few days after the above occurrence Mä′näbŭsh decided to go on a journey to see how his uncles were faring, and to learn if he could be of assistance to them. He traveled far, and at the close of one day he saw a wigwam and approached it, finding therein a family consisting of six persons—the father, mother, three sons, and a daughter.

On entering the wigwam Mä′näbŭsh said, "My friends, I am glad I have found you, for I want to see how all the people are getting along. So it will always be; some will live here and others will live elsewhere; all will be scattered, but it is better so that each will have enough game to hunt for food."

Mä′näbŭsh, being asked to enter and partake of the little they had, did so, and remained there.

Food being scarce with this family, the three sons decided to go hunting the next day, and early in the morning they started away to the woods. They followed a trail for a great distance until they came to a point where it branched. Here the brothers separated—one taking the left-hand trail, the other two the trail to the right. Each of the brothers had a dog, and as the snow was on the ground they wore their snowshoes. The eldest brother was one of the two on the right-hand trail, who had not gone far before the dogs scented a bear, which started out of the brush and ran. The dogs pursued the animal, and the brothers followed the dogs. They had not gone far before the elder succeeded in shooting an arrow through the body of the bear, killing him.

The two young men then took up the bear and returned to the fork of the trail, where they were met by their brother, when they all returned to their father's wigwam. They threw down the bear, saying, "Father, here is a bear which we killed; now we shall have something to eat."

To this the father replied, "When I was a young man I used to get two bears in one day; hunters nowadays don't do so well."

The sons said nothing, but early the next morning they set out on the trail they had gone the day before. When they got a short distance beyond the fork of the trail the dogs scented a bear which was hidden in the brush, and began to bark. The bear started off in the direction of the right-hand trail, the dogs chasing him, and two of the boys following the dogs. After running a great distance the second son in age drew his arrow and shot the bear through the body, killing him. Then the two took up the bear and started back to the fork of the trail, where they met the youngest son, who also had shot a bear which he found in the left-hand trail. The boys then returned to the wigwam, and throwing down the two bears, said to their father—

"Father, here are two bears which we have brought you; now you shall have something to eat."

Their father replied by saying, "When I was a young man I used to get three bears in one day; but hunters nowadays don't do so well."

The boys felt rather disappointed at this response, but said nothing.

On the next morning they again started away early, taking the same trail on which they had before found bears. When they came to the fork of the trail, they saw the same brush which they had previously observed, and in which the dogs had scented the bears. Presently the dogs began to bark and a bear started out to run away, but the youngest of the three ran after him and shot him with an arrow. Another bear was found by the dogs, which began to bark, and the brothers, starting out anew, soon overtook and killed him. They had not recovered their breath before a third bear was aroused from its hiding place and started away, but the brothers pursued this one also, soon overtaking it and killing it with arrows.

They now got the bears together and took them home to the wigwam. Throwing them down before their father, they said, "Father, here are three bears; now you shall have something to eat."

Their father replied, saying, "When I was a young man I used to get four bears in one day; but hunters nowadays don't do so well."

The boys did not know what to make of this remark, but kept quiet, as they intended to see what success they would have on the following day.

The father then dressed the meat and a feast was prepared, of which they all ate heartily.

Now, these bears which had been killed were the servants of the Bear chief of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who dwelt in a lofty, long mountain in the direction in which the young men hunted, but much farther away; and every time a bear was killed, although the body remained, the shade of the bear returned to the home of the Bear chief, where his wounds were visible to all the others.

The Bear chief became very angry at the destruction of his servants, so decided to capture and destroy the hunters. He called one of his servants and said to him, "You go to the brush at the fork of the trail where the boys killed your brothers, and the moment they come back and the dogs discover you, you must return with all speed to this place. The mountain will open to let you in, and the hunters will follow; then I shall take them and punish them.

The servant of the Bear chief started off to the brush at the fork of the trail and awaited the coming of the three huntsmen.

Next morning, after the father of the boys had prepared the feast, the two elder sons started off to hunt, leaving the youngest brother at home. The snow was soft and slushy, and the air was so damp that the bowstring of the elder brother became unfastened, while that on the bow of the younger brother became broken. Just as this mishap was discovered the dogs began to bark, and to chase a bear, the servant of the Bear chief, out of the brush where he had secreted himself. The bear ran rapidly along the right-hand trail, the dogs and the brothers following. In this way they traveled a great distance, but finally saw a large mountain before them, stretching to the right and left of the trail upon which they were. The servant of the Bear chief was expected at the home of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and the mountain opened to admit him, the dogs following, and the elder of the brothers following the dogs into the very middle of the mountain. The other brother had become so exhausted that he was still far behind. When the elder had reached the middle of the Bear chief's wigwam, he realized where he was; he saw bears on every side of him, sitting around as if they were holding a council, which indeed they were doing at that very time. The bear which the elder brother had been chasing was lying panting on the ground near his feet, but when he saw where he was he made no attempt to shoot the animal. The chief of the bears then said to the young man, "Why are you trying to kill all of my

people? Don't you see that around you there are a number with arrows sticking into their bodies? That is the work done by you and your brothers. I will put a stop to this by transforming you into a bear."

By this time the second brother came up breathlessly to where the eldest one stood, and cried out, "Don't you see that bear lying there; why don't you shoot him?"—and grasping his arrow he attempted to thrust it into the bear; but his brother held back his arm and said, "Don't you see where you are?"

The one addressed was not aware that he was in the presence of the chief of the bear ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, but continued to struggle forward to kill the bear. Again the elder brother remonstrated with him, and then he looked up and beheld the angry bears about him. On one side were the servants of the Bear chief, while on the other side, but farther away, were the servants of the chief's sister, who also was there. The chief's sister had compassion on the two young men and begged her brother, the Bear chief, not to kill them. He told them that he would not take their lives, but that he would transform the brothers in such a way that they would be half bear and half human—the arms and legs being like the fore and hind legs of a bear, while the head and body of each should remain as they were. There were two springs of water in the ground near where the brothers were standing. When the Bear chief advanced to them, he took from the water a bunch of moss and rubbed it over the boys' legs and arms, when these members immediately became likened to the corresponding limbs of a bear.

In the meantime, the father of the boys, having awaited in vain their return, started out to find them. The Bear chief knew that search would be made for the young men, so he told one of his servants to go to the brush at the fork of the trail, and there await the boys' father. The father, on reaching the fork of the trail, did not know which direction his sons had taken, but after a few moments' search he discovered fresh tracks of snowshoes leading forward toward the brush from which the bears had appeared. In following this trail the father went forward so fast that he stumbled, and falling slid headlong into a cavity in which the bear servant of the Bear chief had secreted himself. The bear thereupon broke the man's neck, and awaited the coming of anyone else who might search for the young men or their father.

When the father did not return to the wigwam, his wife knew that some disaster had befallen him, so she decided to follow his trail and to learn, if possible, what had become of him and her two sons. She started upon the course taken by the now missing men until she arrived at the fork of the trail. Here she discovered the tracks of snowshoes leading forward on the two branches of the trail, but she was undecided which she should follow. She espied the brush, a short distance ahead, where the bears had before secreted themselves, and while contemplating the situation her eyes fell upon the snowshoe tracks made by her

husband. She hastened forward to learn where they led, but ere she reached the bushes, upon which her eyes were momentarily directed, she came to the cavity where the bear was hidden and where her husband lay dead. Slipping into the hole, feet foremost, the bear grasped her and broke her neck. The bear then returned to the wigwam of the Bear chief and reported what he had done, in revenge for the attack made on his brothers by the young hunters.

As their mother and father did not return home the youngest son and his sister became alarmed, and instantly felt that some great misfortune had befallen them. They felt confident that their parents were no more, but could not imagine how they had perished, nor through what manner they had brought upon themselves the anger of someone unknown to them.

Near the wigwam occupied by the two orphans stood a large tree with strong, wide-spreading branches, upon which the boy often amused himself and from which he could see a great distance. He kept watching for the return of his brothers, then for his father, and now he strained his eyes in trying to see some sign of life, as, since his mother also was among the missing, he felt very lonely and sad. The responsibility of providing for his little sister now devolved on him, and as he was compelled to hunt for something to eat he decided to prepare himself also for making search for the missing ones.

The little boy told his sister that he would go away to hunt some game, and also to see if he could ascertain anything regarding the fate of his brothers and his parents, but the girl cried and begged him to abandon such a dangerous undertaking. The boy was not to be influenced, but began to prepare himself for the journey. He made four arrows, one having a shaft of osä′skimino′na,[1] another of pewo′naskin (reed), another of mo′nipio′nowĕ (tamarack), and the fourth of okapuowe (kwapu′owĕ=hazel). He also made a small bow, and went out to the large tree near the wigwam and got down his snowshoes, which had been hanging there. The right snowshoe was called dodō′pa (small saw-whet owl) and the left snowshoe was called the kŭkŭ′kŭū (horned owl).

Early next morning he went to a small bark box, under which he kept his little dog, called Waisau′witä′ (Red-mouth), and let it out so that he might accompany him. Then the little hunter started out on the trail on which his brothers and his parents had departed, and traveled along for a great distance until he came to an immense tree. Here he rested, but his little dog began barking at the tree, and this led the boy to think that perhaps his parents might have been killed there; so he stepped back, and taking one of his arrows out of his quiver he attached it to the string of his bow, and shot it into the root of the tree, whereupon the latter took fire, with a noise like the rumbling of thunder, and was consumed by the flames.

[1] A common weed growing about gardens and in the woods.

When this had been accomplished the boy continued his journey until he came to the fork of the trail. Here he stopped for a moment to decide which one of the two branches he should follow. Seeing the snowshoe tracks on the right, he took the trail in that direction, and presently espied the bushes where the bears used to secrete themselves.

Now it happened that the Bear chief knew what was transpiring, and when he found that the boy was going in pursuit of his lost brothers he sent a very small bear servant to the bushes to await the boy's coming and to endeavor to cause him to traverse the trail to the mountain where the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ dwelt.

As the boy reached the brush his little dog ran toward it and began barking, whereupon the little bear ran out and away for his home as fast as he could.

The dog followed the bear, and the boy followed his dog onward and onward until the large mountain, the wigwam of the Bear chief, appeared in sight. The snow was wet and heavy, and the thong of the boy's right snowshoe became so loose that it finally broke, compelling the boy to stop to repair it. By the time this was done the little bear and the dog got so far ahead of him that he could hear the barking but faintly. While the boy ran he said to his snowshoes, "Now we will have to hurry or we shall lose both the bear and the dog." The snowshoes continued to sing like the dodō'pa and the kŭkŭ'kŭū, one saying "tē-ē-ē-ē-ē-ē', tē-ē-ē-ē-ē-ē-ē'," and the other "hŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ', hŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ-ŭ'."

The sister of the Bear chief, who had had compassion on the elder brothers of the boy, now smiled at the curious sight when she saw him coming toward her brother's wigwam with singing snowshoes, for she could see and hear all this although she dwelt in the mountain.

The little boy continued to run after his dog, but the mountain had opened to receive the little bear, when the dog also entered in pursuit. When the little boy reached the base of the mountain he heard the barking ahead of him, but thought the dog had crossed over to the other side, so he continued until he reached the opposite base of the mountain. Then, stopping to listen, he heard the barking behind him, so he ran back to the other side searching for his dog.

But the sound proceeded again from the direction whence he had just come; therefore he started to return, but becoming tired he halted an instant after he had reached the summit of the mountain, when he heard the voice of the dog beneath him. He knew then where he was, and calling out to the Bear chief, said, "Let my dog out; I want him!" Hearing no response, he again called out to the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ, "Let my dog out; I want him! If you do not, I shall destroy your wigwam!" As the Bear chief did not respond to this demand, the boy descended the mountain, and drawing one of his arrows pointed it at the base of the height and shot through it. This set the mountain afire and destroyed it, as well as the Bear chief and his servants. But the sister

of the Bear chief and her servants were spared, because she had tried to prevent her brother from punishing the two elder brothers of the boy.

When the young huntsman entered the wigwam of the bears he saw the condition of his brothers, and while gazing at them, utterly unable to devise some means of relieving them of the bear's paws and legs into which their hands, arms, and legs had been changed, the sister of the Bear chief came to him and said, "Little boy, take some moss out of that spring and let your brothers smell of it; then they will be restored to their former condition." The little boy thanked the sister of the Bear chief for this information, and going to the spring near the feet of his elder brother took from it a handful of wet moss and held it to their nostrils, whereupon the bear skin became detached and dropped from their arms and legs.

The three brothers then left the wigwam of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ and returned to their sister, who now required their help and protection.

The myth then continues, but Mä'näbŭsh appears to have retired from the field, remaining at the wigwam of the hunter while the young men went out.

HOW THE YOUNG HUNTER CAUGHT THE SUN

Because the youngest brother had restored to his sister her elder brothers, she made for him a fine robe of beaver skins trimmed with colored porcupine quills. He was very proud of this garment, and wore it almost constantly.

One day while the two elder brothers were out hunting in the forest, the youngest went away to hide himself and to mourn because he was not permitted to join them. He had with him his bow and arrows and his beaver-skin robe; but when the Sun rose high in the sky he became tired and laid himself down to weep, covering himself entirely with his robe to keep out the Sun. When the Sun was directly overhead and saw the boy, it sent down a ray which burned spots upon the robe and made it shrink until it exposed the boy. Then the Sun smiled, while the boy wept more violently than before. He felt that he had been cruelly treated both by his brothers and now by the Sun. He said to the Sun, "You have treated me cruelly and burned my robe, when I did not deserve it. Why do you punish me like this?" The Sun merely continued to smile, but said nothing.

The boy then gathered up his bow and arrows, and taking his burnt robe, returned to the wigwam, where he laid down in a dark corner and again wept. His sister was outside of the wigwam when he returned, so she was not aware of his presence when she reentered to attend to her work. Presently she heard someone crying, and going over to the place whence the sound came she found that it was her youngest brother who was in distress.

She said to him, "My brother, why are you weeping?"—to which he replied, "Look at me; I am sad because the Sun burned my beaver-skin

robe; I have been cruelly treated this day." Then he turned his face away and continued to weep. Even in his sleep he sobbed, because of his distress.

When he awoke, he said to his sister, "My sister, give me a thread; I wish to use it."

She handed him a sinew thread, but he said to her, "No, that is not what I want; I want a hair thread." She said to him, "Take this; this is strong." "No," he replied, "that is not the kind of a thread I want; I want a hair thread."

She then understood his meaning, and plucking a single hair from her person handed it to him, when he said, "That is what I want," and taking it at both ends he began to pull it gently, smoothing it out as it continued to lengthen until it reached from the tips of the fingers of one hand to the ends of the fingers of the other.

Then he started out to where the Sun's path touched the earth. When he reached the place where the Sun was when it burned his robe, the little boy made a noose and stretched it across the path, and when the Sun came to that point the noose caught him around the neck and began to choke him until he almost lost his breath. It became dark, and the Sun called out to the ma'nidos, "Help me, my brothers, and cut this string before it kills me." The ma'nidos came, but the thread had so cut into the flesh of the Sun's neck that they could not sever it. When all but one had given up, the Sun called to the Koq'kipikuq'ki (the mouse) to try to cut the string. The Mouse came up and gnawed at the string, but it was difficult work, because the string was hot and deeply embedded in the Sun's neck. After working at the string a good while, however, the Mouse succeeded in cutting it, when the Sun breathed again and the darkness disappeared. If the Mouse had not succeeded, the Sun would have died. Then the boy said to the Sun, "For your cruelty I have punished you; now you may go."

The boy then returned to his sister, satisfied with what he had done.

THE HUNTER AND THE ELK PEOPLE, AND HOW THE MOOSE WERE DEFEATED

In this myth the hunter proves to have been Mä'näbŭsh, he having in some unexplained manner assumed the dress and manner of a hunter, and in that guise experienced some curious adventures, as follows:

The three brothers now lived with and provided for their sister, until one day the eldest felt inclined to go away hunting in a region which he had not before visited. While away, at a great distance from his own kindred, he came upon a wigwam inhabited by a family of three persons—a man and his wife and their only child, who was a girl. The young hunter became fond of the girl and married her, but soon moved away and built a wigwam of his own. In due course of time the hunter's wife bore a child, and then the hunter was obliged to hunt for more game and furs to provide for his little family. His wife was not

of agreeable disposition, so they did not get along so pleasantly as might have been hoped.

The hunter went into the woods one day, but, although he traveled until nightfall, he failed to get any game, and returned home disappointed. The next day he again went out to procure some food for his wife and child, yet, notwithstanding he was a good hunter, he again failed to obtain any.

The wife then said to the hunter, "Why is it that you can not get me enough food to eat?—you were more successful in former days." The hunter told her that he could not account for his ill luck, and that he would try his fortune again on the following day.

On the morning of the morrow it snowed heavily and he went through the woods looking in every direction for game, but the only thing he got was a partridge. It stormed so severely and the snow drifted so much that he became lost; so he endeavored to find some familiar locality that he might return to his wigwam, but without success. Night approached, and, not knowing his whereabouts, the hunter gathered together some brush and wood to build a fire and to make a shelter to camp during the night. Having done this he laid down and went to sleep. How long he slept he knew not, but when he first awoke it was still dark. While yet awake he suddenly thought he heard something approaching. He closed his eyes and pretended to be asleep, but the sound came so close to him that he opened his eyes slightly and to his amazement saw a Wolf standing near by, which said to him, "My brother, you are going to starve; you have not killed anything today; I came to you because I pity you. Your wigwam is close by and you will see it when daylight approaches; then you must go home and cook and eat your partridge."

When the sun rose, the hunter went home to cook the partridge for his wife and child, but found that the child had starved. After he had completed his work he returned to the woods again to hunt some game, and, arriving at the place where he had camped the night before, he found the Wolf there awaiting him. The Wolf said, "You must now kill some deer which I will drive close to you, but you must keep the liver and the fat for me; the remainder you may carry to your wigwam."

The hunter was pleased to hear this from the Wolf, and agreed to give the liver and fat of the deer to him. The Wolf started away, and presently a deer came running by the place where the hunter stood, closely followed by the Wolf. As the deer came near the hunter he let fly an arrow, wounding it, which enabled the Wolf to catch it and kill it by tearing open its throat. The hunter then dressed the deer, giving the liver and the fat to the Wolf for his assistance, and taking to his wigwam the remainder of the deer, including the paunch filled with blood. As the hunter approached, his wife was cutting wood, and when she looked up and saw her husband coming back with the deer she appeared very much pleased. She took the deer and was engaged

in cutting it up to broil, but not finding the liver she said to her husband, "What have you done with the liver; you know I am very fond of it?"

He replied, saying, "I did not bring the liver with me;" whereat she seemed satisfied. He did not want to tell her he had given it to the Wolf, because he did not want her to know that he had killed the deer only through his assistance, and thought the Wolf was entitled to at least so small a portion.

The next day the hunter again went into the woods, where he met the Wolf awaiting him as before. Upon their meeting the Wolf said to the hunter, "Now I will drive another deer past this place where you stand, and you must shoot it; all I want in return is the liver and the fat."

The hunter prepared himself, while the Wolf started away to find another deer. In this he soon succeeded, and, driving it by the place where the hunter stood, the latter shot an arrow into its body which disabled it, when the Wolf soon overtook it and killed it by tearing open its throat as before. The hunter dressed the body of the deer, as usual, giving the liver and the fat to the Wolf, after which he started to return to his wigwam. As he was going away, the Wolf said to the hunter, "Tomorrow morning you will return again, when we shall get still another deer."

"All right," replied the hunter, "I will return, as you ask me."

After the hunter had reached his wigwam his wife again prepared to broil the meat, but not finding the liver she asked her husband, in an angry tone, "What have you done with the liver; you know I am fond of it and wanted you to bring it to me?" The hunter made an evasive response, not wishing to tell her what he had done with the liver, after which they both ate their meal in silence.

On the following morning he again went away to hunt, finding the Wolf where they had parted on the preceding evening. The Wolf seemed glad to see the hunter and said, "Now, my brother, you get ready your bow and arrows while I go out to find a deer, and when I drive it past this place you must shoot it." The hunter made the necessary preparations while the Wolf started off in search of a deer, which he soon found and drove by the place where the hunter stood. He shot an arrow into its body which disabled it, when the Wolf soon overtook the deer and killed it in the same manner in which he had dispatched the others.

The hunter dressed the deer, throwing the liver and fat to the Wolf, when the latter said, "Now, my brother, go home with your deer, but come back again tomorrow." The hunter agreed to do so and started home. His wife met him at the wigwam as usual. When she cut up the carcass she looked for the liver, but not finding it she turned angrily toward her husband and said, "Where is the liver; you know I am very fond of it and that I asked you for it before?" He replied,

"I have left it in the woods, and think you ought to be well satisfied with the meat."

She was jealous of his apparent carelessness, but nothing further was said during the meal, soon after which they both went to sleep, for night had come.

On the following morning he again went away to hunt, and returning to the spot where he had left the Wolf the preceding evening he found that ma'nido awaiting him. The Wolf said to the hunter, "Now, my brother, you get ready your bow and arrows, while I go out to find a deer, and when it runs by this place you must shoot it with an arrow." The hunter prepared himself as before, while the Wolf disappeared among the trees. Soon the hunter heard the crackling of twigs, and a deer came running past, closely pursued by the Wolf. Then the hunter let fly an arrow, disabling the deer, when the Wolf soon overtook it and killed it by tearing open its throat as before. Then the hunter dressed the carcass, but gave the Wolf only some fat and a piece of meat, telling the Wolf that he wanted this time to give the liver to his wife. The Wolf said nothing in response to this, but appeared to be disappointed. The hunter went home as before, threw down the carcass of the deer, when his wife immediately began to look for the liver, which she found.

She seemed gratified that she had compelled her husband to do as she had wished. He said to her, "Eat the liver, but be careful that you eat all of it, and do not leave any part of it lying about anywhere." She was only too glad to follow her husband's advice, but little knew what it would cost her.

On the following day he again went to the place in the woods where he had parted with the Wolf on the preceding evening, but the Wolf was not there. The hunter looked in every direction, but there were no signs of him. During the day there came in sight only one deer, at which the hunter shot, but missed, and the deer ran away. The hunter traveled all day in quest of it, but his search was of no avail. Night coming on he built a fire and prepared a shelter where he could sleep. He had not long settled himself for the night when the Wolf came up to the fire and laid down by it, panting and wearied. The hunter said to the Wolf, "My brother, where have you been that you look so tired?" To this the Wolf replied, "I have been hunting, but because you gave your wife the liver, I have not been successful; you should not have given it to her. She is a wicked woman, and you should leave her and find a wife among other people."

These words made the hunter think of how he had been treated by his wife, and he finally said to the Wolf, "My brother, your words are good, and I shall do as you advise me." Then the Wolf took from his foreleg the "dew claw," and gave it to the hunter, saying, "Take this, my brother, and wear it about your wrist always; when you have it you will be strong and nothing can escape you, and you will be successful

in everything you undertake; but if you remove it from your wrist you will be defeated."

The hunter took the claw which the Wolf gave him, and attached it to his left wrist, when the Wolf said, "My brother, your name will henceforth be Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitäᵛ.[1] When you leave this place, go in any direction but toward your wigwam; you will find people who are great gamblers, and he who is the losing one of this people you will know as the father of the girl whom you will take to be your wife. The family consists of seven persons, the father, the mother, four sons, and one daughter. Now I shall leave you." Then the hunter and the Wolf parted—the Wolf disappearing in the forest while the hunter took his bow and arrows and set out in the opposite direction.

The hunter now traveled through a country which he had not before seen nor heard of. There was game in every direction, but he had not yet come to a place where there were signs of human beings. Late in the afternoon, when he was tired and cold, and did not know what course to take to find a settlement, he heard a sound like that made by cutting wood. He proceeded very cautiously in the direction of the noise, peering from side to side, and discovered not far away two camps. But near to where he was he saw a large dead tree which was smouldering and which he approached to warm himself. While here seated and contemplating what might be his next adventure he heard some one approaching in the direction of the nearest camp. On looking up he saw coming toward him an old woman who seemed preoccupied, for her eyes were directed toward the ground. She came almost up to the hunter before she saw him, and becoming alarmed at the sight of a stranger she hastened back to her wigwam.

The old woman's husband was asleep, so when she entered the wigwam she shook him by the shoulder and said, "Wake up; I have just come from the burning tree and there saw Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitäᵛ."

The old man, on hearing these words, immediately raised himself from the robes, and calling to his youngest son said, "Come here, my son." The young man approached his father, who then said, "Your mother says she has just returned from the burning tree where she saw Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitäᵛ; go to him and bring him to me, for I think he must be your brother-in-law." The young man grasped his warclub and went out to find the hunter and to bring him to the wigwam.

This old man and his family were the chief of the Omas′kos (Elk people), who occupied the first village which the hunter saw, while the second village was inhabited by the Mōⁿs (Moose people). The inhabitants of these two settlements were great gamblers and were antagonistic to each other, because the Moose people were usually successful in any games undertaken, whereas the Elk people believed their lack of success due to some trickery.

[1] This signifies a foot shaped like the oblong rawhide traveling bag used by the Indians for stowing away small articles. *Nano′kupä′qkwe*, carrying bag; *nt′sitäᵛ′*, foot.

When the son of the old man went out to find the hunter, he approached him in a very threatening manner and made gestures as if he were going to club the hunter to death. The hunter, however, only smiled at the young man's actions, whereupon the latter dropped his club, and approaching the hunter said to him, "Come to my father, my brother, as he wishes to see you; he says you must be Nano'kupä'q-kweni'sitä^{v}, who is to become my brother-in-law." The hunter arose, pleased at the invitation, and followed the young man to the wigwam, where he was met by the old man, who bade him enter and be seated.

The old man then said to him, "My son, you must be Nano'kupä'q-kweni'sitä^{v}, of whose coming I have been aware; you are to become my son-in-law."

The hunter replied, "Yes, I am known by that name, and by what the Wolf told me, you are no doubt the chief of this village."

"Yes," replied the old man, "I am the chief of this village, which is occupied by the Elk people; but the other village, which you see yonder, belongs to the Moose people, with whom we have not fared very well of late."

Then, calling forward his daughter, the old man continued, "This, my son, is my only daughter, who is to become your wife. Take her if you desire." Then bidding the girl to advance where the hunter could behold her comeliness, she went toward the stranger a few paces, where she stood abashed and with downcast eyes. The hunter admired her, and stepping forward took her by the hand and led her toward the seat he had occupied, saying to the old man, "I will take her, my father, and remain with you until we have conquered the Moose people."

To signify that he was well pleased with his choice, and to honor his father-in-law, the young hunter pulled forth from his pouch a short piece of tobacco, which he broke in two, retaining one portion for himself, and handing the other to his wife, saying, "Give this to your father that we may have a smoke." She took it and handed it to her father, who rubbed it between the palms of his hands, whereupon tobacco kept dropping to the ground in such quantities that there was a great heap, sufficient to last for many days. Portions of it were sent to every person in the village, and yet there did not appear to be any diminution in the quantity of tobacco. The act of sending out tobacco to all the people was intended to inform them that the old man had now a son-in-law, by which they also learned that the stranger was Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}, of whom they had heard through the old man.

The Moose people hearing of the events which were transpiring in the village of the Elk people, came on a visit to the Elk people a few days later, saying to the new wife of Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}, "Our women have come to play a game with your husband, to see whether he is better at playing with plum-stones than we are." The girl informed her husband what the Moose people said, and told him, "Be careful, my husband, because they are good players, and if you lose

they will beat all of us with sticks and clubs, as they always do when we are defeated."

The hunter came out of the wigwam, and advancing to the Moose women, said, "I hear you want to play a game of plum-stones with me; I am willing to play." They all became seated, when the hunter's wife said to him, "Do not play with these women, for they have human eyeballs instead of plum-stones, and they will win every throw."

"I am not afraid of them," rejoined the hunter; "wait and see who wins." Then the chief of the women began to argue and dispute with the hunter about who should commence, when the woman brought forth a dish, which she began to shake, but the hunter pushed it aside, saying, "That will not do; those things in the dish are not plum-stones, but human eyeballs. I will begin with my set." Whereupon he brought forth his own set, shook the bowl, and when the eight plum-stones had ceased rolling about he had won every point. This he did a second time, when the Elk people began to say to one another, "Now get ready your sticks to whip the Moose folk, for we shall surely be the winners today;" but the Moose people, who had gathered about to watch the result of the game, also whispered to one another, "Prepare yourselves to whip the Elks, for they can not succeed."

By this time the hunter had thrown the plum-stones a third time, and the Elks were beginning to crowd onward toward the Moose. When the fourth throw was made, which decided the game in favor of the Elks, the latter ran at the Moose, thoroughly thrashing them all the way back to their village.

The Moose were at first dumfounded at their unexpected defeat, and next day considered what they might devise to defeat the Elk people in the plum-stone game.

Between the Moose village and the Elk village stood two high posts, near together, and across the two from top to top was a piece of wood from which was suspended a metal ball. On the ground lay a very large, heavy ball, which but few could lift. The Moose folk, thinking this would be a test for the hunter, sent word to the Elks to meet them in order to see who of their number could lift and throw the heavy ball so as to strike the one suspended from the crosspiece.

The Elks responded by going out to the place where the Moose were awaiting them. Then the best man of the Moose went to the ball, and with great exertion lifted and threw it up, barely touching the suspended smaller one. The Moose people then began to exult and to whisper to one another, saying, "Now get ready to return the whipping we got yesterday."

The young brother-in-law of the hunter now approached the large ball, and pretended that he could not move it. Then the Moose began to push forward so as to rush upon the Elks, for they supposed the young man could not succeed. When the hunter heard their remarks he rushed forward, and grasping the ball sent it far over the poles, as

the ball had never before been thrown. Then the Elks attacked the Moose and thrashed them severely, chasing them all the way back to their village.

The young Moose people were mortified and amazed at their ill luck, but began immediately to devise a plan whereby they could yet humiliate their rivals. The women again met, and, after deliberating what to propose to the Elk people, one of them said, "Let us have a contest at diving in the lake, and see if our young men can not remain under the water longer than the best of the Elk people. It is cold and the lake is covered with ice, which is better for us, and we can soon cut a hole where the trial may take place." To this the Moose people all agreed, whereupon the party went over to the Elk village and called out to the chief, "We have come over to have another contest with you, which we are sure we can win." The chief spoke to his people to ascertain if they would agree to the proposal, whereon they all advanced much pleased at the prospect of again defeating their rivals.

The entire party, comprising the inhabitants of both villages, proceeded to the lake, where a large hole was made in the ice, and the champion of the Moose people prepared to get down into the water. As the hunter came forward from the Elk people his young brother-in-law said to him, "You must let me compete this time, as our bodies are covered with hair, while yours, having only a bare skin, will freeze."

"No, my brother," said the hunter, "I am fully able to withstand the cold, notwithstanding my bare skin; I am going to dive, and we will see if I can not defeat that Moose."

The hunter tore away from his brother-in-law, and divesting himself of most of his clothing, got into the water to await the signal for diving.

As the hunter sat at the edge of the ice, Miqkä'no (Mud-turtle) came up from the bottom of the lake and said to the hunter, "My brother, I have come to take care of you; I will cover your body with mine and you shall not feel the cold water at all. Trust yourself to my care." The hunter was greatly pleased to know that the Wolf had not forgotten him, by sending to him at this critical time a friend, in the form of the Mud-turtle, so he said "My brother, I shall do as you tell me, and am glad that you have come to my assistance."

The signal being given, the divers plunged into the icy water and disappeared. Then the Moose people began to hope they should succeed, and said to one another, "Now get your sticks, so as to be ready to whip the Elks, for the hunter will certainly come up first."

"No, wait," said some of the more prudent; "the contest is not yet over."

The Elks also began to encourage one another, and prepared to pounce upon the Moose, as they, too, had great hope of winning.

In the meantime the Moose, who was under the water, spoke to his antagonist, saying, "Elk, are you cold?" to which the Mud-turtle replied for the hunter, "No, Moose; are you cold?" This was distinctly heard by those on shore, and considerable agitation was caused

when the Mud-turtle, who assumed the voice of the hunter, asked, "Moose, are you cold?" and no response was made. The Moose people became somewhat alarmed when their diver did not respond, for they believed, and very truly, that he was so benumbed with cold that he could not speak. Then slowly, and with great effort, the Moose rose to the surface, thinking that surely by this time his rival had been vanquished, but was met with the blows of the Elk people, who began vigorously to ply their sticks and clubs upon every one of their opponents. The Elks' champion, the hunter, was then brought to the surface by the Mud-turtle, just in time to see the last of the fleeing Moose people disappearing into their wigwams.

The hunter then returned to his wife, who met him with joy, saying, "My husband, I am pleased with your success, for before you came among us the Moose people were always successful and punished us."

Even this defeat of the Moose did not seem to dishearten them, for they immediately began to devise a scheme for a more difficult task with which to challenge the Elk people. It was decided to challenge the latter to a contest on the ice, to see which of the champions could slide most rapidly. The Moose claimed that they were the most expert on smooth ice, and all of them having agreed on this game, they went to the village of the Elks saying they should like another contest.

The Elk people, having gained confidence since they had three times succeeded in defeating the Moose, were quick in accepting the challenge, and all started out to the lake.

The lake was very long, and two paths were soon cleared of snow, exposing a perfectly smooth surface. The Moose people arranged themselves along the right shore of the lake, while the Elk folk occupied the left shore. The hunter was one of those who desired to compete against the Moose, but his wife's young brother came to him and said, "Brother-in-law, you can not slide on this smooth surface, as your feet are not fitted for it. My feet are hard and I can easily defeat them."

The hunter hesitated a moment, but before he could make a reply, Mikek′, the Otter, who was invisible to everybody else, came to him and said, "My brother, you come out on the ice, and when you prepare to slide you must place your feet upon me. My fur is thick and smooth and will skim over the ice without any trouble; but I must tell you that when we reach the goal at the end of the lake, I shall continue through the snowbank which you see there, to insure the defeat of the Moose."

The hunter expressed his gratitude to the Otter, and said to his brother-in-law, "Brother-in-law, I shall compete in this game, as Otter is going to place himself flat upon the ice, and I shall succeed."

The contestants then approached the starting point, and each was eager to begin. No one could perceive the Otter beneath the feet of the hunter, because he was a ma′nido, and had been sent by the Wolf.

The Moose believed that because the hunter's feet were not hard he would be unable to continue far; and already, before the start was

made, they began to whisper about the whipping they would at last be enabled to inflict upon the Elk people.

The Elk people, on the other side, were equally confident of success, and had their sticks and clubs ready to attack their rivals the moment the race was decided in their favor. Presently the signal was given, and away went the Moose and the hunter together; but the latter, going faster and faster, soon outstripped the Moose, who stopped at the end of the course, while the hunter went completely through the snowbank, so great was his speed.

Then the Elk people exulted and chased the Moose back to their village, beating them all the way, in retaliation for the many whippings they had themselves once received at their hands.

The Moose people were very much angered at this repeated defeat, and began to murmur among themselves. They thought that they could certainly devise some contest by which they would win, and one of the old Moose women said, "We have a swift runner here in our camp; why not try a footrace?"

To this all appeared to agree, and immediately they went to the wigwam of the hunter to challenge him or one of the Elks to a race. The hunter heard them coming, but remained lying on his mat. On appearing at the door, one of the Moose said, "We do not yet feel satisfied with our defeat, and wish to learn if you and your brother-in-law will run against two of our young men." The hunter replied that he was perfectly willing to run, and asked his eldest brother-in-law, who was the swiftest of the Elk people, to join him. The two soon prepared themselves and joined their friends, when both parties went out to the lake to prepare a track. This time the course was to extend all around the lake, near the shore, so that the goal should be at the starting point. It took both parties all day to clear the snow from the ice, and next morning the people gathered in crowds to see the sight—the Moose on the right bank and the Elk on the left.

The Moose felt certain of victory, for they claimed that the hunter had but two legs, whereas their favorites had four each. While the hunter was preparing himself, the Wolf suddenly approached him and said, "My brother, I will assist you in this race. As nobody but you can see me, I shall await you half-way on the course, when you will get astride of me and move your legs as if you were running, while I shall carry you along at greater speed; then you will meet the Fox, nearer the goal, who will carry you to the end of the course." The hunter was much elated at meeting his old friend, and at receiving such a timely offer of assistance.

The chief of the Moose people came toward the contestants as they were preparing to start, and said to them, "You will find a mist settling over the course about half-way around, but do not let that annoy you." This was said to discourage the champions of the Elks, and to inform the Moose runners that they might take advantage of any opportunities that might present themselves while they were passing through the mist.

The runners were now ready to start—two Moose to represent the Moose people, and the hunter and his eldest brother-in-law the choice of the Elk people. At a given signal they started away over the ice, the Moose soon widening the distance between themselves and their rivals. The brother-in-law of the hunter came next after the Moose, and last of all, and gradually losing, the hunter himself, who was last not because he could not run, but because he wanted the Moose people to think that he would lose the race, and finally cause them more chagrin at being deceived. When the runners approached the spreading mist, the Elk threw some snow back at the hunter to intimate that the Wolf was there awaiting him. So soon as the latter reached the point where the Wolf was he jumped astride the Wolf, and with his brother-in-law was soon far in advance of the Moose runners.

With every muscle strained the runners turned the half-point of the course and were speeding toward the goal. The Moose runners were again gaining on their competitors, but this did not last long, for the latter soon reached the Fox, when the hunter felt the Wolf slide from beneath him and the Fox take his place.

While the Elks' runners were apparently losing the race, the Moose people became greatly excited, and urged one another to start forward to attack the Elk people and whip them. The more thoughtful, however, hesitated, saying, "Wait; we will have plenty of time to punish them after the race." The Elk people, also, said to one another, "Now get your sticks and clubs ready to beat the Moose, for we shall surely win." So each side was watching the other, ready to make an attack so soon as the race was finished.

When the hunter felt the Fox beneath him, both the Elk runners were far behind the Moose, but now they started ahead, and with a tremendous rush they passed the Moose, reaching the goal first. Now there was a scamper of the Moose to their village, while the Elk people came on after them, whipping them all the way back.

The Moose were now thoroughly aroused at the frequent defeats with which they had met, and called together all of their people to hold council to decide on what they might next devise to bring destruction to the hunter and defeat to the Elk people.

One of the old Moose suggested that they all pass the hunter's wigwam so as to get him to shoot at them and exhaust himself, when he might be killed. The speaker said, "We will all pass his house tomorrow when he is taking his vapor bath, at which time he will have laid aside the wolf-claw bracelet, upon which his strength depends. After he has exhausted his arrows he will use his club, and that will soon tire him so much that our men can easily destroy him."

The Moose, being ma'nidos, knew what the hunter would do, especially after his success of that day; so all agreed to follow the plan which had been suggested.

When, after the race, the hunter returned to his wigwam he laid himself down to think of what he should do the next time the Moose came

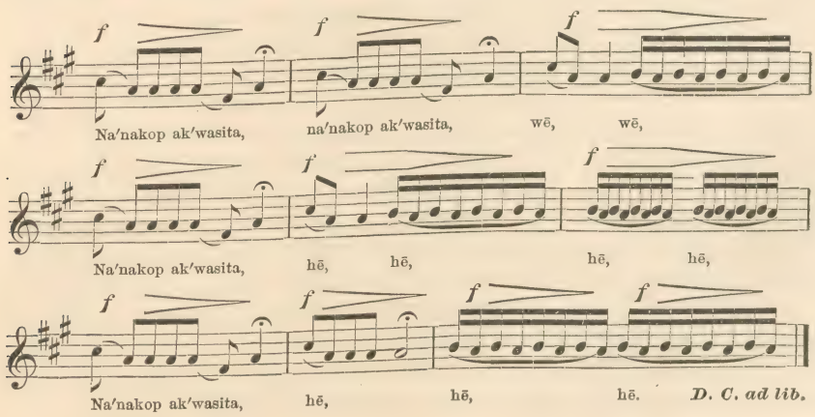
to propose a contest. He fell asleep and remained so until the next morning, when he removed his clothing and his wolf-claw bracelet preparatory to taking a vapor bath. He entered the little wigwam for this purpose while some of his family were heating stones to hand to him. After he had finished taking his vapor bath he returned to his wigwam, and while he was standing at the door he saw some moose approaching, which, as they passed the door, he shot with arrows. He did not know that they were the Moose people from the next village, and kept killing them as rapidly as he could until his last arrow was gone.

These Moose were not dead, however, for, being ma′nidos, they could resume their living form whenever they desired.

When the hunter had exhausted his arrows he went into the wigwam to get his club, when he again began to kill Moose as rapidly as they passed his door. The young Moose, the children, came by, when he began to strike them down, but became so exhausted that he felt as if he had to give up, but before doing so he spied a very old Moose coming along whom he hit upon the head, breaking his club. Then he cried, "I have lost my wolf-claw bracelet; where is it?" His wife and her brothers searched for it, but could nowhere find it. They were not aware that he had removed it in the vapor bath, a fact that he himself had forgotten.

At this moment his friend, the Wolf, came to his rescue, and began to tear the throats of the Moose; but soon becoming exhausted he cried to the hunter, "We are defeated; we might as well give up." Then the remaining Moose said, "Now, brothers, our time has come; let us kill him," and with that they attacked the hunter and cut him all to pieces.

The Moose then restored their people to life, and returned to their own village, highly elated that they had at last become rid of their rival and defeated their neighbors. Then the chief of the Moose said, "We have won, my friends; now let us gather together and celebrate the event;" whereupon they all got as near as possible to hear the song of the chief Moose, which was as follows:



The signification of the words is, that, "We have defeated him who always won."

While the Moose people were thus exulting in the destruction of the hunter, his young wife sat mourning and weeping in her wigwam with her head and body shrouded in a large robe. While she was thus weeping for her husband, the various ma'nidos heard her, and said to one another, "Let us visit the widow of Nano'kupä'qkweni'sitä^{v}, and get her to take one of us as husband." They agreed, and the Wolf led them to her wigwam; but while they were deliberating over this plan she heard their words; so when the Fox came to where the young widow sat and said to her, "I have returned; I am your husband; take me," she replied, saying, "No, leave me; you are not my husband." Then the Fox pulled away the robe that covered her and threw some water in her face.

The woman then wept again at receiving such harsh treatment, but after a while she became pacified and went to sleep. On the next night the Rabbit came to her and said, "I have returned; I am your husband; take me." She paid no attention to this, but said, "No, leave; you are not my husband," whereupon the rabbit suddenly pulled the robe aside, exposing her face, and threw water on it.

Then she wept anew, lamenting her fate and the treatment she was receiving at the hands of the ma'nidos.

On the following night the Dog came to the young woman and said, "I have returned; I am your husband; take me." She would not look up to see who spoke, but replied, "No, leave me; you are not my husband." Then the Dog pulled aside the robe from her face and threw some water on it. Again she began her lamentations and continued to dwell upon her distress, until at last she fell asleep.

These three ma'nidos remained in the vicinity of the wigwam to see who would be so fortunate as to get the woman for his wife.

The hunter's mother-in-law was a very small old woman, who had a very small dog. The crone visited the spot where the hunter had been cut to pieces, and where there was still some blood on the ground; this the little dog licked up, but it made him eager to find more. While this was happening the old woman heard laughter in a wigwam a short distance away, on the side toward the Moose settlement. She approached very cautiously, and on peeping in the wigwam to see what was causing such merriment, she observed that the Moose women had congregated to talk and to eat the little pieces of the hunter's flesh which had been gathered. One old woman was eating the heel just as the little dog entered the wigwam, when one of her companions said to her, "Do you see that little dog? He looks so angry that I believe he will bite you;" and before she could reply the little dog had sprung upon her and bitten her, and in the excitement the canine snatched up the heel-bone with his jaws and escaped to where the hunter had been cut to pieces. The dog had congregated a great number of the

Inä′mäqkĭ′ŭ^{v}, the Good Thunder ma′nidos, and as he brought the heel-bone of the right foot, Kâkâ′ke (the crow) took it and said, "I will throw this upon the ground four times, and at the fourth time the hunter will rise from the dead." Then the Crow took the bone, and raising it in the air as high as he could, threw it forcibly down before him upon the ground, saying, "Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitä^{v}, arise from the dead." As the bone struck the ground, the Wolf was heard to howl.

Again the Crow took up the bone and threw it upon the ground, saying, "Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitä^{v}, arise from the dead." The Wolf howled again. The Crow took up the bone the third time and threw it upon the ground, saying, "Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitä^{v}, arise from the dead." The Wolf howled louder and nearer than before, while the Crow took up the bone a fourth time, and throwing it upon the ground said, as before, "Nano′kupä′qkweni′sitä^{v}, arise from the dead!" As the bone struck the ground, the form of the hunter appeared to them just as he had been before. Then the ma′nidos flew away, glad that they had restored their brother to life.

The hunter heard the Moose women who had congregated to eat his flesh, so he went near to where they were seated, and said, "Now you may prepare yourselves, for in a very little while I shall destroy every one of you and your people," after which he went toward his own wigwam where his wife sat weeping. As he approached her, he said, "I have come now; I have risen from the dead;" but his wife replied by saying, "No, you are not my husband; I have been deceived before, and I will not look at you." To this the hunter answered, "Yes, it is I; I am your husband," when, hearing the familiar voice, she looked to see whether it was true that her husband had really risen from the dead, and seeing him before her she was overcome with joy.

After the young wife had told her husband how the Moose folk had treated her people, he became greatly angered and threatened to punish them in such a manner that the Elk people would henceforth be able to live in peace. He thereupon went into the woods to select willow twigs with which to make arrowshafts, and wood for a bow, and another piece to furnish him with a strong warclub. He spent two days in this work, and when he had finished he had four very powerful arrows which were to render him good service.

One day while the hunter was occupied near his wigwam he heard some one coming through the brush. Looking in the direction whence came the sound of cracking twigs, he saw a young Moose who had come to take his wife. When the Moose saw that the hunter was there and prepared to protect his wife, he ran away as fast as he could, but the hunter was enraged and immediately ran into the wigwam, grasped his weapons and followed the Moose to punish him.

The Moose people heard that something unusual was occurring, and when they saw the young Moose returning at full speed toward their settlement, followed by the hunter, they realized the danger they were

in. The elder ones thereupon said to one another, "Here comes the hunter, and he will now surely kill us all; let us leave this place and take up our abode elsewhere." Then the Moose people started in a body to escape, but the hunter attacked them, dealing death in every direction, and following them until but two of them remained alive. These he captured, the hunter saying to them, "Now, you find yourselves in this cedar swamp, where you must hereafter live and feed upon the mosimiu (willows); this will be your food for all time." While saying this to the Moose he placed some willow twigs to their mouths to let them know how they tasted and what they thereafter would have to subsist on.

Then the hunter returned to his wigwam, and his adopted people were thenceforth left in peace.

THE YOUNG MAN AND THE BEARS

The youngest of the three brothers at whose home Mä′näbŭsh had been staying, and who had accomplished the exploits of destroying most of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ and of restoring his two elder brothers to liberty, now decided to go away, because both he and his sister feared that the surviving bears of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ would visit them and do them injury in revenge for what the boy hunter had done to their people. The sister urged her brother to go, and gave him her shakipan (a stone ornament which she wore in her hair) and a large handful of blueberries. These things he was to use as she instructed him, at a time which would come when every other means of self-preservation failed.

The boy hunter still had her four arrows—the one with which he had set afire a large tree, another with which he had broken open the stone wigwam of the bear ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, and two others which were to become of great use to him. Then he started away in a direction new to him, to find a place where he might live in safety.

While he was leisurely going along one day, he heard behind him a peculiar sound, as of many footsteps. Looking back, he beheld some bears following him, and he at once realized that the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ had discovered his trail, and that they were now in pursuit of him. He began to run, crying out, "What shall I do? The ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ have found my tracks, and are after me!" The country in which he was now passing was an apparently endless prairie, with nothing growing upon it but short grass; but as he flew onward he heard a voice, which said, "So soon as the bears catch you they will kill you; now you must use your arrows." Immediately the boy hunter remembered that he had his weapons and the articles which his sister had given him. Taking an arrow from his quiver, he fixed it to his bowstring, and as he was about to shoot it into the air before him he said to the arrow, "When you come down, there shall be about you a copse covering an area as wide as the range of an arrow. There I shall hide myself."

Away flew the arrow, and the moment it struck and entered the earth there was a small hole in the ground, around which sprung up a dense growth of brush. The little boy ran to the hole, crawled into it, and then went to the edge of the brush, where he came up and hid by the side of a tree which also had sprung out of the ground. As the bears came to the spot where they had seen the boy disappear, they began to tear up the brush until not a piece remained standing. Not finding the hunter, the bears began to search for his last footprints, and finding that they terminated at the hole made by the arrow they at once followed him. As the bears were now in close pursuit of the boy, he again disappeared in the ground and started away until he had got quite a distance from the tree, when he again emerged and started to run away along the prairie.

By the time the bears reached the tree where the boy had rested for a moment, they were again delayed in trailing him, but they finally succeeded in tracking him out to the prairie, where they espied him running in the distance. They immediately set out in pursuit, but it was a long time before they neared him. When the bears approached, the hunter took his second arrow, and shooting it into the air before him, said to it, "When you come down there shall be about you a copse as wide as the range of an arrow. There I shall hide myself."

When the arrow descended and entered the earth there appeared a dense undergrowth which completely hid the boy, who then went to the hole, crawled into it, and traveled along in the ground until he had passed beyond the end of the copse, where he emerged and hid by a tree which also had sprung up.

As before, the bears were infuriated at the escape of the boy, and tore up the brush in every direction in their search for him. Finally they discovered the arrow hole, which they entered. Following the footsteps of the boy they soon found the place where he had taken refuge, but before they reached him he found himself pursued, and, again diving under the surface, he started away for some distance, when he emerged from beneath the ground and started away over the prairie as before. A second time were the bears baffled, and by the time they found the footprints of the boy he was far off. They at once started in pursuit, and as the boy began to tire a little the bears gained rapidly on him, until he found that the only way to escape was to use his third arrow. Taking the shaft from his quiver and fitting it to his bowstring, he aimed upward into the air before him and said, "When you come down there shall be about you a copse as wide as the range of an arrow. There I shall hide myself."

The arrow descended, making a hole in the ground as before, and a copse appeared all around it, hiding it from view. The boy at once went down into the hole and away to the edge of the copse, where he ascended to the surface and hid near one of the trees which had sprung up at his command.

When the bears reached the spot where the boy had disappeared they were more angry than before, and soon tore up every bit of the growing brush. They then discovered where his footprints ended, and at once entered the arrow hole and followed him. When the boy heard the bears following his tracks, he again disappeared beneath the surface and did not emerge until he had traveled some distance along under the prairie, when he once more came to the surface and ran with all his might.

The bears were again delayed when they reached the tree where the boy had rested, but after finding the course he had taken they started in pursuit, ascending to the surface of the prairie, where they saw the boy far in the distance.

The chase was a long one, and in time the boy began to tire and the bears to gain on him, so that he was compelled to take his last arrow, which he fixed to the string of his bow and shot into the air, saying, "When you come down there shall be about you a marsh filled with pe′onas′kinŭk (cat-tails), from the middle of which there shall be a trail; by that shall I escape."

When the arrow descended the boy found himself in the midst of a large marsh, and from his feet forward a trail of firm ground, which enabled him to continue running whilst the bears struggled in the mud and amongst the cat-tails. After a while the bears also found the trail, and renewed their pursuit of the boy, giving him no opportunity for a moment's rest. As they neared him, the bears shouted, "We are now close upon you, and in a short time we will catch you and kill you!" Then the boy remembered the stone which his sister had given him, and taking it out of his pouch he put it in a strip of buckskin and slung it round several times above his head, then threw it forward on the prairie, saying, "As I sling this it will cause a long high rock to appear, upon which I shall take refuge." The little stone bounded and rolled along over the ground and suddenly became transformed into a steep, high cliff with a flat top and with many loose stones lying about the edge. As the boy reached the cliff he clambered to the summit and looked over the edge to watch the bears. The bears ran around the base, looking for the boy everywhere, and when they appeared beneath the boy, he began to roll over the large loose stones upon them, killing a great many and breaking the bones and otherwise disabling others. While the unharmed bears, who were even more astonished at what had transpired, went to look at their killed and wounded companions, the boy hastily descended on the opposite side of the cliff and started out in a new direction to escape.

After gazing awhile at their dead and wounded companions the unmaimed bears began to look for the boy, but neither hearing nor seeing him they suspected that he had escaped, and at once began to search for footprints leading away from the rock. When these were found, the bears followed in pursuit until they were almost certain of capturing their enemy.

Now the bears had not eaten anything for a long time, and they began to feel very hungry; but there was nothing in sight that they could devour save the boy, so they tried their utmost to catch him, and were slowly gaining on him when he remembered the blueberries which his sister had given him. These he took from his pouch, and threw them into the air, scattering them far and wide, and said, "When you fall to the ground there shall be blueberries growing everywh re; these will deliver me." When the berries fell, surely enough there instantly appeared blueberry bushes laden with fruit, which caused the bears to stop. They were so eager to eat that they entirely forgot the boy until they could eat no more; they then remembered what they had contemplated doing when they first set out. One old bear, observing dissatisfaction among his friends, said, "My brothers, we had better give up the chase; the boy is merely a mystery. Let us stop and live here, for here we shall have sufficient food without digging for it." To this the rest of the bears assented; so here they made their home.

Shu′nien subsequently added the following relative to the exploits of the boy hunter:

Thus ended the troubles of the boy hunter. After escaping from the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ he continued to travel leisurely toward Wapaka, where he made a large flat-top black rock, upon which is a large three-leg bowlder, called, on account of this, Asanashoqkadet. At the base of this large rock is a river, called Wapä′kasē′pe (Wapaka river). Another thing the boy hunter made near this place. He made a long high ridge, which he covered with kenushi shikepui (dwarf willows). On this ridge the boy hunter also placed a large three-leg rock.

At the mouth of the Wapä′kasē′pe—that is, where it empties into Wolf river—are six tall pines, which were once people. They are called Wapä′kaini′uˣ (Wapaka men).

Mä′näbŭsh had remained at the wigwam with the young girl and her two elder brothers for a long time, and he it was who had aided the young hunter in successfully defeating the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ—both at the mountain when releasing his brothers, and afterward in himself escaping them after he left his sister.

Mä′näbŭsh now departed, and when he reached Mä′kinäk he made a high narrow rock, which he placed leaning against the cliff. This rock is as high as an arrow can be shot from a bow. At this place Mä′näbŭsh was seen by his people for the last time. Before taking leave of them he said, "My friends, I am going to leave you now; I have been badly treated—not by you, but by other people who live in the land about you. I shall go toward the rising sun, across a great water, where there is a land of rocks. There shall I take up my abode. Whenever you build a mitä′wikŏ′mik and are there gathered together you will think of me. When you mention my name I shall hear you.

Whatever you may attempt in my name shall come to pass; and whatever you may ask, that will I do."

When Mä′näbŭsh had thus spoken to his friends, he got into a canoe and disappeared over the great water toward the rising sun.

THE RABBIT AND THE SAW-WHET

In the following myth the origin of day and night is accounted for, as well as the selection, by various animals and birds, of the particular kinds of food which they now eat. The cause of the bare neck and head of the buzzard is also related, as this bird had an adventure with Mä′näbŭsh which was never forgotten.

One time as Wabŭs′ (the rabbit) was traveling along through the forest, he came to a clearing on the bank of a river, where he saw, perched on a twig, Totoba, the Saw-whet owl. The light was obscure, and the Rabbit could not see very well, so he said to the Saw-whet, "Why do you want it so dark? I do not like it, so I will cause it to be daylight." Then the Saw-whet said, "If you are powerful enough, do so. Let us try our powers, and whoever succeeds may decide as he prefers."

Then the Rabbit and the Owl called together all the birds and the beasts to witness the contest, and when they had assembled the two informed them what was to occur. Some of the birds and beasts wanted the Rabbit to succeed, that it might be light; others wished the Saw-whet to win the contest, that it might remain dark.

Then both the Rabbit and the Saw-whet began, the former repeating rapidly the words "wâ′bon, wâ′bon" (light, light), while the Owl kept repeating "uni′tipa′qkot, uni′tipa′qkot" (night, night). Should one of them make a mistake and repeat his opponent's word, the erring one would lose. So the Rabbit kept on saying, "wâ′bon, wâ′bon," and the Saw-whet "uni′tipa′qkot, uni′tipa′qkot," each being watched and urged by his followers; but finally the Owl accidentally repeated after the Rabbit the word "wâbon," when he lost and surrendered the contest.

The Rabbit then decided that it should be light; but he granted that night should have a chance for the benefit of the vanquished. This proving satisfactory, they decided that the various birds and beasts should select the kind of food on which they would thereafter subsist.

The Rabbit saw Owa′sse (the bear), and asked him what food he would select. The Bear replied, "I will select acorns and fruit as my food." Then the Rabbit asked the Fish-hawk, "Fish-hawk, what will you select as your food?" The Fish-hawk responded, "I will take that fellow lying in the water, the Sucker." Then the Sucker said, "You may eat me if you are stronger than I, but that we must decide." Then the Sucker swam out into the deepest part of the river and lay on the bottom, where the Fish-hawk could not reach him by diving. The Fish-hawk then rose into the air and took such a position

that his shadow fell on the spot where the Sucker had taken refuge. While hovering thus the Fish-hawk saw the Sucker becoming restless, and the latter, seeing the shadow of a large bird on the bed of the stream, became alarmed at it, for he thought it might be some evil ma'nido, and slowly rose toward the surface. This was just what the Fish-hawk desired to accomplish, and so soon as the Sucker had come within a short distance of the surface the Fish-hawk pounced on him, caught him in his claws, and took him away to devour him.

The Rabbit then looked around him and espied Moqwai'o (the wolf), and, calling him to come nearer, asked him, "Moqwai'o, what will you select as your food?" The Wolf replied, "I will select the Deer." But the Deer replied, "You can not eat me, because I am too fleet for you." The Wolf said they would decide that, and both made preparations for a race. The Deer sped away, followed by the Wolf. The latter still wore his fur robe, hence the Deer gradually increased the space between them after they had run for a great distance. The Wolf soon found that he could not catch the Deer the way in which he was running, so he threw off his robe, discharged a quantity of excrement, and bolted ahead, soon capturing the Deer, which he ate.

Then another Deer—one of the same totem—was asked by the Rabbit: "Deer, what will you select as food?"

The Deer replied, "I will eat people; there are many Indians in the country, and I will subsist on them."

"But," exclaimed the other birds and animals present, "the Indian is too powerful; you will never be able to eat people."

"Well," returned the Deer, "I will select them anyhow." and started away.

It happened that at one time when an Indian was out hunting in the forest he discovered the tracks of a deer, which made a large circuit to the right. He followed these tracks, and on returning to the place at which he had first seen them he observed that they took a course toward the left and made another large circuit. He followed the tracks in this direction, and when he returned to the place where he had first seen them he observed that a deer was following him; so he posted himself at a place where he might get a good view of the animal.

The Deer was fully determined to catch the Indian and eat him, and to accomplish this he pulled a rib from each of his sides and stuck them into his lower jaw to represent tusks. The Deer came along looking for the Indian, and when the latter saw the quadruped coming toward him he raised his bow, and, pulling a strong arrow let it fly with such force and precision as to pass entirely through its body.

The hunter then took the Deer and cut off the meat, which he carried to his wigwam. Then the shade of the Deer went back to the gathering of birds and animals, and told them what had happened. "You see," said the Rabbit, "you are not strong enough to kill people for food, so you will have to resort to grass and twigs."

Then the birds and animals asked the Rabbit what he had selected to eat, and the Rabbit replied, "I will subsist on poplar sprouts."

The Rabbit then asked the Sturgeon. "Sturgeon. what are you going to select for your sustenance?"

"I will live on the clay which you see here in the river," responded the Sturgeon. This may be why the Sturgeon is so yellow.

Next the Rabbit said to the Buzzard, "Buzzard, what will you choose for food?" The Buzzard replied, "I will live on fish and animals that have died and become soft; they will be my food."

Thus the birds and beasts selected the various kinds of food on which they were to live, and when the council was over each went his own way.

While the Buzzard was soaring away through the air he saw Mä'näbŭsh walking along. He flew a little toward the ground, with his wings outspread, and heard Mä'näbŭsh say to him, "Buzzard, you must be very happy up there where you can soar through the air and see what is transpiring in the world beneath. Take me on your back so that I may ascend with you and see how it appears down here from where you live." The Buzzard came down, and said, "Mä'näbŭsh, get on my back and I will take you up into the sky to let you see how the world appears from my abode." Mä'näbŭsh approached the Buzzard, but seeing how smooth his back appeared said, "Buzzard, I am afraid you will let me slide from your back, so you must be careful not to sweep around too rapidly, that I may retain my place upon your back." The Buzzard told Mä'näbŭsh that he would be careful, although the bird was determined to play a trick on him if possible. Mä'näbŭsh mounted the Buzzard and held on to his feathers as well as he could. The Buzzard took a short run, leaped from the ground, spread his wings and rose into the air. Mä'näbŭsh felt rather timid as the Buzzard swept through the air, and as he circled around his body leaned so much that Mä'näbŭsh could scarcely retain his position, and he was afraid of slipping off. Presently, as Mä'näbŭsh was looking down upon the broad earth below, the Buzzard made a sharp curve to one side so that his body leaned more than ever. Mä'näbŭsh, losing his grasp, slipped off and dropped to earth like an arrow. He struck the ground with such force as to knock him senseless. The Buzzard returned to his place in the sky, but hovered around to see what would become of Mä'näbŭsh.

Mä'näbŭsh lay a long time like one dead. When he recovered he saw something close to and apparently staring him in the face. He could not at first recognize it, but when he put his hands against the object he found that it was his own buttocks, because he had been all doubled up. He arose and prepared to go on his way, when he espied the Buzzard above him, laughing at his own trickery.

Mä'näbŭsh then said, "Buzzard, you have played a trick on me by letting me fall, but as I am more powerful than you I shall revenge

myself." The Buzzard then replied, "No, Mä'näbŭsh, you will not do anything of the kind, because you can not deceive me. I shall watch you."

Mä'näbŭsh kept on, and the Buzzard, not noticing anything peculiar in the movements of Mä'näbŭsh, flew on his way through the air. Mä'näbŭsh then decided to transform himself into a dead deer, because he knew the Buzzard had chosen to subsist on dead animals and fish. Mä'näbŭsh then went to a place visible from a great distance and from many directions, where he laid himself down and changed himself into the carcass of a deer. Soon the various birds and beasts and crawling things that subsist on such food began to congregate about the dead deer. The Buzzard saw the birds flying toward the place where the body lay, and joined them. He flew around several times to see if it was Mä'näbŭsh trying to deceive him, then thought to himself, "No, that is not Mä'näbŭsh; it is truly a dead deer." He then approached the body and began to pick a hole into the fleshy part of the thigh. Deeper and deeper into the flesh the Buzzard picked until his head and neck were buried each time he reached in to pluck the fat from the intestines. Without warning, while the Buzzard had his head completely hidden in the carcass of the deer, the deer jumped up and pinched together his flesh, thus firmly grasping the head and neck of the Buzzard. Then Mä'näbŭsh said, "Aha! Buzzard, I did catch you after all, as I told you I would. Now pull out your head." The Buzzard with great difficulty withdrew his head from the cavity in which it had been inclosed, but the feathers were all pulled off, leaving his scalp and neck covered with nothing but red skin. Then Mä'näbŭsh said to the bird, "Thus do I punish you for your deceitfulness; henceforth you will go through the world without feathers on your head and neck, and you shall always stink because of the food you will be obliged to eat." That is why the buzzard is such a bad-smelling fellow, and why his head and neck are featherless.

MÄ'NÄBŬSH AND THE BIRDS

The following is a translation of a myth given by Nio'pet, and is a variant of that furnished above by Shu'nien. The present narrative also pretends to account for the origin of the word Winnebago.

While Mä'näbŭsh was once walking along a lake shore, tired and hungry, he observed a long, narrow sandbar, which extended far out into the water, around which were myriads of waterfowl, so Mä'näbŭsh decided to have a feast. He had with him only his medicine bag; so he entered the brush and hung it upon a tree, now called "Mä'näbŭsh tree," and procured a quantity of bark, which he rolled into a bundle and placing it upon his back, returned to the shore, where he pretended to pass slowly by in sight of the birds. Some of the Swans and Ducks, however, recognizing Mä'näbŭsh and becoming frightened, moved away from the shore.

One of the Swans called out, "Ho! Mä'näbŭsh, where are you going?" To this Mä'näbŭsh replied, "I am going to have a song. As you may see, I have all my songs with me." Mä'näbŭsh then called out to the birds, "Come to me, my brothers, and let us sing and dance." The birds assented and returned to the shore, when all retreated a short distance away from the lake to an open space where they might dance. Mä'näbŭsh removed the bundle of bark from his back and placed it on the ground, got out his singing-sticks, and said to the birds, "Now, all of you dance around me as I drum; sing as loudly as you can, and keep your eyes closed. The first one to open his eyes will forever have them red and sore." Mä'näbŭsh began to beat time upon his bundle of bark, while the birds, with eyes closed, circled around him singing as loudly as they could. Keeping time with one hand, Mä'näbŭsh suddenly grasped the neck of a Swan, which he broke; but before he had killed the bird it screamed out, whereupon Mä'näbŭsh said, "That's right, brothers, sing as loudly as you can." Soon another Swan fell a victim; then a Goose, and so on until the number of birds was greatly reduced. Then the "Hell-diver," opening his eyes to see why there was less singing than at first, and beholding Mä'näbŭsh and the heap of victims, cried out, "Mä'näbŭsh is killing us! Mä'näbŭsh is killing us!" and immediately ran to the water, followed by the remainder of the birds.

As the "Hell-diver" was a poor runner, Mä'näbŭsh soon overtook him, and said, "I won't kill you, but you shall always have red eyes and be the laughing-stock of all the birds." With this he gave the bird a kick, sending him far out into the lake and knocking off his tail, so that the "Hell-diver" is red-eyed and tailless to this day.

Mä'näbŭsh then gathered up his birds, and taking them out upon the sandbar buried them—some with their heads protruding, others with the feet sticking out of the sand. He then built a fire to cook the game, but as this would require some time, and as Mä'näbŭsh was tired after his exertion, he stretched himself on the ground to sleep. In order to be informed if anyone approached, he slapped his thigh and said to it, "You watch the birds, and awaken me if anyone should come near them." Then, with his back to the fire, he fell asleep.

After awhile a party of Indians came along in their canoes, and seeing the feast in store, went to the sandbar and pulled out every bird which Mä'näbŭsh had so carefully placed there, but put back the heads and feet in such a way that there was no indication that the bodies had been disturbed. When the Indians had finished eating they departed, taking with them all the food that remained from the feast.

Some time afterward, Mä'näbŭsh awoke, and, being very hungry, bethought himself to enjoy the fruits of his stratagem. In attempting to pull a baked swan from the sand he found nothing but the head and neck, which he held in his hand. Then he tried another, and found the body of that bird also gone. So he tried another, and then another, but each time met with disappointment. Who could have robbed him?

he thought. He struck his thigh and asked, "Who has been here to rob me of my feast; did I not command you to watch while I slept?" His thigh responded, "I also fell asleep, as I was very tired; but I see some people moving rapidly away in their canoes; perhaps they were the thieves. I see also they are very dirty and poorly dressed." Then Mä′näbŭsh ran out to the point of the sandbar, and beheld the people in their canoes, just disappearing around a point of land. Then he called to them and reviled them, calling them "Winnibē′go! Winnibē′go!" And by this term the Menomini have ever since designated their thievish neighbors.

A similar story concerning the exploits of Mä′näbŭsh was related to me by the Ojibwa of both White Earth and Red Lake, Minnesota. In this story the short tail of the "hell-diver" (*Podiceps*) is accounted for. A similar myth, obtained from the Selish, of Idaho, nominates the coyote as the one to carry on his back the music, or rather "songs," with which he subsequently induces the birds to dance, succeeds in pulling out the tail of the "hell-diver," and in giving the latter red eyes in punishment for his curiosity.

KAKU′ĔNE, THE JUMPER, AND THE ORIGIN OF TOBACCO

The following myth was related by Nio′pet, and explains how the Indians first obtained tobacco.

One day Mä′näbŭsh was passing by a high mountain, when he detected a delightful odor which seemed to come from a crevice in the cliffs. On going closer he found the mountain inhabited by a giant who was known to be the keeper of the tobacco. Mä′näbŭsh then went to the mouth of a cavern, which he entered, and following the passage which led down into the very center of the mountain he found a large chamber occupied by the giant, who asked him in a very stern manner what he wanted. Mä′näbŭsh replied that he had come for some tobacco, but the giant replied that he would have to come again in one year from that time, as the ma′nidos had just been there for their smoke, and that the ceremony occurred but once a year. Mä′näbŭsh, on looking around the chamber, observed a great number of bags filled with tobacco. One of these he snatched and with it darted out of the mountain, closely pursued by the giant. Mä′näbŭsh ascended to the mountain tops and leaped from peak to peak, but the giant followed so rapidly that when Mä′näbŭsh reached a certain prominent peak, the opposite side of which was a high vertical cliff, he suddenly laid flat on the rocks while the giant leaped over him and down into the chasm beyond. The giant was much bruised, but he managed to climb up the face of the cliff until he almost reached the summit, where he hung, as all his fingernails had been worn off. Then Mä′näbŭsh grasped the giant by the back, and, drawing him upward, threw him violently to the ground and

said, "For your meanness you shall become Kaku'ĕne ('the jumper'—grasshopper), and you shall be known by your stained mouth. You shall become the pest of those who raise tobacco."

Then Mä'näbŭsh took the tobacco and divided it amongst his brothers and younger brothers, giving to each some of the seed, that they might never be without this plant for their use and enjoyment.

THE SEARCH FOR MÄ'NÄBŬSH

The following is the concluding myth relating to Mä'näbŭsh, and it purports to account for the place of his abode. It is based on the myth related in connection with the ritual of the Mitä'wit, where the seven hunters made a visit to Mä'näbŭsh to ask favors. The following tale was told by Shu'nien:

One time, long after Mä'näbŭsh had gone away from his people, an Indian dreamed that Mä'näbŭsh spoke to him. Then the Indian awoke, and when daylight came he sought seven of his mitä'ʏ friends, the chief ones of the Mitä'wit. Then they held a council among themselves, at which it was decided that they go in search of Mä'näbŭsh and make him a visit. The Indian who had dreamed of Mä'näbŭsh then blackened his face, and they all started away to the shore of the great water, where they entered canoes and went toward the rocky land, in the direction of the rising sun. After a long time they reached the shore of the land where Mä'näbŭsh dwelt. Getting out of their canoes, which they pulled up on shore, they started to find his wigwam. They soon reached it, and, approaching the entrance, they beheld Mä'näbŭsh, who bade them enter. The door of the wigwam moved up and down, and each time one of the Indians entered the wigwam the door came down and closed the entrance, when it again lifted to allow the next one to enter. When all had thus entered and seated themselves about Mä'näbŭsh, he said to them, "My friends, why is it you have come so long a journey to see me; what is it you wish?" Then all save one responded, "Mä'näbŭsh, we are very desirous of procuring some hunting medicine, that we may be enabled to supply our people with plenty of food."

"That you shall have," replied Mä'näbŭsh; and, turning to the one who had not joined in the request, said to him, "What is it that you desire?"

To this the Indian replied, "I do not desire hunting medicine, but I wish you to give me everlasting life." Then Mä'näbŭsh went to where the Indian sat, and taking him up by the shoulders carried him to where he usually slept, where he put him down, saying, "You shall be a stone; thus you will be everlasting." The others, seeing what had occurred, took leave of Mä'näbŭsh and went down to the shore, where they got into their canoes and returned home.

From the seven who returned we have this story of the abode of Mä'näbŭsh.

The following statement was given to the late Reverend Father De Smet[1], by Potogojecs, a Potawatomi chief of reputed intelligence, viz:

"Many of us believe that there are two Great Spirits who govern the universe, but who are constantly at war with each other. One is called the Kchemnito, that is, the Great Spirit; the other Mchemnito, or the Wicked Spirit. The first is goodness itself, and his beneficent influence is felt everywhere; but the second is wickedness personified, and does nothing but evil. Some believe that they are equally powerful, and through fear of the Wicked Spirit, offer to him their homage and adoration. Others, again, are doubtful which of them should be considered the more powerful, and accordingly endeavor to propitiate both by offering to each an appropriate worship.

"A great manitou came on earth and chose a wife from among the children of men. He had four sons at a birth; the first born was called Nanaboojoo, the friend of the human race, the mediator between man and the Great Spirit; the second was named Chipiapoos, the man of the dead, who presides over the country of the souls; the third, Wabosso, as soon as he saw the light, fled towards the north, where he was changed into a white rabbit, and under that name is considered there as a great manitou; the fourth was Chakekenapok, the man of flint or firestone. In coming into the world he caused the death of his mother.

"Nanaboojoo, having arrived at the age of manhood, resolved to avenge the death of his mother (for among us revenge is considered honorable); he pursued Chakekenapok all over the globe. Whenever he could come within reach of his brother he fractured some member of his body, and after several rencounters finally destroyed him by tearing out his entrails. All fragments broken from the body of this man of stone then grew up into large rocks; his entrails were changed into vines of every species and took deep root in all the forests; the flint-stones scattered around the earth indicate where the different combats took place. Before fire was introduced among us, Nanaboojoo taught our ancestors how to form hatchets, lances, and the points of arrows, in order to assist us in killing our enemies in war and animals for our food. Nanaboojoo and his brother Chipiapoos lived together retired from the rest of mankind and were distinguished from all other beings by their superior qualities of body and mind. The manitous that dwell in the air, as well as those who inhabit the earth and the waters, envied the power of these brothers and conspired to destroy them. Nanaboojoo discovered and eluded their snares and warned Chipiapoos not to separate himself from him a single moment. Notwithstanding this admonition, Chipiapoos ventured alone one day upon Lake Michigan; the manitous broke the ice and he sank to the bottom, where they hid the body. Nanaboojoo became inconsolable when he missed his brother from his lodge; he sought him everywhere in vain; he waged war

[1] Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, in 1845–46, New York, 1847, pp. 344, 345.

against all the manitous and precipitated an infinite number of them into the deepest abyss. He then wept, disfigured his person, and covered his head as a sign of his grief during six years, pronouncing from time to time in sad and mournful tones, the name of the unhappy Chipiapoos.

"While this truce continued, the manitous consulted upon the means best calculated to appease the anger of Nanaboojoo, without, however, coming to any conclusion; when four of the oldest and wisest, who had had no hand in the death of Chipiapoos, offered to accomplish the difficult task. They built a lodge close to that of Nanaboojoo, prepared an excellent repast, and filled a calumet with the most exquisite tobacco. They journeyed in silence towards their redoubted enemy, each carrying under his arm a bag, formed of the entire skin of some animal—an otter, a lynx, or a beaver—well provided with the most precious medicines (to which, in their superstitious practices, they attach a supernatural power). With many kind expressions they begged that he would condescend to accompany them. He arose immediately, uncovered his head, washed himself, and followed them. When arrived at their lodge, they offered him a cup containing a dose of their medicine, preparatory to his initiation. Nanaboojoo swallowed the contents at a single draft, and found himself completely restored. They then commenced their dances and their songs; they also applied their medicine bags, which, after gently blowing them at him, they would then cast on the ground. At each fall of the medicine bag, Nanaboojoo perceived that his melancholy, sadness, hatred, and anger disappeared, and affections of an opposite nature took possession of his soul. They all joined in the dance and song—they ate and smoked together. Nanaboojoo thanked them for having initiated him into the mysteries of their grand medicine.

"The manitous brought back the lost Chipiapoos, but it was forbidden him to enter the lodge. He received, through a chink, a burning coal, and was ordered to go and preside over the region of souls, and there, for the happiness of his uncles and aunts—that is, for all men and women who should repair thither—kindle with this coal a fire which should never be extinguished.

"Nanaboojoo then redescended upon earth, and, by order of the Great Spirit, initiated all his family in the mysteries of the grand medicine. He procured for each of them a bag well furnished with medicines, giving them strict orders to perpetuate these ceremonies among their descendants, adding at the same time, that these practices, religiously observed, would cure their maladies, procure them abundance in the chase, and give them complete victory over their enemies. (All their religion consists in these superstitious practices, dances, and songs; they have the most implicit faith in these strange reveries.)

"Nanaboojoo is our principal intercessor with the Great Spirit. He it was that obtained for us the creation of animals for our food and raiment. He has caused to grow those roots and herbs which are

endowed with the virtue of curing our maladies, and of enabling us in the time of famine to kill the wild animals. He has left the care of them to Mesakkummikokwi, the great-grandmother of the human race; and in order that we should never invoke her in vain, it has been strictly enjoined on the old woman never to quit the dwelling. Hence, when an Indian makes a collection of roots and herbs which are to serve him as medicines, he deposits at the same time on the earth a small offering to Mesakkummikokwi. During his different excursions over the surface of the earth, Nanaboojoo killed all such animals as were hurtful to us, as the mastodon, the mammoth, etc. He has placed four beneficial spirits at the four cardinal points of the earth for the purpose of contributing to the happiness of the human race. That of the north procures for us ice and snow, in order to aid us in discovering and following the wild animals. That of the south gives us that which occasions the growth of our pumpkins, melons, maize, and tobacco. The spirit placed at the west gives us rain, and that of the east gives us light and commands the sun to make his daily walks around the globe. The thunder we hear is the voice of spirits, having the form of large birds, which Nanaboojoo has placed in the clouds. When they cry very loud, we burn some tobacco in our cabins to make them a smoke-offering and appease them.

"Nanaboojoo yet lives, resting himself after his labors upon an immense flake of ice in the Great Lake (the North Sea). We fear that the whites will one day discover his retreat and drive him off. Then the end of the world is at hand, for as soon as he puts foot on the earth the whole universe will take fire, and every living creature will perish in the flames!"

This narrative, though brief, appears to touch a number of myths related in the present memoir as pertaining directly to the Menomini, which will be recognized by the reader.

FOLKTALES

The following myths do not relate to Mä′näbŭsh, but are the folktales recited by the old Indians during the long winter evenings to account for various phenomena, instances of prowess, and combats with the evil beings of the underworld or the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ. The accompanying three myths were related by Shu′nien. The first one accounts for the moon's phases; the second for the cause of the aurora borealis, and the third relates to meteors.

THE MOON

Once on a time Kē′so, the Sun, and his sister, Tĭpä′kē′so, the Moon ("last-night sun") lived together in a wigwam in the east. The Sun dressed himself to go hunting, took his bow and arrows and left. He was absent such a long time that when his sister came out into the sky to look for her brother she became alarmed. She traveled twenty

days looking for the Sun; but finally he returned, bringing with him a bear which he had shot.

The Sun's sister still comes up into the sky and travels for twenty days; then she dies, and for four days nothing is seen of her. At the end of that time, however, she returns to life and travels twenty days more.

The Sun is a being like ourselves. Whenever an Indian dreams of him he plucks out his hair and wears an otter skin about his head, over the forehead. This the Indian does because the Sun wears an otter skin about his head.[1]

THE AURORA BOREALIS

In the direction of the north wind live the manabai'wok (giants), of whom we have heard our old people tell. The manabai'wok are our friends, but we do not see them any more. They are great hunters and fishermen, and whenever they are out with their torches to spear fish we know it, because then the sky is bright over the place where they are.

METEORS

When a star falls from the sky, it leaves a fiery trail; it does not die, but its shade goes back to the place whence it dropped to shine again. The Indians sometimes find the small stars in the prairie where they have fallen. They are of stone, and are round, with a spot in the center, and four or five small points projecting from the surface. I have myself found some of these fallen stars.

The following myths are self-explanatory and require no comment except in instances where comparison with parallel myths of the Ojibwa or other closely allied tribes may be of special value or interest. They were obtained chiefly from Shu'nien, Nio'pet, Wai'ŏs'kasĭt, and other prominent Menomini, and to the ethnologist present some curious flights of fancy.

The first is called Kitä'mi, the Porcupine, or the punishment for disrespect and cruelty.

THE PORCUPINE

There was once a village in which dwelt two sisters who were considered the swiftest runners in the Menomini tribe. Toward the setting sun was another village, though so far away that an ordinary walker would have to travel two days to reach it. Once these two sisters decided to visit the distant village; so, starting out, they ran at great speed until nearly noon, when they came to a hollow tree lying across the trail.

Snow was on the ground, and the sisters saw the track of a Porcupine leading to the hollow of the trunk. One of them broke off a stick and began to poke it into the cavity to make the Porcupine come

[1] Shu'nien stated that in his youth he had seen eight such dreamers who had plucked the hair from the scalp and wore otter-skin bands about the head. The custom is now obsolete.

out, saying, "Let us have some fun with him." "No, my sister," said the other, "he is a ma'nido, and we had better let him alone." The former, however, continued to drive the Porcupine farther and farther through the trunk until at last he came out, when she caught him and pulled all the long quills out of his body, throwing them in the snow. The other remonstrated against such cruelty, for she thought it was too cold to deprive the Porcupine of his robe. Then the girls, who had wasted some time and still had a great distance to travel, continued their running toward the village for which they were bound.

When they left the hollow log, the Porcupine crawled up a tall pine tree until he reached the very top, where he faced the north and began to shake before his breast his small tshi'saqka rattle, singing in time to its sound. Soon the sky began to darken and the snow to fall, while the progress of the girls, who were still running along, became more and more impeded by the constantly increasing depth of snow.

One of the sisters looked back and saw the Porcupine on the treetop, using his rattle. Then she said to her sister who had plucked out his quills, "My sister, let us go back to our own village, for I fear some harm will befall us."

"No; let us go on," replied her companion, "we need not fear the Porcupine." As the depth of the snow impeded their progress, they rolled up their blankets and continued the journey.

The day was drawing to a close and the sisters had not yet reached a point from which they could see the village they were striving to reach. Traveling on, they came to a stream which they recognized as being near the village, but night had come on, and the snow was now so deep that they were compelled by exhaustion to stop. They could hear the voices of the people in the village, but could not call loud enough to be heard; so they perished in the snow which the Porcupine had caused to fall. One should never harm the Porcupine, because he is a tshi'saqka and a ma'nido.

THE RACCOON

One time the Raccoon went into the woods to fast and to dream. He dreamed that some one said to him, "When you awaken, you must paint your face and body with bands of black and white; that will be your own."

When the Raccoon awoke, he went and painted himself as he had been told to do, and so we see him even at this day.

THE RACCOON AND THE BLIND MEN

The following tale represents the raccoon as the mischief maker, as the animal of like propensities among other tribes is the coyote.

There was a large settlement on the shore of a lake, and among its people were two very old blind men. It was decided to remove these

men to the opposite side of the lake, where they might live in safety, as the settlement was exposed to the attack of enemies, when they might easily be captured and killed. So the relations of the old men got a canoe, some food, a kettle, and a bowl and started across the lake, where they built for them a wigwam in a grove some distance from the water. A line was stretched from the door of the wigwam to a post in the water, so that they would have no difficulty in helping themselves. The food and vessels were put into the wigwam, and after the relations of the old men promised them that they would call often and keep them provided with everything that was needful, they returned to their settlement.

The two old blind men now began to take care of themselves. On one day one of them would do the cooking while the other went for water, and on the next day they would change about in their work, so that their labors were evenly divided. As they knew just how much food they required for each meal, the quantity prepared was equally divided, but was eaten out of the one bowl which they had.

Here they lived in contentment for several years; but one day a Raccoon, which was following the water's edge looking for crawfish, came to the line which had been stretched from the lake to the wigwam. The Raccoon thought it rather curious to find a cord where he had not before observed one, and wondered to himself, "What is this? I think I shall follow this cord to see where it leads." So he followed the path along which the cord was stretched until he came to the wigwam. Approaching very cautiously, he went up to the entrance, where he saw the two old men asleep on the ground, their heads at the door and their feet directed toward the heap of hot coals within. The Raccoon sniffed about and soon found there was something good to eat within the wigwam; but he decided not to enter at once for fear of waking the old men; so he retired a short distance to hide himself and to see what they would do.

Presently the old men awoke, and one said to the other, "My friend, I am getting hungry; let us prepare some food." "Very well," replied his companion, "you go down to the lake and fetch some water while I get the fire started."

The Raccoon heard this conversation, and, wishing to deceive the old man, immediately ran to the water, untied the cord from the post, and carried it to a clump of bushes, where he tied it. When the old man came along with his kettle to get water, he stumbled around the brush until he found the end of the cord, when he began to dip his kettle down upon the ground for water. Not finding any, he slowly returned and said to his companion, "We shall surely die, because the lake is dried up and the brush is grown where we used to get water. What shall we do?"

"That can not be," responded his companion, "for we have not been asleep long enough for the brush to grow upon the lake bed. Let me

go out to try if I can not get some water." So taking the kettle from his friend he started off.

So soon as the first old man had returned to the wigwam, the Raccoon took the cord back and tied it where he had found it, then waited to see the result.

The second old man now came along, entered the lake, and getting his kettle full of water returned to the wigwam, saying as he entered, "My friend, you told me what was not true. There is water enough; for here, you see, I have our kettle full." The other could not understand this at all, and wondered what had caused the deception.

The Raccoon approached the wigwam and entered to await the cooking of the food. When it was ready, the pieces of meat, for there were eight of them, were put into the bowl and the old men sat down on the ground facing each other, with the bowl between them. Each took a piece of the meat, and they began to talk of various things and were enjoying themselves.

The Raccoon now quietly removed four pieces of meat from the bowl and began to eat them, enjoying the feast even more than the old blind men. Presently one of them reached into the bowl to get another piece of meat, and finding that only two pieces remained, said, "My friend, you must be very hungry to eat so rapidly; I have had but one piece, and there are but two pieces left."

The other replied, "I have not taken them, but suspect you have eaten them yourself;" whereupon the other replied more angrily than before. Thus they argued, and the Raccoon, desiring to have more sport, tapped each of them on the face. The old men, each believing the other had struck him, began to fight, rolling over the floor of the wigwam, upsetting the bowl and the kettle, and causing the fire to be scattered. The Raccoon then took the two remaining pieces of meat and made his exit from the wigwam, laughing ha, ha, ha, ha; whereupon the old men instantly ceased their strife, for they now knew they had been deceived. The Raccoon then remarked to them, "I have played a nice trick on you; you should not find fault with each other so easily." Then the Raccoon continued his crawfish-hunting along the lake shore.

SHIKÂ'KO, THE SKUNK

The following is an account of how the skunk is alleged to have made some hunting medicine, the effect of the vegetal ingredients being as overpowering as the offensive liquid with which this animal is said to have killed the oak.

The Skunk was once a larger animal than he now is. He was as large as a hill, but he gradually became smaller and smaller; and as his size kept diminishing, he determined to make a strong hunting medicine—one that would give him skill in killing great game and plenty of it. He hunted around to find the plants he required for his

medicine, and succeeded in obtaining four. These were mosh'kikwas,[1] pinä'sse-oshet,[2] as'kaa'qpuku,[3] and isha'wasket.[4]

When he had gathered a small bundle of each of these plants—they altogether being as much as he could grasp in his hand—he pounded them very fine. Then, when the medicine was prepared, he put it in a little pouch which he always carried with him wherever he went.

One day, when he found himself near a large oak, he thought he would test the medicine which he had made. So he took a pinch of the powder out of the pouch, put it in some water, and drank it. Then, to make the medicine still more effective, he sang, "Who is going out hunting, for I go out to hunt?"

Then the Skunk faced the oak, and shot at the roots—not with an arrow, but with a foul-smelling liquid, which, when it struck the tree, caused it to be consumed to ashes.

The hunting medicine that was made by the Skunk is the same that we make to this day.

THE CATFISH

Once when the Catfish were assembled in the water an old chief said to them, "I have often seen a Moose come to the edge of the water to eat grass; let us watch for him, and kill and eat him. He always comes when the sun is a little way up in the sky."

The Catfish who heard this agreed to go and attack the Moose; so they went to watch. They were scattered everywhere among the grass and rushes, when the Moose came slowly along picking grass. He waded down into the water, where he began to feast. The Catfish all watched to see what the old chief would do, and presently one of them worked his way slowly through the grass to where the Moose's leg was, when he thrust his spear into it. Then the Moose said, "What is it that has thrust a spear into my leg?" and looking down he saw the Catfish, when he immediately began to trample upon them with his hoofs, killing a great number of them, while those that escaped swam down the river as fast as they could. The Catfish still carry spears, but their heads have never recovered from the flattening they received when they were trampled by the Moose into the mud.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE MENOMINI AND THE WHITES

The first meeting between the Indians and whites is accounted for in the following story, told by Waiŏs'kasĭt, and in this instance, as in like tales of other tribes, liquor is referred to as having been given to the Indian to make him temporarily demented.

When the Menomini lived on the shore of the sea,[5] they one day were looking out across the water and observed some large vessels, which

[1] An aquatic plant found in cedar swamps.
[2] The word signifies eagle-leg, and refers to a prairie plant bearing yellow flowers.
[3] An aquatic plant, growing to the height of about 4 feet, the roots of which are used.
[4] Also an aquatic plant.
[5] Probably Lake Michigan is here referred to.

were near to them and wonderful to behold. Suddenly there was a terrific explosion, as of thunder, which startled the people greatly.

When the vessels approached the shore, men with light-colored skin landed. Most of them had hair on their faces, and they carried on their shoulders heavy sticks ornamented with shining metal. As the strangers came toward the Indians the latter believed the leader to be a great ma'nido, with his companions.

It is customary, when offering tobacco to a ma'nido, to throw it into the fire, that the fumes may ascend to him and that he may be inclined to grant their request; but as this light-skin ma'nido came in person the chief took some tobacco and rubbed it on his forehead. The strangers appeared desirous of making friends with the Indians, and all sat on the ground and smoked. Then some of the strangers brought from the vessel some parcels which contained a liquid, of which they drank, finally offering some to the Menomini. The Indians, however, were afraid to drink such a pungent liquor indiscriminately, fearing it would kill them; therefore four useless old men were selected to drink the liquor, and thus to be experimented on, that it might be found whether the liquid would kill them or not.

The men drank the liquid, and, although they had previously been very silent and gloomy, they now began to talk and to grow amused. Their speech flowed more and more freely, while the remainder of the Indians said, "See, now it is beginning to take effect!" Presently the four old men arose, and while walking about seemed very dizzy, when the Indians said, "See, now they are surely dying!" Presently the men dropped down and became unconscious; then the Indians said to one another, "Now they are dead; see what we escaped by not drinking the liquid!" There were sullen looks directed toward the strangers, and murmurings of destroying them for the supposed treachery were heard.

Before things came to a dangerous pass, however, the four old men got up, rubbed their eyes, and approached their kindred, saying, "The liquor is good, and we have felt very happy; you must try it too." Notwithstanding the rest of the tribe were afraid to drink it then, they recalled the strangers, who were about to return to their boats.

The chief of the strangers next gave the Indians some flour, but they did not know what to do with it. The white chief then showed the Indians some biscuits, and told them how they were baked. When that was over, one of the white men presented to an Indian a gun, after firing it to show how far away anything could be killed. The Indian was afraid to shoot it, fearing the gun would knock him over, but the stranger showed the Indian how to hold it and to point it at a mark; then pulling the trigger it made a terrific noise, but did not harm the Indian at all, as he had expected. Some of the Indians then accepted guns from the white strangers.

Next the white chief brought out some kettles and showed the Indians how to boil water in them. But the kettles were too large and too

heavy to carry about, so the Indians asked that they be given small ones—cups as large as a clinched fist, for they believed they would grow to be large ones by and by.

The Indians received some small cups, as they desired, when the strangers took their departure. But the cups never grew to be kettles.

HOW THE HUNTER DESTROYED THE SNOW

There was a family of four persons—a hunter, his wife, and two children—who dwelt in one wigwam. The hunter each day went out for game, and he usually returned with all that he could carry. He continued these successful hunting excursions throughout the autumn and until the middle of winter; but one day, while in the woods, far from his wigwam, Kōn (the snow) froze the hunter's feet so badly that he could scarcely get along. He felt very sad that he was so injured by the Cold, and to punish him he made a large wooden bowl, which he filled with Snow, and buried it in a deep hole where the midday sun could shine down on it and where the Snow could not run away. He then covered the hole with sticks and leaves to hold the Snow a prisoner until summer.

When midsummer came, the hunter went out to the place where he had buried the Snow, and, removing the covering, permitted the sun to shine down on it and cause it to melt. Thus he punished the Snow; but when autumn came again and he was one day in the forest, he heard someone say to him, "You punished me last summer, but when winter comes I will show you how strong I am."

The hunter well knew that it was Kōn who had thus addressed him, and, taking care to provide himself against cold weather, he at once built another wigwam, near to the one he occupied, and filled it with firewood. The season changed and the winter came again. One day when the hunter was out in the woods, he heard some one speaking, and, listening, heard the words, "Now I am coming to visit you, as I told you I should do; I shall be at your wigwam in four days."

When the hunter returned to his wigwam, he got more wood ready, and built a fire at each end of his wigwam. After four days had passed by, it began to get very cold, and everything became frozen. The hunter replenished the fires with the wood he had gathered, and got out more robes to cover his wife and children. On the morning of the fifth day the cold became more and more intense, in consequence of which the hunter and his family could scarcely keep from perishing. Toward night the hunter, on looking out the door of the wigwam, saw approaching a stranger who seemed to look like any ordinary being, save that he had a very large head and an immense beard. When he came to the wigwam, the hunter asked him to enter, which he did, but strangely enough he would not go near either of the fires. This puzzled the hunter, and he began to watch the stranger. As the cold became even greater after the stranger entered the wigwam, the hunter went to his fires and added more wood until they roared. As the hunter was thus engaged,

he kept watching the stranger, who appeared to be getting rather warm. The perspiration began to break out upon his forehead and trickle down through his beard. The stranger appeared to get warmer and warmer, and in a short time the hunter saw his head and body diminishing in size, because he was thawing. The hunter was pleased at this, and kept up his fires until he had entirely melted the Snow, for it was he who had come to destroy the hunter and his family. But man is more powerful than Cold, and thus Kōn perished.

THE BEAR AND THE EAGLE

In the following it would appear that the mythic circumstance alluded to transpired shortly after the creation of the several totems, but special reference is made to an instance in which Kinĕ′ŭᵛ, the Golden-eagle, became angered at the Owa′sse (bear) chief and called him Ä′kwine′mi, his former name having been Shekâ′tshokwe′mau. The latter is the "Old Chief" or "Old King," whose name first appears at the time of the conspiracy of Pontiac, and the tale appears, therefore, to be of later creation.

One time the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ and his people lived on the southern shore of the Mi′nikâ′nisē′pĕ,[1] while the Owa′sse and his people lived on the northern shore of that stream. Although the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ and the Owa′sse lived on opposite shores, they were some distance apart.

Above the camp of the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ was a waterfall where fish were caught. The Bear, who lived nearer the mouth of the river, becoming jealous, built a dam across the river to prevent the fish from farther ascending the stream. When the fish did not ascend the river at the proper time, the Kinĕ′ŭᵛ began to suffer from want of food, and many, indeed, died of starvation. The Kinĕ′ŭᵛ then asked his son to go down to the camp of the Owa′sse and ask him to remove the dam, that the fish might be permitted to ascend the river and his people no longer be compelled to suffer.

The son of Kinĕ′ŭᵛ went to the Owa′sse, as he had been requested, and asked that the dam be removed, that the fish might ascend the river and relieve his starving people. The Owa′sse appeared to acquiesce in this request, and told the son of Kinĕ′ŭᵛ that all would be done as he had asked. But next morning Owa′sse heated a piece of metal in the fire; then, calling to the son of Kinĕ′ŭᵛ, he said, "You may return to your camp now; the fish will follow," and as the boy came toward Owa′sse he was grasped by him, who thrust the hot metal rod through the skin of the boy's forehead, leaving a great wound there. The boy went home with his robe over his head and shoulders in order to hide the wound, and immediately entered his wigwam, where he sat down, silent and meditating. Kinĕ′ŭᵛ soon entered the wigwam, and, on observing his son, said to him, "My son, were you successful in your mission?"

[1] Now known as Menomini river.

"Yes, my father," responded the boy, "the fish are coming up; but see what I got from the Owa'sse." The son then threw back his robe, exposing the wound he had received. The Kinĕ'ŭ^{v} became terribly angry, and called the chief of the Owa'sse, Ä'kwine'mi, his former name having been Shekâ'tshokwe'mau. Henceforth the chief of the Kinĕ'ŭ^{v} assumed the name of Wĕ''skinĕ'ŭ^{v}.

Then Wĕ''skinĕ'ŭ^{v} sent word to Ä'kwine'mi that he would destroy him and his people for the insult and injury inflicted on his son. The two parties soon met in battle, when Wĕ''skinĕ'ŭ^{v} jumped upon the back of Ä'kwine'mi and bound him with cords, the victors assisting. He was tied in such manner that should he struggle he would choke himself; therefore Ä'kwine'mi remained motionless. After the defeat of the people of Wĕ''skinĕ'ŭ^{v} by those of Ä'kwine'mi, the boy's father approached the captive chief again and said, "We wanted to eat fish, but you filled my son with fire; now I shall fill you with fish"—whereupon he called together the nomä'sŏk (fish) and filled the body of Ä'kwine'mi with them.

The people of Ä'kwine'mi, knowing that they could no longer reside in peace with the Kinĕ'ŭ^{v}, left the place of their abode and traveled westward, their victors pursuing them for a long distance and killing many of the people.

At the time that Ä'kwine'mi and his people reached the Mä'siksē'pĕ (the Mississippi), there was warfare between many other nations who dwelt in that country. The bones of the slain are even at this day found when the Indians dig for roots and other substances from which they make medicines.

Some of the Owa'sse people who escaped from the Kinĕ'ŭ^{v} afterward went toward the south, and are still living somewhere in that direction.[1]

Wĕ''skinĕ'ŭ^{v} and his people then took possession of all the country around the course of the Mä'siksē'pĕ, and long lived in peace.

One time the chief Ä'kwine'mi visited the camp of the Kinĕ'ŭ^{v} to offer a pipe, that they might smoke and make peace. He camped on the opposite side of the river, but called across to Wĕ''skinĕ'ŭ^{v}, saying, "You defeated us, and now the country is yours. Let us return here sometimes, and let us be friends henceforth."

Then Wĕ''skinĕ'ŭ^{v} replied, "Let it be as you wish, my brother-in-law." So peace was declared, and both camps remained near together.

From these two camps—the Kinĕ'ŭ^{v} and the Owa'sse—the Menomini people are descended.

MIQKÄ'NO, THE TURTLE

There was a large camp in which Miqkä'no, the Turtle, took up his abode. He built a wigwam, but had no one to take care of his property and to work for him, so he thought he would look around among the

[1] Shu'nien says he has heard Osages say that there are supposed Menomini near the country occupied by them in Indian territory. The people referred to are doubtless some closely allied tribe of the same stock, possibly Ottawa.

young women and select a wife. Finding a woman whom he thought he would like, he asked her to be his wife, but she replied, "How are you going to provide for a family?—you can not keep up with the rest of the people when they move."

To this the Turtle replied, "I can keep up with the best of your people."

The woman, to delay the marriage as long as possible, then agreed to marry the Turtle in the spring. At this he was vexed, so, in order to get away for some time to meditate, he told her, "I shall go to war and take some captives, and when I return in the spring, I shall expect you to marry me."

The Turtle then made preparations to depart. Calling together all his friends, the Turtles, he left the camp followed by a curious throng. The woman who had promised to marry the Turtle, but who really had no intention of doing so, watched the Turtles as they went away, and laughed heartily because they moved so slowly. When the Turtle saw this expression of merriment, he said to his promised spouse, "In four days from now you will surely mourn for me, because I shall be a great distance from you."

"Why," responded the girl, "in four days from this time you will scarcely be out of sight!"

Thereupon the Turtle corrected himself by saying, "I did not mean four days, but four years; then I shall return."

The Turtles, continuing to travel, came one day to the trunk of a large tree lying across their path. Then the Turtle said to his companions, "This we can not pass unless we go around it, and that will take too long; what shall we do?"

Some of the others then said, "Let us burn a hole through the trunk;" but in this they did not succeed. They therefore were compelled to turn homeward, but it took them a long time ere they neared the village whence they had set out. To give their return the appearance of a successful excursion, they set up a war song. The villagers heard them and went out to see what spoils were to be had, but when they got near, the Turtles each grasped someone by the wrist, saying, "We take you prisoners; you are our spoils." The people who were thus captured were angry and determined to avenge the insult. The chief of the Turtles happened to capture his betrothed, and he said to her, "Now that I have you I shall keep you."

It was necessary to organize a dance to celebrate the victory over the villagers, and when the time arrived everybody had donned his best clothing. While the Turtle sang, the participants kept going around, dancing, until the Turtle repeated the words, "Whoever comes here to see me will die; will die; will die."

At this the dancers became alarmed, and gathering up their clothes and other things returned to the village. They were frightened, for they did not know what to expect next. The Turtle remained for some

time before returning to the village, arriving there much later, because he could not travel so fast. Then, when everybody had gone from his camp, some one approached him and said, "That Turtle-woman who was to become your wife is married to another man."

"Is that true?" said the Turtle; "let me see him."

The Turtle was already on his way to the village, where he arrived at night, and immediately began to search for his promised wife. He was gaily dressed, and his fringe and ornaments rattled as he walked along. The woman for whom he was searching recognized the noise as being made by the one she had deceived. As he approached her wigwam he saw evidence of the presence of a man, so he called loud enough for those within to hear, "Now, my friend, I am coming for the woman who promised to be my wife."

The man whom the woman had married during the Turtle's absence then said to his wife, "Here comes the Turtle; now what is to be done?"

"I shall take care of that," replied his wife.

The Turtle grasped the woman by the side and said, "Come along with me; you belong to me," but she resisted, saying, "You broke your promise." The husband also spoke, saying to the Turtle, "You promised to go to war and bring back some prisoners, which you failed to do."

"I did go, and returned with a number of them," angrily retorted the Turtle, who drew his knife from its sheath and then said, "I will cut her in two; you take one-half of her while I take the other. Both of us shall then be satisfied." The husband, rather than have his wife harmed, delivered her, when she was forcibly taken away by the Turtle, followed by a long line of his people.

When the Turtle arrived at his own wigwam, the woman began to meditate and to devise a plan by which she could get rid of the Turtle. Remembering that one of her friends had a large kettle, she went to borrow it, and when she had brought it back, she filled it with water to boil. When the Turtle saw this, he became mistrustful, and asked her, "What are you doing there?"

She answered, saying, "I am warming some water; do you know how to swim?"

The Turtle replied that he knew how to swim, whereupon his wife said:

"I thought you might want to wash; I can get at your back and wash the mud from it."

The Turtle then said, "I have been in the mud and water so much that I should like to have my back washed."

Then the woman grasped the Turtle by the shell and carrying him to the kettle of boiling water dropped him in. He died almost instantly and sank to the bottom, with his belly uppermost. The other Turtles, his people, seeing their leader go into the kettle, followed him, and

also were killed. This was the last of the Turtle and his curious band of followers.

Then the woman returned to her husband from whom the Turtle had stolen her.

THE RABBIT AND THE PANTHER

The Rabbit was a great boaster, and as he wanted to have a mitä′-wikŏ′mik of his own, and pretend to be a mitä′ᵛ, which he was not, he accomplished his own destruction.

One day Wabŭs′, the Rabbit, and his wife, in their travels, came to a low hill covered with poplar sprouts, and, as they were green and tender, the Rabbit decided to remain and make the place his abode. So he went to the top of the hill, and making trails diverging in every direction, that he might see anyone who approached, he built a wigwam where all the trails came together. This was a mitä′wikŏ′mik, and the Rabbit wanted to have a dance. When the wigwam was finished, the Rabbit told his wife he was going to dance; but he first ran all around the hill to see if anyone had been about to watch for him, but finding no trail he returned and began his song. As the Rabbit returned to the wigwam, Pĭshē′ŭ, the Panther, happened to come along at the base of the hill where the Rabbit had just paused. Finding here the Rabbit's trail, the Panther followed it until he reached the place where the Rabbit and his wife were dancing by themselves in their mitä′wikŏ′mik. Here the Panther remained to watch for the Rabbit to come out again.

The Rabbit told his wife to sit at one end of the mitä′wikŏ′mik, while he himself went to the other. Taking his medicine bag, he approached his wife four times, chanting yĕ′ ha-a-a-a, yĕ′ ha-a-a-a, yĕ′ ha-a-a-a, yĕ′ ha-a-a-a; then he shot at his wife, just as a mitä′ᵛ does when he shoots a new member. Then she got up and shot at her husband, and thus they had a joyous time all by themselves. Then the Rabbit sang—

Pĭ′shĭuwē′ wiqkwē′yaqsĭk′ endâ′sĕ tshĭq′tshĭkwoqkwan′dĕan,
Nemâ′hanta nakamâ′,
Nemâ′hanta nakamâ′.

Which means: "If the Panther comes across my track while I am biting the bark from the poplars, he will not be able to catch me, for I am a good runner."

When he had finished his song, the Rabbit told his wife he would go out hunting. The Panther saw the Rabbit depart, and awaited his return.

When the Rabbit started on his return, he felt very happy, but as he reached the place where the Panther lay concealed the latter got out into the trail, where the Rabbit saw him and started back on the trail as fast as he could run. The Panther started in pursuit, and overtaking the Rabbit said, "You are the one who said I could not catch you;

who is now the better runner?" Before the Rabbit could reply, the Panther caught him by the neck, crushing it with his teeth, and killing him.

Thus ended the career of the boastful Rabbit.

THE BEAVER HUNTER AND HIS SISTER

There were two orphans, brother and sister, who lived alone; but they got along pretty well, as the young man was a good hunter. He caught many beaver, on whose meat they subsisted, while the girl dressed the skins, from which she prepared clothing and robes.

One time the young man went away from the wigwam to hunt, while his sister sat within combing her hair and making herself appear neat and pleasing for her brother's return. While thus engaged she heard footsteps, and looking toward the entrance of the wigwam she observed a man approaching. When he came near, he asked of her, "Where is your husband; are you not married?"

As the girl appeared to pay no attention to this, the stranger spoke again, saying, "Do you hear what I say?—are you married?—where is your husband? I came across a man's trail near this wigwam, and thought it might have been made by your husband." But the girl maintained silence, and after a short time the stranger went away

In the evening her brother returned, bringing home some beaver as usual, and on the following morning he again went away to hunt. His sister did not say anything to him about the stranger's visit, thinking it might have been some one who had come there accidentally.

The young man had not gone very far from home when the stranger again appeared at the door of the wigwam. His sister was dressing the beaver skins when he approached, and she continued at her work as if unaware of his presence. Soon the stranger said, "You are married, are you not? Where is your husband? I saw footprints about this wigwam and thought they might have been made by him."

As the girl paid no attention to these words, the man got angry and blew out her fire, scattering the coals and ashes over everything. Then he left her as abruptly as he had appeared, laughing until he was out of sight of the wigwam. After the man had departed, the girl took her robe, and putting it over her head, sat in the corner of the wigwam to ponder over the indignity to which she had been subjected.

Thus was the girl found by her brother when he returned from the hunt. As he entered the wigwam and saw his sister sitting silently and everything about her dusty and disarranged, he said to her, "My sister, what has happened to you?"

To this she replied, "A stranger came to the wigwam yesterday and asked me if I was married and where my husband was. Today he came again and asked me the same questions, but I did not answer him; so he became angry and blew out my fire, scattering the coals and ashes over everything, as you see."

The hunter then said to his sister, "Tomorrow morning I shall go hunting as usual, but will return early in order to protect you."

In accordance with his promise, the hunter started out the next morning in quest of game. He had gone but a short while when the stranger for the third time came to the wigwam and looked in at the door. The girl was engaged in combing her hair and dressing herself, as before, and although she heard him she did not appear to notice him. As on the two previous occasions the stranger asked her, "Where is your husband? Have you no one to protect you and to provide for you?" To this she paid no attention, which angered the man, and he blew out the fire, scattering ashes over everything, as on the preceding day. At this the girl cried, but the stranger went away laughing.

The young man, returning at midday, found his sister seated at the end of the wigwam in tears, as before. He approached and said to her, "When did the stranger come?" to which she answered, "Just after you left the wigwam." Then the brother got some water and washed his sister's face and took the ashes out of her eyes.

The young man then went out a short distance and began to gather firewood and pile it up near the wigwam. He cut one piece as long as his arm from the finger tip to the elbow, which he shaped like a shovel.

On the next day, early in the morning, the young man built as large a fire as he could without burning up the wigwam. Then he said to his sister, "My sister, you attend to the fire now, as I shall hide myself until the stranger comes, and when you see him approaching, tell me." This she promised to do, while her brother secreted himself to await the coming of the stranger.

It was not long ere the girl heard the stranger approaching, as he had done before; so when he was near enough to hear her, she began to talk to herself, saying, "O, I wish my brother were here!" This she repeated several times in order to mislead the stranger and to get him to come close to her, that her brother might catch him. The stranger came closer and closer, and finally stopped at the door, when in an instant the girl's brother appeared. Hastily getting a shovelful of hot coals from the fire, the young man ran at the stranger and hit him upon the buttock, burning him severely. The man ran, but the girl's brother pursued him, hitting him with the hot coals and saying, "Why don't you blow out the fire now?" and then mockingly laughing as the stranger had laughed at his sister. The man ran some distance, after the girl's brother had stopped following him, but finally he dropped dead.

The stranger was found to be not an Indian after all, but one of the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, who try to destroy the people on the earth.

NA^{s}NI′ NAIOQ′TÄ, THE BALL CARRIER

One time the people of two wigwams were away hunting, and, being successful in their quest for game, were contented. The occupants of each wigwam consisted of a hunter, his wife, and his children. In the

forest in which these wigwams were lived an old woman who was said to be a witch, and who had a ball by means of which she was enabled to steal children. She would throw the ball toward a wigwam, however far away she might be, and when a child attempted to pick up the ball, it would slowly roll away from the pursuer toward the hut of the old woman, and in this way entice them to her home.

One day the old woman threw the ball toward the wigwams of the hunters. One of the little boys saw it, but in attempting to pick it up the ball rolled away; so the boy followed it from place to place, until at length he came to the old woman's hut, into which the ball rolled. The old woman then said to the boy, "Come in, my grandson, and sit down, for you must be tired." The boy sat down as the old woman had asked him, when she fed him. She then asked the boy if he had ever fasted, when he replied that he had not. The old woman then said, "To obtain power and assistance from the ma'nidos, you must fast." The boy agreed to do this, and laid himself down on some robes at the end of the hut. Here he lay for ten days, fasting and gaining the good will of the different animals and birds, the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ, which came to him from day to day.

At the expiration of the ten days the old woman said to the boy, "My grandson, you have fasted ten days; now it is time that you eat something." The boy then arose and ate of the food which the old woman placed before him. Then she said, "My grandson, you have now fasted ten days, and the ma'nidos must have favored you for this ordeal. Did you receive their favor?"

"No," replied the boy, "I have not received the favor and influence of all; there are still some ma'nidos who have kept at a distance and would not grant my desire."

"Then," said the old woman, "you must fast ten days more."

The boy again laid himself down and fasted for ten days more, at the end of which time he turned over, with his face to the wall. He continued this fast for twenty days, after which the old woman spoke to him, saying, "My grandson, come and eat something."

The boy arose and partook of the food which the old woman had prepared for him. Then she said to him, "My grandson, you have now fasted for many days, and the ma'nidos must have granted you power; have you received the favor of all of them?"

The boy replied, "No, grandmother, there are still some ma'nidos who keep away from me, and hesitate to grant the power I want, because I have not fasted long enough."

"Then, my grandson," said the old woman, "fast again, and you will receive the favor of all the ma'nidos."

The boy again went to the couch of robes and laid down, where he fasted for fifty days more. He was so weak that the old woman thought him dead, but she approached the spot where he lay and gave him some food. The boy soon began to revive and to gain strength, when

the old woman said to him, "My grandson, you have fasted a long time, and must have received much power from the ma'nidos; did you receive the favor of all of them?"

"Yes, my grandmother," responded the boy, "I have now accomplished my desire, and possess the favor of all the ma'nidos."

The old woman, much gratified at what had happened, now addressed the boy in these words:

"My grandson, there is much gold in possession of Ma'tshehawai'-tŭk, the 'Bad One.' He also has a bridge in his possession, and I want to get both the gold and the bridge. I have taught many boys how to fast, and how to obtain the favor of the ma'nidos, but none of them ever returned with the things that I desire. Now I want you to procure for me a little of the gold as well as the bridge. You will find the Bad One in his hut, beyond a rapid river. When you reach the stream, tie this ball to one of your feet and you will be enabled to cross. In no other way can you accomplish this, because when the Bad One wants to cross the river, he takes the small bridge, and, by simply waving his hand forward, it lengthens and touches whatever spot he desires. Therefore, you can not expect to cross the river by means of the bridge. Trust to the ball, and it and the ma'nidos will see you safely across."

The boy took the ball from the old woman. He then made for himself a warclub, a bow, and some arrows. These were very powerful, for the ma'nidos endowed them with wonderful strength. The boy also had the power to change his form, and his sight and hearing became so acute that nothing could escape his eyes or ears. By the aid of the ma'nidos he was now enabled to go on his journey in search of the Evil One, and to procure some of the gold and the wonderful little bridge which were guarded by him.

Thus equipped the boy set out. After a long time he came to the rapid river, and beheld upon a hill beyond it the house occupied by the Bad One. The water was so rapid that it seemed impassable. The boy broke a branch from a tree and threw it in the stream, but so swift was the current that he could scarcely see it carried away. He then tied the ball to his right foot, and, approaching the bank of the river, ventured out upon the water, as one does in testing the strength of ice. Putting both feet upon the waves, the boy found himself supported; but, still fearful of being carried away, he rushed back to the shore. He made a second venture, this time going farther out upon the water, but again turned back. Gaining courage and confidence in the ball, and remembering that the ma'nidos had all favored his desire for power, he started a third time, and gained the opposite shore in safety. He now removed the ball from his foot and put it in a bag which he carried on his back, then began to look about. He saw the house of the Bad One, and observed the bags of gold hanging from the rafters, as well as the little bridge. He saw too that this Evil Being sat in the room in which the treasures were, and that in order to guard them constantly he always

took his meals there. All these things the boy could see because of his wonderful sight. Then he heard the Bad Being speak to his servant, Hoqpan'niuq'ki (Lung Woman). After wondering how he could induce this Evil One to leave the room in which the gold and the bridge were, he called out to the ma'nidos to make the being hungry. Instantly the Bad One demanded of his servant, "Go and prepare for me some food, for I am very hungry." The Lung Woman went to the room where the food was kept, the Bad One again calling to her, "Hurry with the food, for I am becoming famished," at the same time starting for the room in which the servant was, for he could not wait for the victuals to be brought to him. The servant met him, to lead him out, for he was very large and now almost helpless from hunger.

The moment the Evil One left the room in which the gold and the bridge were, the boy went forward and entered the house. He looked about and discovered hanging from the rafters a number of pouches containing gold, one of which he grasped and tucked under his left arm. Then he took the wonderful little bridge, which he tucked under his right arm. The boy now endeavored to secrete himself until search for him should be abandoned; for he well knew that he could not escape, because of the footprints which he would leave to guide his pursuers. Looking about, therefore, for a place in which to hide, he espied the bedding in the corner of the room, so making a small opening in one of the folds of a robe he crawled in.

So soon as he had hidden himself, the servant returned to the room, where she was startled at seeing the remaining pouches of gold falling to the floor, for this they began to do the moment the boy took down the first bag. The servant then called to her master, asking him to come, as some one had taken one of the pouches and the bridge. The Bad One rushed in as quickly as he was able, and began to search for the one who had stolen his treasures. He sent the servant out to look for footprints leading from the hut, but as none were discovered she returned and began searching the room. She removed everything from its place, but nobody could be found. The robes and bedding were thrown aside, piece by piece, but no living being was discovered, until finally, in returning the robes to the corner of the room, she discovered the cut in the robe. Calling to her master the Lung Woman said, "See, here is a fresh cut; here is where the thief has hidden himself." Then reaching into the opening she pulled out Na^{n}ni' Naioq'tä ("Ball Carrier"), the boy, but he had made himself very lean and small.

The Evil One then confronted Ball Carrier and asked him, "Have you taken my gold and bridge?"

"Yes," said Ball Carrier, "I took them."

The servant then took a knife, and on asking him where he had secreted the treasures, Ball Carrier lifted his left arm, and in the armpit was the gold. The servant then scraped off the gold, which had so adhered to the skin as to give it a golden color. Then she asked Ball

Carrier where he had secreted the bridge, when he raised his right arm, and in the armpit was the bridge, which she also detached with the knife. When the treasures had been recovered, the Bad One said to his servant, "Take the boy out and clean him, after which you must cook him for our feast. I will go to invite our friends the Me'sibine'bikŭk" (water demons).

The servant then took Ball Carrier out to the room where the food was kept, when he turned toward her and said, "Why don't you keep me for two days and feed me? I am now very lean, but shall be very fat by that time." The servant then turned to her master and offered him the suggestion which Ball Carrier had made. The Bad One replied, "Well, let the boy have his way; perhaps in two days he will be fatter, as he says." Lung Woman then returned to Ball Carrier and led him out to a pen, where he was securely fastened and food given to him. As he ate constantly he began immediately to grow and to fatten so that he could scarcely move his head from one side to the other.

The second day having arrived, the Bad One told his servant to prepare the boy for the feast now to be held, as he was going to invite all his friends, the Water Demons. Before leaving he told Lung Woman not to eat any of the broth, for it would then be defiled.

The servant brought out from the hut a large kettle, filled it with water, and built a fire beneath it. She then took Ball Carrier by the arm and led him up to the kettle, so that when the water boiled she could lift him into it. In the meantime Ball Carrier asked the ma'nidos to keep the water at its ordinary temperature, although it might appear to be boiling, and he also asked the ma'nidos to restore his body to its usual size the moment he was put into the water.

When the water began to boil, the servant put Ball Carrier into the kettle, and the fat, which the ma'nidos had supplied, soon came floating upon the surface. As the water caused him to move about within the kettle, Ball Carrier told the servant to taste the broth to see if it was palatable. The odor was so appetizing that she could not resist the temptation of tasting the broth, so getting a ladle from the hut she reached over the kettle and took up some of the broth, which she found very agreeable. Ball Carrier now induced her to come closer, that she could the better reach the broth. As Lung Woman went near to the kettle Ball Carrier grasped her, and upset the boiling water upon her, scalding her to death. Ball Carrier then gathered together his war-club, bow, arrows, and ball, as well as the pouch of gold and the wonderful little bridge, set fire to the hut of the Evil One, and started for the river, where he took out the bridge, caused it to project across to the opposite shore, when he passed over and restored it to its hiding place in his right armpit.

The hut was soon completely consumed, no trace being left where it had stood. When the Bad One returned with the large crowd of Water Demons, who had come to partake of the feast, he could not find his hut

nor any trace of it even after searching in every direction. Finally he went down to the river, from the bank of which he saw Ball Carrier sitting quietly on the opposite side. Then the Bad One knew who had destroyed his hut, so he went back and told his friends, the Water Demons, that there would not be a feast, as Ball Carrier had destroyed his hut and had escaped.

As the Water Demons started to return to their camp, the Bad One realized that he was undone. He therefore returned to the river and called across to Ball Carrier, saying, "Ball Carrier, I know who you are, and, as you have ruined me, I now offer you my services and will be your servant, if you will have me."

Ball Carrier replied, "I will accept your services, although you tried to destroy me." Then Ball Carrier took the little bridge from his right armpit, and caused it to extend itself across the roaring torrent, when the Evil One started across. He had proceeded but about halfway, when Ball Carrier caused the bridge to become small again, thus upsetting the Bad One, who fell into the water and was carried beneath the surface and drowned.

When Ball Carrier had accomplished all this, he continued his journey, but as he was in a strange country he did not know which way to go, for he forgot to ask aid of the ma'nidos. At length he laid down near a cluster of trees and fell asleep, and, as he was very weak from lack of food, he thus remained a long time.

An old man came to the place where Ball Carrier was lying, and walked around him so as to inclose a large piece of ground for raising roots and plants. While thus engaged the old man espied the Ball Carrier, and, seeing him so helpless, he cut a block of wood from the trunk of a poplar and fashioned it in semblance of a woman. When he had finished his task, the woman became alive; then the old man said to her, "Go over to that cluster of trees; there you will find a man; bring him here and feed him; he is nearly starved, and he will become your husband."

The woman went to the cluster of trees, picked up Ball Carrier, and carried him to where the old man had been, but who was no longer to be seen. After Ball Carrier had recovered from his weakness, he built a wigwam and lived there with his wife.

One day Ball Carrier told his wife that, as he was a traveler, he would have to leave and continue his journey. On hearing this the woman fell dead, and nothing remained of her but a piece of old wood. He then resumed his journey, and, after a long time reached a mountain, where, toward sunset, he saw at a short distance before him a hut with its door ajar. As he approached he saw within a woman, who, without turning her head, said, "Come in, Ball Carrier, and sit down." He entered and seated himself as he was asked, when the woman said, "It is fortunate you came to my wigwam tonight, as my sister is now absent; she wants to kill you. When she returns tomorrow, she will ask you

to amuse her, and while she is in a good humor she will scratch your head to look for vermin. You must pay no attention to this, but watch her motions, that you may not be taken unaware."

The next day the woman's sister entered the wigwam and exclaimed, "I am glad to see you, my brother-in-law; come and amuse me; we can have some games to play."

Ball Carrier observed that she wore a skirt reaching only to her knees, and that her hair was bright red. Not liking her appearance, Ball Carrier said, "I am still tired from my long journey; and if I am to play with you, you must wear a longer skirt." It was then agreed that they were to have some games at noon on the following day; so the woman's sister, who was a cannibal, left and went back to her own wigwam.

Early on the following morning Ball Carrier went out to see where the woman's sister lived, and as he approached her wigwam he found two children eating the flesh from human bones. The children did not see Ball Carrier, but he now knew that the woman's sister was a cannibal. The children ran away, and Ball Carrier saw that there were a great many birds and beasts all about him. They told him to go away, as the woman's sister had planned to kill him. Ball Carrier then told the birds and beasts that if they would not inform the woman's sister of his presence, he would give them all they wanted to eat, as she was now coming back to prepare a feast. To this the birds and beasts assented, but the Chipmunk was not present when this promise was made by Ball Carrier; so as soon as the woman's sister had deposited her kettle, and had gone off a short distance to gather firewood, the Chipmunk ran out and called to the woman's sister that Ball Carrier was near. Then Ball Carrier said to the Chipmunk, "Hush! If you don't cry out, I will give you plenty—not scraps of acorns and bones, but a lot of good food."

As the Chipmunk called out, the woman's sister, without turning her head, said, "What is the matter with you, Chipmunk; did I not tell you to call only if that man came near?" The Chipmunk then said, "I am speaking only to the Bluejay, who stole my acorn."

Ball Carrier next wondered how he could kill the woman's sister, for she had brought several children to cook for the feast. While thus pondering, the black-head Woodpecker said to him, "If you promise to give me a piece of her scalp, I will kill her for you. She does not carry her heart in her breast, but under her flowing red hair."

Ball Carrier thereupon promised the Woodpecker that he should have the scalp if he killed her—whereupon the bird prepared to dart forward to the spot where the woman's heart was hidden. Lowering his head and pointing his sharp beak straight forward, the Woodpecker suddenly shot away like an arrow, striking the heart in the very middle. When the woman's sister felt this death wound, she lowered her body and began to run very rapidly around in a circle, and endeavored to kill Ball Carrier with a knife, but he took his warclub, and, after repeated

strokes, succeeded in beating out her brains. Ball Carrier then cut off her scalp, and taking a piece from the top of the head gave it to the Woodpecker, who put it on his own head, where he has worn it ever since. This is why the black woodpecker has a black body and a red spot on his head. After Ball Carrier had divided the food among the birds and animals, as he had promised, he departed for his victim's wigwam, that he might destroy her children, for they were bad as the mother had been.

In the meantime, however, the children had fled and hid themselves in a place where their mother had been wont to secrete herself; but Ball Carrier, by reason of the penetrating eyesight given him by the ma'nidos, saw that the children had secreted themselves in a cavern in the mountain. Ball Carrier went to the mountain and began to strike the ground with his warclub. The earth trembled, then opened, exposing the nest of children, whom he beat to death.

Ball Carrier, being a traveler, now resumed his journey in search of other evil beings from whom the human race had much to fear, and whom he might destroy by reason of his great powers.

He came to a wood that crossed his path at right angles, when suddenly he heard a woman's voice crying aloud for assistance. Knowing that something terrible must be happening, he started along the road to the left, soon reaching a high, rocky cliff, at the base of which was a stone door, and at the top an opening like a window.

This seemed more like the abode of a giant, but as Ball Carrier still heard the woman's voice in the direction whence he had come, he rapidly retraced his steps and soon met a young woman flying toward him, in great distress. When she came nearer, she asked him to aid and preserve her from the giant, who was in pursuit.

Said the young woman to Ball Carrier, "The giant has come to my father's village and has already eaten up half of the people, and now he is after me."

Ball Carrier saw that she was the daughter of a chief, and a very beautiful woman, so he determined to save her. He therefore replied, "You must now go back along the path by which you have come, and meet the giant; tell him Ball Carrier is here waiting for him, and that he must come with you. Then when I engage him in conversation you must return to your father and tell him and his warriors to arm themselves with their clubs, spears, and bows and arrows, and return here with you that they may destroy the giant."

The chief's daughter complied with this injunction by hastening back to meet the giant. So soon as she met him she told him that she had come to guide him to Ball Carrier. The giant, thinking he had another victim in view, started along very willingly with the chief's daughter to the place where Ball Carrier had parted with the girl.

In the meantime, Ball Carrier went back to the house in the rock, entered, securely closed the door, and then went above to look out of

the square opening at the top, where he might see all that was transpiring, and defend himself against the giant.

Presently he saw the chief's daughter returning, closely behind her following the giant, from whose belt were suspended several children whom he had captured to devour. As the giant approached the rock and saw Ball Carrier's head protruding from the window, he called out, "Ball Carrier, come down and let me enter my house, that we may have a feast." Ball Carrier replied, "I can not open the door for you, as I am so far above it; but if you will reach upward where I can grasp your hand, I will pull you through the window."

When the chief's daughter saw the giant engage in conversation with Ball Carrier, she escaped, and running back to her father told him what Ball Carrier had instructed her to say. The chief immediately called together his warriors, bidding them get their warclubs, spears, and bows and arrows, that they might proceed to the giant's house, where Ball Carrier would need their assistance. The warriors were soon armed, and, led by the chief and his daughter, they hastened to the giant's abode.

In the meantime, the giant had come to the base of the cliff and reached up to grasp Ball Carrier's hand, that he might enter at the window. Ball Carrier saw that the giant's abode contained many weapons. Grasping the sharpest knife, he went to the window, seized the giant's hand, and drew him upward. When the giant had climbed into the opening far enough for Ball Carrier to take hold of his head he struck him on the back of the neck, severing the head, which fell upon the floor and bounded about like a ball, biting and snapping at Ball Carrier. Throwing aside the knife, Ball Carrier took his warclub and struck the head until he had crushed the life out of it.

Just as the head was thus severed the body of the giant fell down to the base of the cliff; but instead of lying where it fell the body arose, and rushing blindly about wildly beat and struck out in every direction with its immense club. At this moment the chief and his warriors arrived, and seeing that Ball Carrier had beheaded the giant, but that the body was still active, they rushed up, shot into the body numerous arrows, pierced it with spears, and beat it with their warclubs, until the great form was motionless. Ball Carrier now came down to where the chief, his daughter, and the warriors were assembled, and bade some of them gather wood, that he might burn and utterly destroy the giant.

Round about, everywhere, were heaps of human bones, the remains of those whom the giant had killed and eaten. Some of these were the bones of recently killed people, others were of those who had been killed and devoured a longer time, and still others were almost crumbled into dust by age. When the wood-gatherers returned, a large heap of the fuel was made, and upon it the body of the giant was placed; then the wood was set afire and the body burned to ashes. When this had been done, Ball Carrier approached and blew on the ashes, making

them rise like a cloud. The little particles that arose became birds. Ball Carrier took one of his arrows, shot it up into the sky, and as it was returning cried out to the human remains, "People, people, arise; the sky is falling down upon you!" Instantly the skeletons of those last killed became living beings, who sat up and looked about in astonishment. Ball Carrier again shot an arrow toward the sky and called out a second time, "People, people, arise; the sky is falling down upon you!"—whereupon more bodies returned to life, as the others had done. Six times did Ball Carrier thus shoot into the sky, and it was only after this last shot that all had been restored to life—even those who had been killed many years before.

These strange things having been accomplished, the whole party returned to the village of the chief. When they arrived, the chief turned to Ball Carrier and said, "Ball Carrier, you are a powerful man, for you have saved my daughter and my people from being destroyed by the giant. I know of no one better fitted to become the husband of my daughter, as well as my successor, than you; therefore, take her and become chief of my people." Ball Carrier believed the chief's daughter to be the most beautiful woman he had ever seen, and was very glad to accept her. Then they became husband and wife.

Living in peace and quiet among these people of his adoption was not suitable to Ball Carrier, the traveler; so he decided to resume his journey of adventure and to free other people of their enemies. He therefore took leave of his wife and departed.

After going a long distance, Ball Carrier saw a wigwam, and within it a woman, who, on seeing him, said, "Ball Carrier, you are welcome; but it is fortunate for you that you came this morning, for during the day my sister, who wishes to kill you, remains here."

Ball Carrier entered the wigwam and remained, the woman becoming his wife.

On the following morning he observed approaching the wigwam two children, each of them eating the shreds of meat from human bones. When the children finally came near enough to the wigwam to see that a stranger was within, they ran away in great fright. Then Ball Carrier said to his wife, "Whose children are those who are running away?"—to which she replied, "They are the children of my sister; she who desires to kill you."

Presently the woman's sister, his newly made sister-in-law, was seen approaching the wigwam, and so soon as she espied Ball Carrier, she said to him, "I am glad to see you, my brother-in-law; I have long expected you. I hear you are very powerful, but I am desirous of trying my power against yours."

Ball Carrier knew that his sister-in-law desired to destroy him, and he was very careful not to allow her to gain any advantage, but he was compelled to appear pleased to see her; so he answered, "My sister-in-law, I am desirous of trying my power with you, but will first run with you to learn which of us is the fleetest."

Now, this woman was a witch, and as Ball Carrier proposed to run, she felt so sure of success that she immediately agreed to race, and said, "Whoever wins will have the privilege of killing the other."

Ball Carrier was now obliged to run, and went out to find a place for the contest. Seeing that the prairie extended far away without a visible obstruction, Ball Carrier said, "My sister-in-law, we will run to the end of the prairie—to a point as far as you can see from here—and then return; the first one to reach this goal will turn and kill the loser."

The witch agreeing, both prepared to start. Ball Carrier invoked the ma'nidos to assist him, and when the witch started to run, Ball Carrier transformed himself into Moqwai'o (the wolf) and ran ahead of the witch. He continued in advance for a long distance. The witch slowly gained in speed and finally passed him. When Ball Carrier found that he could no longer hope to succeed, he changed himself into Ominic (the pigeon) and once more shot ahead of the witch; but, after a long distance, the witch again gained on him, and gradually passed him, so that he felt he could not win in his present form. Ball Carrier next changed himself into Kaka'kĕ (the crow) and again shot ahead of the witch, remaining in advance for a long time. He finally began to tire, however, and, seeing the witch once more pass him, he found that he could not succeed in winning the race unless he assumed another form, so he changed himself into Meshinikake (the Cooper's hawk ?), and again passed the witch. As a hawk he flew along for a great while, but he eventually began to tire, and the witch again gradually lessened the distance between them and finally passed him. Now Ball Carrier assumed the form of Pakäsh'tsheke'u, the Hitter (duck hawk), and again flew ahead, as this hawk is the swiftest of all save Meshinikake. But even again the witch gained on and at last overtook her opponent, when Ball Carrier found that he would have to assume still other form if he wished to win the race; so, changing himself into Liponane (the sharp-shin hawk), he once more gained on and passed the witch. But as a sharp-shin hawk he began to tire after awhile, and felt that he must assume another form, so he became transformed into Ke'shewa'toshe (sparrow-hawk), when he once more passed the witch.

The contestants were now on their homeward flight, and Ball Carrier realized that he must maintain the lead if he wished to escape death. Soon, however, he saw the witch pass him and remain ahead, apparently sure of reaching the goal first. Ball Carrier felt that he must make a final and desperate effort to pass the witch, for they had now almost reached the goal. He therefore assumed the form of Na-na-tska (the hummingbird) and shot ahead like an arrow, reaching the goal far in advance of the witch. He now threw off his disguise and grasped his warclub to await the arrival of his opponent. She soon came up, furiously angry at losing the race, which she had been certain of winning, when Ball Carrier struck her on the head and killed her.

Ball Carrier's wife now came to him and said, "If you want to exterminate that wicked family, you must go and destroy the dead witch's

litter of children, who live in a cavern in the mountain." Turning around, Ball Carrier saw a mountain, and, because he was possessed of wonderful power of sight, he could observe the offspring of the witch huddled together. He then went toward the mountain, and when he had reached it, he struck the ground with his warclub, causing great fissures to appear; and when the cavern was exposed, he slew the whole litter of the witch's children.

Ball Carrier did not live long at this place ere he felt the need of continuing his journey; so he said to his wife, "Wife, you know I am a traveler, and I must proceed on my journey to berid the people of their enemies."

The wife knew that remonstrance would be futile, so she allowed Ball Carrier to use his own judgment. Gathering together his weapons, he left, and after wandering through the forests for a long time, he reached a piece of elevated ground upon which he saw a wigwam. Seeing no one about, he approached it, and on peeping in at the doorway, he espied a woman sitting within, making preparations for her evening meal. The woman looked up, and seeing Ball Carrier at the door appearing hungry and tired, said, "Come in, Ball Carrier, I am preparing food for you; I have long been expecting you."

Ball Carrier entered and seated himself on the robes on the ground. He partook of the food the woman prepared, and seeing that she was comely he asked her to be his wife. The woman accepted the proposal, and Ball Carrier felt satisfied to remain there and travel no farther.

As Ball Carrier was out hunting one day, he came to a deep valley, in the bottom of which was a lake. In the middle of this lake was an island, partly covered by trees, but on the open grassy portion he saw a large White Bear, the chief of the ânâ'maqkĭ'ŭ, the bad underworld ma'nidos. Now, Ball Carrier was desirous of destroying this greatest of all enemies; but not being able to approach within arrowshot, he blew his breath upon the water, which immediately began to freeze. He continued thus to blow until the ice was so thick that the White Bear could not break it, although he repeatedly ran down and butted his head against the ice. Baffled by this failure, the White Bear called on an immense rock at the hill top, asking it to roll down and break the ice, that he might get into the water. The rock rolled down the hillside and struck the ice with terrific force; but, instead of crushing it, rolled off like a ball. At this the White Bear became very much alarmed, and called upon the Suba'isiukkŭk (wood ducks) to come to his aid. Instantly the Wood Ducks came from the south and flew around in one spot over the ice, when it instantly began to thaw. They circled this spot four times, when the ice became so thin that the White Bear ran down, thrust his head upon the weakened spot, broke it, and disappeared beneath the surface.

Then the Wood Ducks also disappeared, and Ball Carrier turned to go toward his wigwam. He had not gone far when he saw a large water

monster on the hillside. He ran and grasped it by the tail to prevent its escape, in order that he might club it to death, but the being discharged a poisonous liquid from its body, some of which struck Ball Carrier on the teeth, and a portion passed down his throat. Instantly Ball Carrier released the water monster and hastened to return to his wigwam, for he well knew that he would die from the effects of this poison.

When he arrived at the wigwam, he told his wife what had happened, and said to her, "When I am dead, do not bury me, but lay me over there in the grove of trees."

The wife of Ball Carrier had borne to him, since their marriage, two sons and a daughter, so she called to her children to help her take care of their father; but when they found him dead, they carried him to the grove and laid the body on a scaffold.

When Ball Carrier died, the ball which he had received from the old woman immediately started to roll back to its original owner. The warclub, spear, and bow and arrows were placed together and preserved in the wigwam.

Not long after this occurrence a party of strange Indians chanced to come along, and finding a family without a protector they became rather free with what they saw and found. The widow of Ball Carrier protested to the chief, but he replied that unless he was permitted to marry her daughter he would have her house torn down and destroyed. Rather than have such a calamity befall her children, she agreed to let the chief marry her daughter. So the chief remained and provided for Ball Carrier's family, while the remainder of the party continued on their way.

Before the chief came along and married Ball Carrier's daughter, the family had become so poor that they were almost starved. One morning the daughter was hunting for berries; she saw for the first time a large wigwam near their own. Approaching the structure, she saw within it large quantities of food which the shade of her father had put there, and also, perched high in the dome of the wigwam, on a thin cross-piece of wood, a Red-bird. As Ball Carrier's daughter saw this quantity of food she was amazed. After she had gained sufficient courage to enter and look about her, she perceived the Red-bird, who made friendly gestures, making her feel at once that it was the spirit of her father. Going up to him she greeted the bird by reaching out her hand and lightly grasping his foot.

When she returned to her mother and brothers, she told them of what she had discovered. Thereafter every time they wanted food they would all enter the wigwam, and after greeting the Red-bird would partake of the food which was so abundantly supplied by him.

These mysterious departures from the wigwam and the small quantity of food consumed by Ball Carrier's family led the daughter's husband to wonder where they all spent so much of their time. Determined to

learn the cause, the chief followed the party very cautiously one morning to observe their movements, and seeing them all enter the large wigwam, he followed. Seeing them advance to the Red-bird, and, one by one, shake it by the foot, he approached and did the same. They then all partook of the food and returned to their own wigwam, where the chief began to exhibit symptoms of sickness.

But this illness of the chief was in reality merely affected, as he wanted an excuse for obtaining the bird to eat. Ball Carrier's family was very much distressed at the chief's illness and asked him what they could do to aid his recovery. He told his wife that he would not recover unless she killed the Red-bird and cooked it for him to eat. This distressed the family very much, and Ball Carrier's two boys became very angry at such a request. The women were in doubt, not knowing what was best to be done; meanwhile the chief pretended to be getting worse, which alarmed them very much, but the boys remained firm, not wanting to see the Red-bird sacrificed to gratify the chief.

One morning after the boys went to hunt, the wife of Ball Carrier went to the large wigwam, caught the Red-bird, and killed him. She then brought the body back to be cooked, when the boys appeared. One of them cut off the bird's head and ate it, while the other cut out and ate the heart. The boys, in anger, then left the wigwam and went away never to return.

The first night out they reached a hut, which they approached very cautiously, and seeing no one about but an old woman, they entered. She asked them to remain over night, and showed them where they might sleep. Being tired from their long day's journey, they soon fell asleep. In the morning, before the old woman was awake, they arose quietly and left, so that she did not learn who they were or whither they were going. On going to the place where the elder of the two young men had slept, she observed that the ground was covered by a thin coating of dust resembling gold, then turning to where the younger one had slept, she there saw the ground similarly covered with stains of gold; but when the old woman attempted to gather the yellow substance it vanished. This gold came from the two sons of Ball Carrier, because they had eaten the head and heart of the Red-bird, which was the shade of him who had secured the treasures of the Bad One and who still carried them in his armpits when he was killed by the Water Monster.

Meanwhile the wife of Ball Carrier took the remainder of the bird, from which her two sons had cut and eaten the head and heart, and put it into the kettle to prepare for the chief. When it was cooked and given to him, he seemed to recover from his illness, because he had gained his wish; but, perceiving that the head was gone, he angrily said to his wife, "Who has cut off the head of the bird?" To this she replied that her elder son had eaten it. Then picking up the body he said, "I see that the heart also is gone—who has taken that?" The

wife then told him that her younger son had eaten it. The chief saw that he had been thwarted in his desire, and violently threw the body of the bird away. He then arose from his bed and seemed as well as when he first came to the wigwam.

When the body of Ball Carrier was deposited on the scaffold in the grove of trees, the ball which the old woman, his grandmother, had given him returned to her. When it bounded into her hut, she knew that her grandson had met with some misfortune, and she immediately prepared to go to his rescue. She took a fox-skin and tied it about her head and around her forehead, and another which she fastened to herself as a breechcloth. Then bidding the ball to return to where the body of her grandson was lying, it started to roll and bound back upon its journey, the old woman following. At last the ball reached the grove of trees, where it stopped; then the old woman placed her hand on the body of Ball Carrier, crying out aloud, "My grandson, arise, arise, and come home with me!" Ball Carrier's life returned, and he sat up as if he had been only asleep. Then the old woman said to him, "Come, my grandson, it is time to return home." So Ball Carrier went to the wigwam, gathered up his weapons, and followed the old woman back whence she had come.

When they had reached her wigwam, the old woman said to Ball Carrier, "My grandson, did you get the gold which you went to procure from the Bad One?"

Ball Carrier replied, "Yes, grandmother, I got it."

"Where is it?" she asked.

"Here, in my left armpit," responded Ball Carrier, raising his arm.

Then the old woman took a knife and carefully scraped away from the skin every particle of gold which Ball Carrier had procured. Then she said, "My grandson, did you get the bridge which the Bad One also possessed?"

"Yes, grandmother, I got that too," replied Ball Carrier.

"Where is it?" asked the old woman. Then Ball Carrier lifted up his right arm, and pointing to his armpit, said, "Here is the bridge, grandmother."

The old woman took the gold, and placing it in the palm of her hand, said, "My grandson, this gold must now be hidden in the earth, because if it remains where everybody can get it, the people will become too indolent; but if it is buried people must work for it, and they will get only what they require." Then pulling up one of the poles that supported the wigwam, she put the gold into the hole and rammed it down into the earth, where it has become scattered, and where those who seek it must dig and work hard to get it.

Then she took the bridge, and turning toward Ball Carrier, said, "This bridge also must be buried, because if everybody can get hold of it they can transport themselves across any river or chasm, and people will become too lazy to work or to learn how to build such

things for their use." So the old woman caused the bridge to assume a very small shape, when she buried it in the earth, where it remains hidden from mankind.

Then the old woman told Ball Carrier to follow her to the door of the wigwam. When they had reached the opening, she pointed out toward two distant wigwams and said, "There are the wigwams of your people, from whom you have been separated for a long time. Your father is now an old man and needs your care and protection; go, therefore, to your people and provide for them while they live." Ball Carrier then remembered his people, and returned to them.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD CHICAGO

The Menomini have a tradition to the effect that some Potawatomi Indians used to live at the marshes where the city of Chicago is now situated. These Indians reported good hunting, so that when some Menomini went there for game, their dogs would bark during the night; but every time the hunters arrived at the spot they found that only skunks had caused the alarm.

The Ojibwa relate a story of an Ottawa hunter and his wife who lived with that tribe farther north, on the shore of Lake Michigan. Taking his wife with him this hunter went southward to hunt on a lake somewhere between the present cities of Chicago and Milwaukee. When he reached the lake, where he had the previous year caught beaver, it was still covered with ice, but on sounding it with a piece of wood he soon discovered the thinner places where the animals had congregated. He therefore broke holes at these weak points in the ice for the beaver to emerge and then went to his wigwam to get his traps in readiness. The hunter's wife chanced to pass one of these holes, and discovering a beaver on the ice, quickly caught it by the tail before it could escape into the water, and called to her husband to come and kill it. The husband replied that he would not come, saying that if he killed that beaver the others might become frightened and escape from the lake by some other openings in the ice. At this the woman became angry and a quarrel resulted.

Later in the day the hunter went out to examine the holes which he had made and to make others where necessary. This task completed, he returned to the wigwam, but found his wife gone. Thinking that she might have gone only to visit a friend and that she would return before the night was over, he went to sleep. On the following morning his wife was still absent, so the hunter searched for her footprints and found from them that she had gone toward the south. Knowing that no Ottawa lived in that direction, he started in pursuit and traveled all day. As he progressed, he observed that her footprints gradually changed in outline, becoming more and more like those of a skunk. He followed the trail until it ended in a marsh, where Chicago now

stands. Here he found the heads of skunks protruding from the grass in every direction, but he refrained from killing any of them lest he might take the life of his own wife. On the following day he continued the search, making it his object to find a large skunk, thinking that probably his wife might have been transformed into a skunk of much greater size than the ordinary animal.

Failing to find any trace of his wife, the hunter returned to his people, and for the reason that this woman was changed into a skunk for her undutiful conduct the locality was called "Place of the Skunk."

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

The Menomini formerly disposed of their dead by inclosing the bodies in long pieces of birchbark or in slats of wood, and burying them in a shallow hole. When not in the neighborhood of birch or other trees, from which broad pieces of bark could be obtained, some of the men would search for the nearest dugout, from which they would cut a piece long enough to contain the body. In some instances sections of hollow

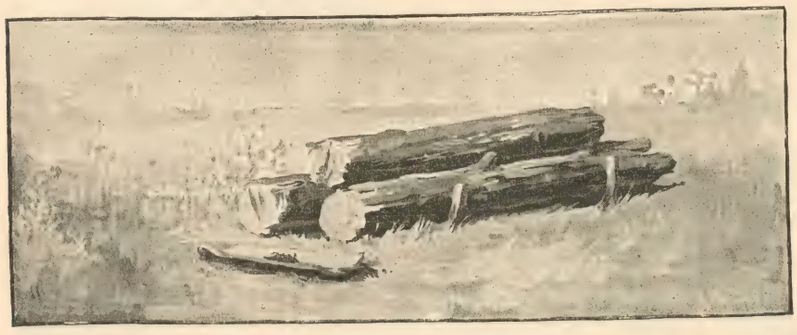


FIG. 26—Ancient form of protecting graves.

trees were used as coffins. In order to afford protection against wild beasts, there were placed over the grave three logs—two directly on the ground and the third on the others. They were prevented from rolling away by stakes driven into the earth. Figure 26 represents the old method of protecting graves.

More modern customs now prevail with the greater body of the tribe, and those who have been Christianized adopt the following course: A wooden coffin is made and the body laid out in the ordinary manner. The burial takes place usually the day on which death occurs. The graves are about 4 feet deep. Over the mound is erected a small board structure resembling a house, as shown in figure 27. This structure measures about 5 feet in length and 3 feet high. In the front and near the top is an opening through which the relations and friends of the deceased put cakes of maple sugar, rice, and other food—the first fruits of the season. In some grave-boxes, immediately beneath the

opening, there is placed a small drawer, which is used for the same purpose as the opening. Sometimes even on the grave-boxes of Christianized Indians, the totem of the clan to which the deceased belonged is

FIG. 27—Modern grave-box.

drawn in color or carved from a piece of wood and securely nailed. These totemic characters are generally drawn or attached in an inverted

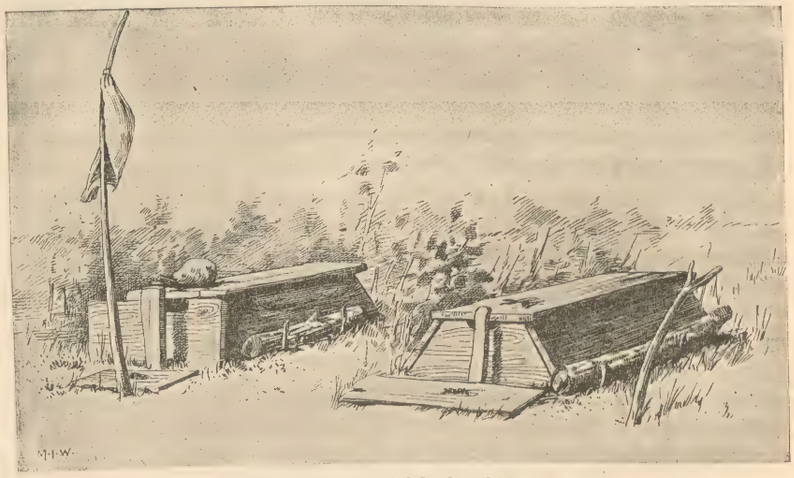


FIG. 28—Graves of Osh'kosh and his wife.

position, which is denotive of death among the Menomini as among other tribes. Around the grave-boxes clapboard fences are usually erected to keep stray animals from coming near, and to prevent wayfarers and

GAME OF BOWL

sacrilegious persons from desecrating the graves. An ordinary "worm" fence is also sometimes built for the same purpose.

Among the non-Christianized Menomini the grave covering is of a slightly different character. These grave-boxes are more like an inverted trough, as shown in figure 27, which illustrates the graves of the late chief Osh'kosh and his wife. The openings in the head end of the box are used for the introduction of ordinary food, as well as maple sugar and other tributes of the first fruits of the year, on which the shade of the departed may feast before it finally sets out for the land of the dead.

Formerly, also, bodies were scaffolded, or placed in trees, according to the wish of the deceased. In some instances it was customary to dress and paint the body as during life, seat it on the ground facing the west—in the direction of the path of the dead toward the land of Naq'pote—when a log inclosure, resembling a small pen, was built around it. In this manner the corpse was left.

When a mitä'ᵛ is about to be buried, his nearest mitä'ᵛ relation approaches the grave before earth is thrown into it and addresses the shade of the body, as mentioned at length in connection with the preliminaries of the introduction of a candidate into the medicine society.

Mourners blacken their faces with charcoal or ashes. Formerly it was sometimes customary to add pine resin to the ashes, that the materials might remain longer on the skin, and a widow was not presumed to marry again until this substance had entirely worn off. In some instances of great grief, the hair above the forehead was cropped short.

GAMES AND DANCES

THE ÂKA'QSIWŎK GAME

The game of âka'qsiwŏk was frequently played in former times, but of late it is rarely seen. It corresponds to the Ojibwa game of "plum-stones," or "bowl," and is played for purposes of gambling, either by two individuals or by two sets of players, as below described.

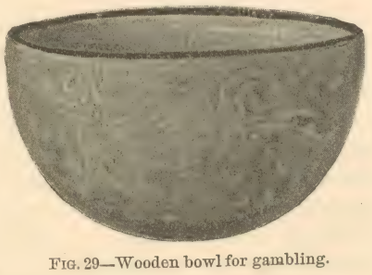


FIG. 29—Wooden bowl for gambling.

A hemispheric bowl, made of the large round nodules of a maple root, is cut and hollowed out. Figure 29 represents a vessel of this character, which was fashioned solely with the aid of an ax and a knife of the character represented in figure 37, called wagäq'koman. The bowl is symmetric, and is very nicely finished. It measures 13 inches in diameter at the rim and is 6 inches in depth. The bowl is five-eighths of an inch in thickness at the rim, but gradually increases in thickness toward the bottom, which is about an inch thick.

The knife-blade was made by an Indian blacksmith, and is of the type used for almost all kinds of wood-finishing, and especially in basket-making, as will later be described. The handle is of basswood; the rear end of the blade, which is hammered to a point, is inserted into a socket in the handle and secured by thongs wrapped about both. There are forty counters, called ma′atik, made of twigs or trimmed sticks of pine or other wood, each about 12 inches long and from one-fourth to one-third of an inch thick. Half of these are colored red, the other half black, or perhaps are left their natural whitish color.

The dice, or aka′sianŏk, consist of eight pieces of deer-horn, about three-fourths of an inch in diameter and one-third of an inch thick, but thinner toward the edges. Sometimes plum-stones or even pieces of wood are taken, one side of them being colored red, the other side remaining white or uncolored.

When the players sit down to play, the bowl containing the dice is placed on the ground between them. The counters are placed on the ground between the opponents; bets are made; the first player begins a song, in which the other players as well as the spectators always join. At a certain propitious moment the one to play first strikes the bowl a smart tap, which causes the dice to fly upward from the bottom of the bowl, and as they fall and settle, the result is watched with very keen interest. The value indicated by the position of the dice represents the number of counters which the player is permitted to take from the ground. The value of the throws is as follows, viz:

First throw, 4 red dice and 4 white—a draw.
Second throw, 5 red dice and 3 white, counts 1.
Third throw, 6 red dice and 2 white, counts 4.
Fourth throw, 7 red dice and 1 white, counts 20.
Fifth throw, 8 red dice and 0 white, counts 40.

The players strike the bowl alternately until one person wins all the counters—both those on the ground and those which the opponent may have won. See plate XIV.

MOCCASIN OR BULLET GAME

Another game that was formerly much played by the Menomini was the moccasin, or bullet, game, which was probably learned from their Ojibwa neighbors. Five persons participate in this game, four being active players, while the fifth acts as musician, by using the tambourine-drum and singing, the players usually joining in the latter. The tambourine-drum is shown in figure 30.

The articles necessary to play this game consist of four bullets, or balls of any hard substance, one of which is colored, or indented, to readily distinguish it from its fellows; four moccasins also are required, as well as thirty or forty stick counters, similar to those used in the preceding game, though uncolored. A blanket also is used, and in addition a stick, about 3 feet long, with which to strike the moccasin under which

INDIANS PLAYING MOCCASIN OR BULLET GAME

the bullet is believed to be hidden. When the game is commenced, the players are paired off by two's, who take their places on each of the four sides of the outspread blanket (plate XV). The winner of the toss takes the moccasins before him and lays them upside down and about 6 inches apart with the toes pointing forward. The object now is for the player to lift, with his left hand, each moccasin, in succession, and put a bullet under it, making many pretenses of hiding and removing the bullets, in order to confuse the opponents, who are eagerly watching for some slip of the performer whereby they may obtain a clue of the moccasin under which the marked bullet may be placed. While this is going on, the drummer is doing his duty by singing and drumming, to which the others are noisily keeping time. When the bullets are all hidden,

FIG. 30—Tambourine drum.

the player will suddenly call out, "Ho!" in a high note, when the singing drops to a mere murmur, and the striker of the opposing side raises the stick threateningly over the several moccasins, as if to strike them, but each time withdraws as if in doubt. Finally, he will place the end of a long stick under a moccasin and turn it over. Should the marked bullet be disclosed, he is regarded as successful; if he fails the first time he has another trial, but if the bullet is found only at the second trial, the counters to which he is entitled will be fewer than if he finds the bullet the first time.

In event of the opponent making a successful guess of the moccasin under which the marked bullet has been placed, the former player

relinquishes the moccasins and bullets and takes his turn at guessing. The game is decided when all the sticks on the blanket are won, those winning the majority taking the bets previously made. The scoring depends on the agreement previously formed.

LACROSSE

The game of lacrosse has already been described in connection with the cult society of the Mitä'wit, as one of the preliminaries thereto, under certain circumstances. The game appears, at the present time, to be played merely for amusement, personal wagers being made on the result.

BALL GAME

The women formerly played a game of ball in which two sides, composed of unlimited numbers, would oppose each other. At each end of the ball ground, which was several hundred yards in length, a pole was erected, to serve as a goal. Many of the players would surround their respective goals, while the strongest and most active women, playing about the middle of the ground, would endeavor to obtain the ball and throw it toward their opponents' goal. The ball was made of deer hair tightly wrapped with thongs of buckskin, and covered with the same material. It measured about 3 inches in diameter. The women used sticks with a slight curve at the striking end instead of a hoop, as on the sticks used by the men.

The game was more like the well-known game of "shinny" than anything else, with the addition of having to cause the ball to strike the goal instead of being merely knocked across a certain score line. The guardians of the goals were expected to prevent the ball from touching the post, and a good strike might send it away over the active players' heads, far toward their opponents' goal.

THE SNOW-SNAKE

Another game, for both amusement and gambling, was termed the "snow-snake," and was undoubtedly derived from the Ojibwa. It was played during the winter, either in the snow or on the ice, and the only article necessary consisted of a piece of hardwood, from 5 to 6 feet long and from one-half to three-fourths of an inch thick. The head was bulb-like and shaped like a snake, with eyes, and a crosscut to denote the mouth. This rounded end permitted it to pass over slight irregularities in its forward movements. The player would grasp the end, or tail, of the snake by putting the index finger against the end and the thumb on one side, opposite to which would be the remaining three fingers; then stooping toward the ground the snake was held horizontally from right to left and forced forward in the direction of the head, skimming along rapidly for a considerable distance. (See figure 31.)

The Ojibwa play the game in a similar manner, but they sometimes place a ridge of snow slightly inclined away from the player in order

to give the snake an upward curve as it leaves the hands, thus propelling it a considerable distance before touching the snow or ice.

A short time since a similar game was observed among the Crow boys at Crow agency, Montana. By them, however, it was played during the summer, and instead of a wooden snake they employed an arrow with a blunt wooden head. Each player had a bundle of from ten to twenty arrows, and would propel all of them before giving place

FIG. 31—Holding snow-snake preparatory to throwing.

to his opponent. Furthermore, to aid in giving the arrow an upward curve and to make it fly farther, a short board was placed on the ground, the farther end of which was raised about 4 inches. The arrow was grasped in the same way as the Menomini held the wooden snake.

RACES

A mutually satisfactory manner of starting a footrace is often adopted by two participants, as follows: After the course in which the race is

to be run has been decided on, the starting point is indicated by making a transverse scratch in the ground over the line of the course, or by laying down at either side some leaves, a blanket, or some other conspicuous mark. The runners then recede from this mark in order to get a good and fair start. Both being ready, a twig or stick from 12 to 15 inches in length is held between them, each grasping an end so as to readily indicate when one or the other is gaining undue advantage in speed from the standing point to the scratch where the race is actually to begin.

In starting, both racers step off briskly, at once beginning a gentle trot which increases in speed as they approach the scratch, though both endeavor to keep abreast and glance at the stick held by the two. When the true starting point is reached, the stick is dropped and both start forward, each endeavoring to impede the progress of the other by every conceivable trick.

Ordinary footraces cover only a few hundred yards, though long-distance races have sometimes occurred. When runners are sent out to carry invitations to the Mitä'wit ceremonials, or when the agent desires information transmitted, the courier assumes an easy running gait, which may be kept up for hours at a time. This dog-trot is the least fatiguing, and instances of the endurance of Indians have been well shown in recent years by the Apache renegades in their endeavor to escape the troops in the mountainous country of eastern and southeastern Arizona, who would frequently desert their ponies and take to the trails on foot.

A Mohave courier, well known to the writer, has been known to make the journey between Camp Mohave and a temporary camp 90 miles southward between sunrise and sunset. He would eat but little during the day preceding the journey, and on the morning of his departure, shortly before the summer's early sunrise, would tuck the dispatches or letters in his huge coil of hair, and being clad only in breechcloth and moccasins was unimpeded in his progress. The trail lay along the hard, sandy banks of the river terrace, and as the temperature rose during the day he would go down into the water to wet his body and then resume his steady, easy, jogging gait, with both arms brought up beside the chest, the fists being clenched and held almost in front of the breastbone.

With reference to the speed obtained by the Menomini Indians, nothing remarkable has been accomplished, so far as is known. An instance of excellent time made by an Ojibwa mixed blood, at White Earth, Minnesota, has been placed on record.[1] The Indian referred to was sent for to enter a race against professional runners. He left the plow at noon, and after dinner walked about 23 miles to the place where the race was to be run, and next morning made 100 yards in ten and three-quarters seconds.

[1] American Anthropologist, Washington, vol. iii, 1890, p. 133.

Mr F. W. Hodge,[1] who has conducted researches among the several Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona, has given an account of a Zuñi footrace. "The great races of the Zuñi," says the author, "and those in which the chief interest is centered, occur after the planting, the time when nearly all the men are at leisure. In selecting the participants in these races, the swiftest-footed of the young men of the northern half of the pueblo are matched against those of the southern, or the western half against the eastern. The number of racers on a side varies from three to six, and the degree of interest taken in the contest depends on the reputation of those engaged in it, and particularly on the extent to which betting has been indulged in."

In this Zuñi race many little preliminaries are arranged, and certain precautions taken so as to insure a satisfactory condition of the participants, both hygienically and also from a religious point of view.

The chief feature of the race is the kicking of sticks, which the leader of each side places across his foot at the base of the toes. These sticks are rounded and of the size of the middle finger; they are picked up with the toes and kicked forward, when one of the set, or partners, of the one kicking, renews the feat, keeping up rapid speed. Mr Hodge says the distance covered by one race was 25 miles, and the time consumed only two hours.

It is well known that the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico are so named from their custom of racing while driving before them a wooden ball by means of the feet alone. It is said that frequently 70 or 80 miles are thus covered in a single race.

Canoe races frequently occurred among the Menomini; but of late, it must be said, little interest is manifested in athletic sports of any kind.

TOBACCO AND SHAWANO DANCES

Apart from the dances indulged in by certain individuals in connection with cult ceremonials, there are two dances which are much esteemed as affording great pleasure and excitement. One of these is termed the Tobacco dance, the other the Shawano dance, for the latter is believed to have been introduced by the Shawnee, with which tribal designation the word is synonymous, signifying "southern" or "southerner," that tribe having lived to the south of the Menomini.

PIPES AND TOBACCO

Nearly every Indian is a smoker, and smoking is engaged in whenever he has nothing better to do. Pipes used at this day consist of various kinds procured from trading establishments; but, if obtainable, the native pipes, made of stone, are greatly preferred, because they were the pipes of their ancestors and because the bore is deeper and narrower than is found in the modern briar and clay pipe bowls. The native pipe bowl is usually double the height of the modern article,

[1] American Anthropologist, July, 1890, pp. 227–231.

being from 1½ to 4 inches from top to bottom; the main stem, from near the middle of which the bowl rises, is from 4 to 8 inches in length, becoming narrower, laterally, toward the front. The stem is bored from the rear to the center of the bowl, through which a similar hole is drilled from the top, to intersect or unite with the former. This perforation averages one-third of an inch in diameter, while the bowl orifice becomes slightly larger toward the top.

Catlinite or red pipestone pipes were formerly obtained by the Menomini through barter from their western neighbors, this substance being found only near the town of Pipestone, Minnesota. A small bowl of this material is represented in figure 32. The specimen illustrated was formerly the property of Tecumtha, by whom it was presented to a member of the family of Mr Gauthier, interpreter at Keshena, Wisconsin. It is now in the National Museum. Another variety of pipe found especially among the southern bands of Menomini—those living nearer the Ojibwa at Lac Court Oreille and Lac Flambeau—are made of a dark, greenish-black mineral obtained in northeastern Minnesota. An example is illustrated in figure 33.

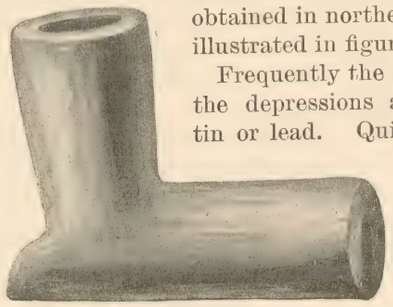


FIG. 32—Tecumtha's pipe.

Frequently the upper portion of the pipe is carved, the depressions afterward being filled with block tin or lead. Quite a degree of taste and skill is shown in some of these pipes, the stems, which are made of ash or other wood, being frequently ornamented by carvings, decorations in color, and beads. Some of the stems are broad, measuring from 1½ to 2½ inches across, and are only half an inch thick. At each of the ends is a cylindrical projection, half an inch in diameter, the lower to be inserted into the pipe bowl, while the other forms the mouthpiece.

The pith is removed from these stems by passing through them a piece of wire, usually made red hot so as to burn and harden the aperture. Some Indians, more expert than others, occasionally produce curious effects and cause astonishment by cutting away certain portions of the stem along the middle broad part, the openings extending almost across from side to side, and thus naturally renewing the continuity of the orifice. As no marks upon the exterior are visible to the casual observer, it seems quite a puzzle to understand how the smoke passes from the bowl to the smoker's mouth, for between these two points circles, squares, or perhaps other figures, are cut out, as above described. On careful examination it may be observed, and perhaps it may also require the assistance of the carver to learn, that holes are drilled or burned from the side or edge of the stem to intersect the main orifice, all superfluous openings being carefully plugged with wood of the same species.

The orifice along the edge of the stem, from end to end, is made by splitting off a piece half an inch or so in width, then cutting a crease or groove along the main part to connect the two short transverse burned holes which run into the main or original orifice, when the detached piece is again carefully secured to the stem by gluing. After the stem is completed and polished, or decorated by discoloration or by burning, the union of the two pieces is extremely difficult to detect, if it can be detected at all. Thus the smoke passes around the interior through an orifice having four angles or turns.

This is an example of only an ordinarily decorated stem. Sometimes the manufacture of the stem is even more complicated by a greater number of designs in carving, or the removal of certain portions, thus increasing the turns and angles of the orifice through which the smoke passes.

FIG. 33—Inlaid stone pipe.

Having had occasion to speak of pipes and the importance of ceremonial smoking, it may not be inappropriate to treat more fully of the subject of tobacco, as well as of the substitutes for tobacco and the peculiar manner of using them.

Since the introduction of manufactured tobacco, most Indians purchase inferior grades of granular mixtures, they being the more readily obtained. Plug tobacco is preferred when it can be procured, but this is generally mixed by them with the native product. In former times the leaves of the sumach (*Rhus glabra* Wood, and *R. aromatica* Ait) were gathered and dried, being subsequently ground between the left palm and the ball of the right thumb, the latter projecting beyond the clinched fist. Frequently, when the leaves were very dry, both palms were employed to give a handful of leaves the primary crushing, the hands being used as in the act of washing. This mixture contains a large quantity of tannic acid, and its use generally produces bronchial irritation.

The substance generally employed by the Menomini for smoking, and one found abundantly in many parts of the northern temperate por-

tions of North America, is the red osier (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), commonly designated by frontiersmen as kil'likinik', or kin'nikinik'. The word is from the language of the Dakota, by which nation it is more properly designated tsha^{n}'shasha, "red-wood." The name adopted by the Menomini is the former one, the word perhaps having been obtained by them directly from whites and Canadian Indians who frequented the territory west of the Mississippi, where it was used very extensively, especially in mixture with plug tobacco. The shoots of a year's growth, and the older branches if still retaining the red epidermis, were preferred. This thin, semitransparent epidermis was scraped off by passing the edge of a sharp knife-blade longitudinally over the stem; then the back of the blade was employed in scraping from the ligneous portion of the branch the cellular integument—the rather soft, brittle green portion of the bark. This was dried generally for future use, for, although smoked at nearly all times, it was deemed better for use in winter, as the Indians believed it to be "heating," meaning by the phrase that it sometimes was more liable to cause slight dizziness or fullness of the head—an effect attributable more to the adulteration of the tobacco furnished them than to the astringency of the bark.

The third variety of native tobacco consisted of the leaves of *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng., commonly known in medicine as uva-ursi, and as an excellent diuretic; but by the Dakota Indians, from whom it was formerly obtained, it is designated as waqpe' tsha^{n}shasha—literally "leaf red-wood." This is a low-growing evergreen shrub, which bears oblong leaves not over an inch in length. Its habitat is chiefly along Yellowstone river in Montana, and southeastward in the badlands along the boundary between Montana and South Dakota. During the writer's residence among the Dakota Indians in 1872–73, a small cigarboxful of the leaves was regarded as worth an Indian pony, practically equal to $20, and, for obvious reasons, but few Indians could indulge in this luxury.

This substance was prepared for smoking during the summer months, as it was then less liable to produce a sense of fullness in the head. The Menomini sometimes obtain these leaves at apothecary shops, but as the cost is greater than for an equal amount of tobacco, the latter is more generally used.

Red-osier bark is prepared for smoking by laying a small handful of it on a piece of board, and whilst holding the curly shavings down with the left hand, the ends projecting toward the right are cut off with a large knife by passing the handle up and down without lifting the point of the blade from the board. The motion of cutting is thus similar to that in using a small fodder-cutter; each time the blade is raised from the board the mass of bark is pushed under it as it descends, the bark being therefore really minced. Two parts of the bark are carefully mixed with one part of granular or similarly hashed plug tobacco, when it is ready for the tobacco pouch. Enough for only one day's use is prepared at a time.

When an Indian desires to smoke, a pipeful of the tobacco mixture is placed on the left palm, and worked with the ball of the thumb, or perhaps with the tips of the united fingers and thumb, after which it is put in the bowl and gently packed down by means of a pipe-stick. This implement is made of ash, cedar, or some other choice wood, and is from 8 to 10 inches in length, one-third of an inch thick at the top, gracefully narrowing to within an inch from the lower end, where it curves to a blunt tip. The leaves of the uva-ursi also are broken or cut, and mixed with either of the above-named varieties of tobacco in the proportion of one of the former to three or four of the latter.

When several Menomini are sitting together for social purposes, smoking is individual, and no offer of a pipe by one to another is made, unless the latter desires a whiff, or may perhaps be without his own pipe. When sitting in council and having in hand the consideration of tribal affairs or deliberations relative to important social secrets, or when participating in ritualistic ceremonials, the smoker who fills the pipe hands it to his right-hand neighbor to light. The latter individual takes a few whiffs at intervals, inhaling each mouthful, after which the pipe is passed back to the owner at the left, who then takes several whiffs, when he passes it to the next person to his left. In this manner the pipe continues on its way around the circle, always to the left, until the bowl of tobacco is exhausted. He who concludes the smoking knocks out the ashes and hands the pipe to its owner.

During the passage of the pipe silence is maintained, and if any conversation becomes necessary, it is conducted only in a whisper.

At various intervals of ceremonial smokes, especially during the smoking preliminary to prayers or chants, puffs of smoke are directed toward the four cardinal points as well as toward the abode of the wind gods, or the zenith—the abode of Kishä′ Ma′nido—and toward the earth, the abode of the material parts of their deceased friends and relations.

The true Indian pipestem usually terminates in a cylindrical mouthpiece an inch or more in length and from one-fourth to one-third of an inch in diameter. When smoking, an Indian does not put this part into his mouth, as we are accustomed to doing, thus moistening it with saliva, but he will press it between the lips, and as the stem enters the mouth the outer and dry portion of the lips follow, so that the stem does not become moist. In sucking the stem and gaining a mouthful of smoke, the lips are slightly parted—at either side or toward the corner of the mouth—and air inhaled so as to mix with and pass down the throat into and filling the lungs. The slight sound of rushing air which is heard forms an essential part of Indian etiquette, for it is indicative of satisfaction and enjoyment. After a moment's suspense the contents of the lungs and air passages are exhaled, the smoke issuing from the mouth as well as in two distinct volumes from the nostrils.

The question may be asked as to the reason of the inhalation. This may be answered, because, first, the supply of tobacco is usually very

limited, and, desiring it to go as far as possible, the enjoyment is thus prolonged; and second, the effect of tobacco smoke, when one is once accustomed to inhalation and is not susceptible to the irritating effect, is very agreeable, as the writer can testify from a personal experience of a quarter of a century—a habit since discontinued. It may be remarked, too, that the Indians, at a time when native plants of narcotic properties were used, inhaled the smoke for the purpose of inducing narcotism, and under certain conditions, an ecstatic state. Several plants of the genus *Nicotiana* were employed by various Indians, the southern and southwestern tribes especially, since they inhabited a region in which several species are indigenous.

The tribes inhabiting the high plateau of Arizona, when first met with by the writer in 1871, were in the habit of rolling all of their tobacco into cigarettes as they were required, using therefor corn-husk or brown paper, if the latter could be obtained. An instance of the manner and the degree of enjoyment experienced by a Shivwits Indian may be cited. This native had come into camp with his wife and three young children, the youngest being perhaps three or four years of age. The first inquiry was for tobacco, and a piece of plug being handed to him, he looked about for some heavy yellow straw-paper which had been wrapped about some groceries in the mess-chest. The resemblance of the latter to corn-husk made it very acceptable to him, and he immediately cut up the tobacco into small particles and rolled it into a cigarette, lighting it at the camp fire and noisily inhaling the smoke by great mouthfuls. After a few whiffs, he turned the moistened end of the cigarette to his wife, who also drew a few puffs, then passed it to his eldest child, a girl, then to the next in age, and finally to the infant, all of them seeming to relish the flavor and each casting wistful looks after the stump as the old chief finished it. I was informed by him that his children had never before had an opportunity of smoking. As in this instance there was but the merest taste and not sufficient to induce dislike, and possibly nausea, so it may have been in many others that the gradual acquirement may ultimately end in professional smoking without once having experienced the distressing effects of overindulgence at a sitting. Most whites are supposed to pass through certain stages of tobacco sickness, induced by nausea, but this is believed to be exceedingly rare amongst Indians, doubtless for the reason above suggested.

Tobacco is frequently used by the Menomini as an offering. It is placed before grave-boxes, sprinkled on stones or rocks of abnormal shape, their form being attributed to the Great Deity, or to Mä′näbŭsh. It is also sent as peace offerings to other persons or tribes; it is given to one from whom a favor is expected, or when an answer is looked for to questions to be submitted or propounded; and likewise it is sent out, together with an invitation, to members of the Medicine society when a meeting is contemplated. Nothing of a serious character is under-

LOG HOUSE OF NATIVE CONSTRUCTION

taken, or even attempted, before indulging in smoking and contemplation, and perhaps by preliminary fasting, accompanied by prayers and chants.

The origin of tobacco is regarded by the Menomini as mystic. An account of its function in this regard has previously been given in this memoir.

ARCHITECTURE

DWELLINGS AND LODGES

The greater number of the Menomini now live in comfortable log houses built by themselves and tolerably well furnished with modern conveniences. The only floor covering, if any is used at all, consists of rush mats, frequently of neat design, placed directly on the board flooring. Illustrations of these mats are given elsewhere in this paper, while the appearance of a typical modern Menomini log house is shown in plate XVI.

The roof of such a dwelling consists of boards, though in a number of the older buildings homemade shingles may be seen. These are fastened with wooden pegs instead of with iron nails; they measure from 3 to 4 feet in length and from 8 to 10 inches in width, and are pegged to the crosspieces resting on the rafters in the usual manner. The houses are rather poorly lighted, usually two windows and sometimes only one window being regarded as sufficient for lighting and ventilating a house of moderate size. In nearly all instances the building logs are squared to fit closely, and consequently require less chinking than when left naturally round. Whenever necessary to the comfort of the occupants of the dwelling, chinking is done with clay and sod, but on some occasions mortar is employed.

Some houses are supplied with a ceiling, independent of the roof, and a hatchway is also furnished for ingress by means of a ladder. The attic thus formed is used for the storage of various household articles, including utensils not in immediate use, and of harness and traps; sometimes it is used even for sleeping quarters for the children or for visitors. The walls are sometimes decorated with mats of rush or bark, the latter variety frequently being of elaborate design.

As a rule no chimneys are built, the outlet for smoke being an ordinary stovepipe, which passes through an opening in the roof and projects several feet above.

Near the modern houses is frequently observed a summer residence made of saplings and covered with mats or bark to protect the occupants from the sun and rain. This primitive form of Menomini wigwam is made in the following manner:

Saplings of oak or other tough wood, not more than 2 inches thick at the base, are cut and planted about 3 feet apart so as to form an elliptical outline, with two openings for ingress and egress opposite each other, in the line of the greater diameter. Plate XVII represents the

framework of a wigwam of this character. The top and sides of this skeleton structure are covered with large sheets of birchbark and mats; sometimes pieces of canvas or an old blanket are added. The materials used for covering will be described later. After the poles have been planted or driven into the ground until they stand like the vertical sticks of a basket-maker's frame, they are drawn inward across the interior and securely tied with strips of basswood bark. The width of the wigwam is usually about 10 feet, and the length 14 or 16 feet. Horizontal poles are next lashed to the arched ribs, each from a foot and a half to 2 feet apart, excepting at the open or doorway ends of the structure, where the vertical poles are about 3 feet apart. Mats are then fastened to the framework on the outside, first in a continuous row at the bottom, the next row overlapping the first row, and so on until the top is reached. Over the dome are thrown pieces of bark—excepting at the center of the roof, where a smoke-hole is left.

FIG. 34—Bark domicile for summer use.

To complete the covering of the wigwam, mats are used as door flaps, the top of a mat being fastened to the top of each opening, while the other end is permitted to fall to the ground. To enter the structure, a person has merely to lift one side of the mat, allowing it to fall in place after entering.

The sides of the wigwam are covered with pieces of pine bark cut in sections long enough to extend from the ground to the roof. These pieces are fastened in place usually by strips of bark, but sometimes they are nailed.

Another variety of temporary structure of the Menomini, used generally during the summer when the natives go from home to pick berries, gather wild rice, or to dig snakeroot, is quickly made by planting five or six saplings on each side of a parallelogram; the ends are

WIGWAM COVERED WITH MATS

left open, and the top of each sapling on a given side is then bound down over its opposite fellow to form a roof somewhat resembling a wagon-top, as in figure 34. Horizontal saplings are then bound around the framework to make the structure secure, and over all are laid, longitudinally, a series of long strips of pine bark, the upper pieces overlapping those below, while a large piece is placed over the highest part of the roof, which thus sheds the rain or melting snow. This part completed, the end of the wigwam is protected by other pieces of bark placed slantingly against the side. To keep out mosquitoes, smudges are built at one or both ends of these lodges, that the smoke may be carried through the structure. The bedding is spread on the ground, and usually covers the entire floor.

Sometimes a so-called lean-to is built for short occupancy, or even for a single night's shelter from rain or dew. This variety of structure is made generally by laying short poles against a fallen tree trunk, the extreme pieces being about 6 or 7 feet apart; other poles or branches are then placed transversely upon these, and this rude framework is finally covered with brush and leaves.

Occasionally winter habitations of bark are constructed like those shown in plate XVIII.

Another form of Menomini shelter which may again be referred to is the sweat-lodge, resorted to by those who may feel indisposed, or by the shamans previously to undertaking any serious or difficult task. This variety of structure resembles a huge beehive, but may be a little less conical in shape. An illustration (plate XI) of the sweat-lodge has already been given in connection with the ceremonies of the Mitä'wit.

The tshi'saqkan or jugglery also has been described and illustrated (figure 20) in connection with the subject of that class of shamans. It is simply a large funnel-shape lodge, constructed of vertical poles with horizontal branches lashed on to serve as hoops, so to say. Over this frame birchbark, matting, or cloth is wrapped to hide the actions of the operator within. A ceremonial wigwam closely related to this is the previously mentioned mitä'wikŏ'mik or medicine-lodge, represented in several forms in plates VI and XII and figures 5 and 9, which illustrate the different structures used during the annual performances.

OTHER STRUCTURES

Some of the more thrifty Indians erect, for use as stables, small log buildings with flat roofs of saplings covered with branches, straw, and earth. To the stable a small corral, consisting of vertical saplings, is attached to prevent the escape of the animals.

Poultry houses measuring from 6 to 8 feet square, built of logs with board roofs, are also common among the Menomini.

In recent years fences have been erected. These are usually either of posts or of clapboards, though many of the fields are inclosed by

"worm" fences. Sometimes vertical stakes are planted, saplings and branches being then entwined until the fence forms a veritable hedge.

FURNITURE AND IMPLEMENTS

BEDS

The recesses on each side of the longitudinal passageway of the Menomini wigwam are utilized for beds and bedding. Sometimes the ground is covered with pine boughs, over which the blankets and other bedding are thrown; but when the structure is to be occupied for a longer period than that covered by the sugar-making, or if the wigwam is intended to remain for more than one season, then a permanent platform, resembling a trundle bed, is erected, as shown in figure 35. Whenever possible, boards are laid across the head and foot poles of this primitive bedstead, thus making a comfortable platform on which to deposit and arrange the bedding and robes.

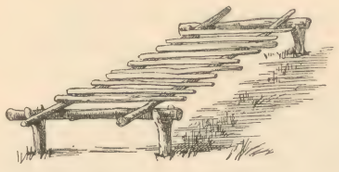


FIG. 35—Bedstead of saplings.

These beds consist of four short crotched poles, which form the legs, and on these are laid other poles to give it the ordinary size in length and breadth, though this frame is only from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Over the bed frame are placed boards or slats, upon which straw bags and a mattress are laid.

In some houses may be found an abundance of mosquito netting, for mosquitoes in the Menomini country are very annoying, especially in wet seasons. The material is placed over the bedstead as well as over the floor bedding, where children or the men sleep, and the windows and doors also are sometimes covered with it.

STOVES

Modern stoves are now used by nearly all the Menomini; but if these get out of order or beyond their control, the women resort to the custom in vogue before the whites came, of building a fire outdoors and suspending over it the kettle.

UTENSILS

Most of the dishes which they now use are made by the whites, though a few wooden spoons and ladles of native make are occasionally used by them. Musselshells also were formerly used as spoons, and their knives and axes were of stone. The Indians agree in the statement that the making of stone weapons[1] was discontinued by them four generations ago. Shu'nien remembers hearing the old people speak

[1]During a tour of Nevada and Arizona in 1871, the writer saw stone arrowpoints and knives still in use by the Chemehuevi and Walapai and by the Apache at Camp Apache. The arrowpoints used by the Apache at that time were made by themselves, and a number of specimens then obtained consisted of chert, obsidian, and bottle-glass, and a single specimen was of gold quartz. Arrowpoints fashioned from hoop-iron were also in use at that time. See pages 281–284.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

WINTER HABITATION OF BARK

about the manner of using these stone objects. The knives were made of flint (hornstone), and were about 8 inches long, an inch and a half broad, and sharply pointed; some indeed were sharp enough to cut moose skin with ease. These implements were used for cutting meat, for scraping arrowshafts, and in making bows.

Some of the Menomini say that musselshells are used even today, when necessity demands, both for spoons and for cutting. They are also sometimes used for scraping deerskin in tanning. The survival of the practice of thus using shells is not at all astonishing, for they serve the purpose as well as almost anything else, and thick strong shells of several species are abundant in the rivers of Wisconsin.

Earthenware is no longer made by the Menomini, though some of the oldest women remember when pottery making was engaged in.

MORTARS AND PESTLES

In one corner of the living room, or perhaps outside the door, will occasionally be found troughs fashioned from solid trunks for containing water for fowls and other domestic animals, and sometimes a wooden mortar (figure 36) for crushing medicinal roots and plants is observed.

FIG. 36—Wooden mortar and pestle.

These mortars are fashioned from a section of the trunk of an oak; they measure 11 inches in height, 10 inches in width, and 16 inches in length over the handles. The cavity, which is made by means of an ax, measures 9 inches in length and 7 inches in width at the top; it is 10 inches deep and terminates in a wedge-shape bottom, rounded so as to receive the end of a double-head pestle. The latter is about 37 inches in length, the ends being from 2 to 2¼ inches in diameter, while the middle third, which serves as a handle, is somewhat thinner. The specimen above figured, which was used for "medicine pounding" only, shows evidence of considerable age and much use.

TROUGHS

The troughs above mentioned are made in a manner similar to that in which the mortars are fashioned, and they are from 3 to 4 feet in length.

They appear to have been formerly used in sugar-making, but now are employed only for watering fowl, etc.

CRADLES AND HAMMOCKS

Cradleboards are used for the protection and convenient transportation of infants. These boards are made of any light wood, and measure about 30 inches in length and 16 inches in width. Across the top and front, and projecting forward therefrom, is a wooden band, which serves to hold the face cover, or mosquito bar, in summer time. The board is padded with a piece of quilt or blanket, over the upper end of which is sometimes placed a piece of buckskin on which the child's head may rest. To the lower portion of the board—that is, from the point where the arms emerge, downward—pieces of cloth or skin are tied across to fasten the child to the board. A space is always left about the middle of the body, in order that the child may receive attention when necessary.

Plate XIX represents an infant on a cradleboard, placed against the inner wall of a medicine lodge during the ceremonies at which the mother was an attendant.

Infants who have become too large for the cradleboard are put to sleep in hammocks. The Menomini hammock consists of a woolen shawl held together at each end by a cord; one of these cords is attached to a tree trunk, the other to a sapling placed slantingly against the tree. Near the head end of the shawl a piece of wood is inserted to keep the sides from pressing the child's face. The tendency of the hammock is to close tightly, and thus to hold the occupant quite securely. The simplicity of this form of hammock makes it very convenient for mothers, especially while domiciled in a temporary camp, since it may be suspended in a few moments.

PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURE

MATS

Several varieties of mats are made by Menomini women from leaves of rushes, from the flag or cat-o'-nine-tails, and from cedar bark. The leaf-made mats are used chiefly for roofing temporary structures, such as the covered medicine lodge shown in plate XII. These mats are from 6 to 12 feet in length and are usually a yard in width. They consist of two layers of leaves, each layer being secured by cords made of basswood fiber passed through transversely from one end of the mat to the other, to keep the edges of the leaves together. To each layer cords extend from end to end, at intervals of about 10 inches, thus leaving three or four cords to each layer, the ends of the leaves at the lateral edges of the mat being woven together to make a secure and durable seam. Each layer or sheet of leaves is therefore free from its fellow, so that when the rain falls on the mat, the water usually follows

INFANT ON CRADLEBOARD

the leaves on the inside of the mat. The extreme ends are secured by tying to two strips of wood, one above and one below, and wrapped with basswood cords. The rush-leaf mats are compactly woven, and are used upon the floors and in the medicine structure for seats.

Leaves for mat-making are prepared by first cutting them when green, then steeping them in boiling water, and laying them in the sun to bleach. Some leaves are then dyed, to produce in the final work various designs in colored stripes. These colors are chiefly dull green, red, and brown. The frame employed in making mats consists of two upright poles about 10 feet high and 6 to 8 feet apart (plate XX). Another pole is then tied transversely as high as the face of the worker. Along the crosspiece is then stretched a stout cord of basswood fiber, to which the leaves are attached by plaiting, thus making the latter pendent, one against the other, for as great a length as it is desired to make the mat. A long thread, also of basswood fiber, with a diameter of nearly three-sixteenths of an inch, is then attached to the left side of the row of leaves and run across toward the right by passing it in and out alternately over and beneath the leaves in succession. At intervals of every 4 or 6 inches a loop is made, to prevent the woof from slipping down, the loop being pulled out when another space of 4 or 6 inches is woven and stretched taut. The worker is occasionally obliged to spray water on the leaves, to make them pliable and to prevent breaking. When the right side is reached, the woof is secured to a heavier warp cord, which had been previously attached to the vertical pole. The colored leaves have already been placed at proper points, in the first instance, to give the desired stripes when finally woven. The lower edge is finished by cutting the leaves of equal length and plaiting them from left to right, when the last leaves are turned under and tied. A typical specimen of rush mat is illustrated in plate XXI.

Bark mats are now rare among the Menomini; plate XXII represents an entire specimen, while in plate XXIII a section only is shown. They are made of the inner bark of the cedar, cut in strips averaging half an inch in width. Some of the mats are nearly white, others are colored dark red and sometimes black with native vegetal dyes. The decoration is effectively produced in diamond and lozenge patterns, as well as in zigzag lines, both by color and by the weaving of the weft strips, the latter being accomplished by taking up and dropping certain numbers of the warp strips.

BASKETS

Baskets are made much on the same principle of plaiting as is employed for bark mats. The strips or osiers are made from black elm, the necessary limbs being from 3 to 4 inches in diameter (figure 37); these are thoroughly hammered with a wooden mallet (figure 38) until the individual layers of the branch are detached from the

layers immediately beneath. These layers are then cut into thin narrow strips by means of the knife universally used (figure 39). The

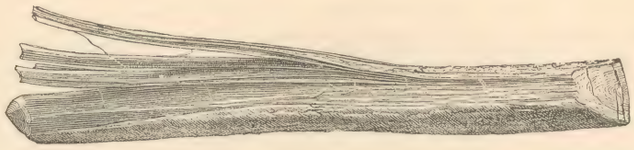


FIG. 37—Elm log for making splints.

strips are kept in coils (figure 40) until ready for use, when they are soaked in water. Figure 41 illustrates a finished basket.

Cutting is always done away from the hand holding the material to be cut, and toward the body.

FIG. 38—Mallet.

The club or mallet employed in hammering the elm wood is about 20 inches long and has one end thinner, so as to form a handle.

TWINE AND ROPE

Thread, cord, twine, and rope are made of vegetal fiber, the chief material being derived from the inner bark of the young sprouts of basswood. The bark is removed in sheets and boiled in water to which a large quantity of lye from wood ashes has been added. This softens the fiber and permits the worker to manipulate it without breaking. The shoulder-blade of a deer or other large animal is then nailed or otherwise fastened to an upright post, and through it a hole about an inch in diameter is drilled; through this hole bunches of the boiled bark are pulled backward and forward, from right to left, to remove from it all splinters or other hard fragments. After the fiber has become soft and pliable, bunches of it are hung up in hanks, to be twisted as desired.

FIG. 39—Knife of native workmanship.

The manner of making cord or twine, such as is used in weaving mats and for almost all other household purposes, is by holding in the left hand the fiber as it is pulled from a hank, and separating it into two parts, which are laid across the thigh. The palm of the right hand is then rolled forward over both, so as to tightly twist the pair of strands, when they are permitted to unite and twist into a cord. The twisted end being pushed a little to the right,

MAT MAKING

the next continuous portion of the united strands also are twisted to form a single cord. The same process is followed in all fiber twisting, even to the finest nettle thread.

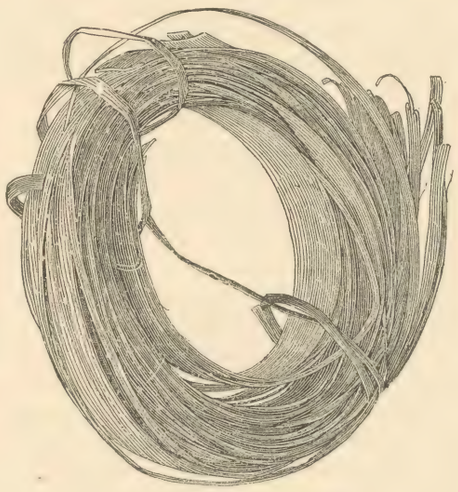


FIG. 40—Coil of basket strips.

TANNING

Deerskins are tanned by the Menomini, as among the other tribes of the region of the great lakes. The inner surface of the skin is first cleaned of all shreds of fiber and meat, after which it is soaked in water, rubbed and kneaded, and then passed around an upright pole or sapling, and twisted to expel the water. Rubbing and kneading are now again necessary, to soften the skin and to prevent stiffening. Sometimes the brains of a deer are rubbed into the skin, which is then stretched and pulled and rubbed until dry. This is supposed to prevent the subsequent stiffening of buckskin garments when subjected to water or rain. The hair is removed by laying the skin on a large smooth piece of wood, or by stretching it on a frame or on the ground. This process is represented in plate XXIV, in connection with which another stage of tanning also is illustrated. This is almost the final process—that of hanging the skin like an inverted bag or funnel over a small fire, in order that the smoke may penetrate the skin and cure it.

FIG. 41—Finished basket.

MEDICINE BAGS

The members of the Mitä'wit employ for medicine bags the skins of small animals, birds, and snakes, also panther and bear paws, and similar objects of animal origin; but at no time have bags been seen or even heard of, made of any part of a fish. The reason for this could not be ascertained from the Indians themselves, but an explanation of the tabu will perhaps be found in the mythology relating to the totems.

When an animal is to be skinned for the purpose of making a medicine bag, an incision is made in the breast, and through this the carcass is removed, leaving the skin of the head, feet, and tail entire. The skin is then turned inside out and tanned, after which the fur side is turned out and the eye-holes ornamented with beadwork. The bags are wrapped with colored cords or with strings of beads, and the under side of the tail is sometimes lined with a strip of red flannel, on which is worked a design in beads (plates VIII and IX, and figure 13). Sometimes the flannel is decorated with small brass bells, with claws, or with the rattle of a rattlesnake. One bag of this character, made of an otter skin, was provided with a clever contrivance: By pressing on a small rubber ball within the body, the air was forced through the tube into the mouth, where a small whistle had been attached. The sound resembled closely the voice of the otter, and the credulous firmly believed that the sound was the voice of the shade of that animal.

The writer's own medicine bag, given to him by his shamanistic preceptor, is made of a mink skin, neatly ornamented about the eyes with beads, and with two small round steel bells attached to the nose. These bags are used for holding various parcels of mystic remedies and charmed objects employed by the shamans in the profession of incantation or exorcism. The bags are reputed as very dangerous to the uninitiated, and, for the purpose of preventing trouble or danger, medicine men frequently keep their sacks hidden outside of their domiciles, so that no one not entitled to do so should have an opportunity of touching them.

The kind of medicine bag used by the mitä'ᵛ depends on the dream which the individual may have had in his youth. Fasting is practiced by the young man, or boy, to find favor with the ma'nidos. During the fast he retires from the camp and abstains from all food until he become so debilitated as to attain a delirious or ecstatic condition, in which appear visions of various ma'nidos, either in human or in other animate form. Dreams of birds or animals lead the faster to believe that he will be invested with the same power of self-defense as is possessed by the animal of which he has dreamed. If it is possible, therefore, for the faster to procure a bag made of the skin or other part of the animal which appeared to him in the vision, he will do his utmost to possess it, even at the risk of great danger or the parting with any of his possessions.

An instance of the belief in the power of the peq'tshiku'na, or medicine bag, is related as occurring among the neighboring Ojibwa.[1] It is as follows:

A canoe manned with warriors was once pursued by a number of others, all filled with their enemies. They endeavoured to escape, paddling with all their might, but the enemy still gained upon them; then the old warriors began to call for the

[1] Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, London (1861), pp. 89–90.

RUSH MAT

assistance of those things they had dreamt of during their fast-days. One man's munedoo was a sturgeon, which being invoked, their speed was soon equal to that of this fish, leaving the enemy far behind; but the sturgeon being short-winded, was soon tired, and the enemy again advanced rapidly upon them. The rest of the warriors, with the exception of one young man who, from his mean and ragged appearance, was considered a fool, called the assistance of their gods, which for a time enabled them to keep in advance. At length, having exhausted the strength of all their munedoos, they were beginning to give themselves up for lost, the other canoes being now so near as to turn to head them, when just at this critical moment the foolish young man thought of his medicine bag, which in their flight he had taken off from his side and laid in the canoe. He called out, "Where is my medicine bag?" The warriors told him to be quiet; what did he want with his medicine bag at this perilous time? He still shouted, "Where is my medicine bag?" They again told him to paddle and not trouble them about his medicine bag. As he persisted in his cry, "Where is my medicine bag?" one of the warriors seeing it by his side took it up and threw it to him. He, putting his hand into it, pulled out an old pouch made of the skin of a Saw-bill, a species of duck. This he held by the neck to the water. Immediately the canoe began to glide swiftly at the usual speed of a Saw-bill; and after being propelled for a short time by this wonderful power, they looked back and found they were far beyond the reach of the enemy, who had now given up the chase. Surely this Indian deserved a patent for his wonderful propelling power, which would have superseded the use of the jarring and thumping steamboats, now the wonder and admiration of the American Indian. The young man then took up his pouch, wrung the water out of it, and replaced it in his bag; telling the Indian that he had not worn his medicine bag about his person for nothing,—that in his fast he had dreamt of this fowl, and was told that in all dangers it would deliver him, and that he should possess the speed and untiring nature of the Saw-bill duck. The old warriors were astonished at the power of the young man whom they had looked upon as almost an idiot, and were taught by him a lesson, never to form a mean opinion of any persons from their outward appearance.

A similar exhibition of the alleged power of the medicine bag has been referred to in connection with mitä'ᵛ ceremonies, in which an Ojibwa woman is said to have caused her snake-skin bag to become a living reptile, and to have chased for a considerable distance one of the doubting Indian commissioners present.

SNOWSHOES

The Menomini snowshoe varies in form and size according to the individual as well as to the sex of the person who is to use it. Figure 42 represents a type, which it will be observed differs from that of the neighboring Ojibwa shown in figure 44.

The toe of the Menomini snowshoe is transverse, and has a thinning of the frame to admit of a short turn without breaking. The frame is made of ash; it is 38 inches in length and is somewhat of boat shape, with a thick heel. The inside or upper part is divided, as usual, into three sections by two crossbars, and the intervening spaces of the anterior and posterior are filled in by a fine network of thin fibers made either of sinew or of buckskin. The middle space is 11½ inches broad, and is filled in with closely plaited thongs of rawhide or buckskin—usually the former—at the anterior portion of which is an opening for the move-

ment of the toes after the foot has been secured by the loose loop of cords which passes over the heel.

The specimen illustrated (figure 42) is the type usually worn by men, the style used by women being longer and narrower, while that for children is shorter and proportionally broader, as shown in figure 43.

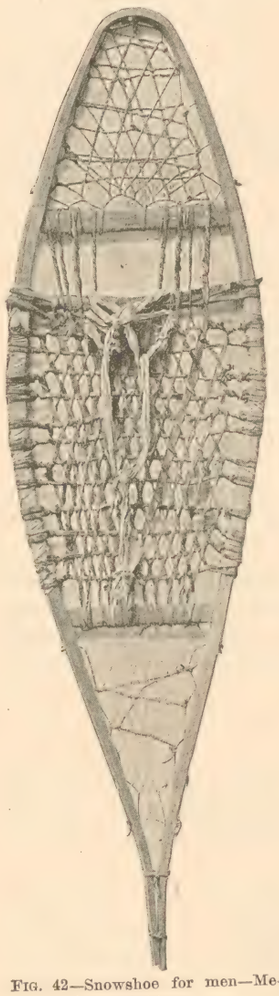


FIG. 42—Snowshoe for men—Menomini type.

DRESS, ORNAMENTS, BEADWORK, AND DRILLING

In referring to the practices of Ojibwa shamans,[1] I had occasion to remark that while it was customary among many tribes to use as little clothing as possible when engaged in dancing, either of a social or ceremonial nature, the Menomini, on the contrary, vie with one another in appearing in the most costly and gaudy costume obtainable. Like the Ojibwa, the Menomini mitä'wok take particular pride in their appearance when attending the ceremonies of the Mitä'wit, and seldom fail to impress this fact on visitors; as some of the Siouan tribes, who have adopted similar medicine ceremonies after the custom of their Algonquian neighbors, are frequently without any clothing other than breechcloth, moccasins, and armlets and other attractive ornaments. This disregard of dress is regarded by the Menomini as a sacrilegious digression from the ancient usages, and it frequently excites severe comment.

Apart from facial ornamentation of such design as may take the actor's fancy, or in accordance with the degree in the society to which the subject may have attained, a mitä'ᵛ priest wears shirt, trousers, and moccasins, the first two of which may consist of flannel or cloth and be either plain or ornamented with beads, while the moccasins are always of buckskin, or, what is more highly prized, moose skin, beaded or worked with colored porcupine quills.

Immediately below each knee is tied a garter—a necessary accompaniment of a Menomini's dress. This garter consists of a band of beads varying in different specimens from 2 to 4 inches in width and

[1] Seventh annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 298.

BARK MAT

from 18 to 20 inches in length, to each end of which strands of colored yarn, 2 feet long, are attached, so as to admit of being passed around the leg and tied in a bowknot in front (plates XXV, XXVI, XXVII).

Bands of flannel or buckskin, handsomely beaded, are sometimes attached to the sides of the pantaloons, in imitation of an officer's stripes, as well as around the bottom. Colors also are used, in addition to necklaces of claws, shells, or other objects.

Armlets and bracelets also are sometimes worn; these are made of bands of beadwork, though brass wire or other pieces of metal are preferred. Three of such necklaces are shown in plate XXVIII.

FIG. 43—Ojibwa and Menomini children's showshoe.

Bags made of cloth, and entirely covered with beads or otherwise ornamented, are worn at the side, being supported by means of a broad band or baldric passing over the opposite shoulder (plate XXIX). The head is decorated with disks of metal and tufts of dyed horse hair, or moose hair, and with eagle feathers, to designate the particular exploits performed by the wearer.

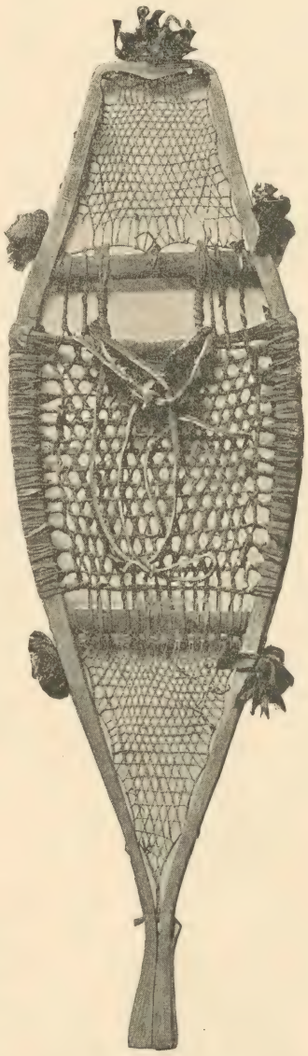


FIG. 44—Snowshoe for women—Ojibwa type.

Previous to the advent of white traders, or before they were able to procure by purchase or barter beads of European manufacture, the Menomini claim to have made large beads from shells found in the rivers of Wisconsin and on the shores of Green bay. Quite a variety of large and exceedingly beautiful freshwater shells occur in the rivers of Wisconsin, and it would be strange indeed if the natives did not utilize the iridescent pearl for ornamentation when at the same time they used them as knives. Among some of the old mitä'ᵛ women large beads, together with the elongated shell beads purchased at traders'

stores, are worn—beads of sufficiently primitive appearance to induce one to believe the assertion that their people had made them.

These beads were evidently made from the thick portions, or perhaps joints, of freshwater mussels; they are of the size of buckshot, with a perforation drilled from each side toward the middle. The perforations being somewhat of funnel shape, and showing marked striæ, would indicate that the drilling had been made with other than a metal instrument. On subsequent investigation respecting the manufacture of articles requiring perforation, I was informed that the Menomini used sharp-pointed pieces of quartz and jasper, rotating these rude drills with the hand and fingers. As regards the use of the bow-drill, either for making fire or for drilling stone or shells, no definite information could be ascertained, as none of the more intelligent or aged natives remembered having seen them in use.

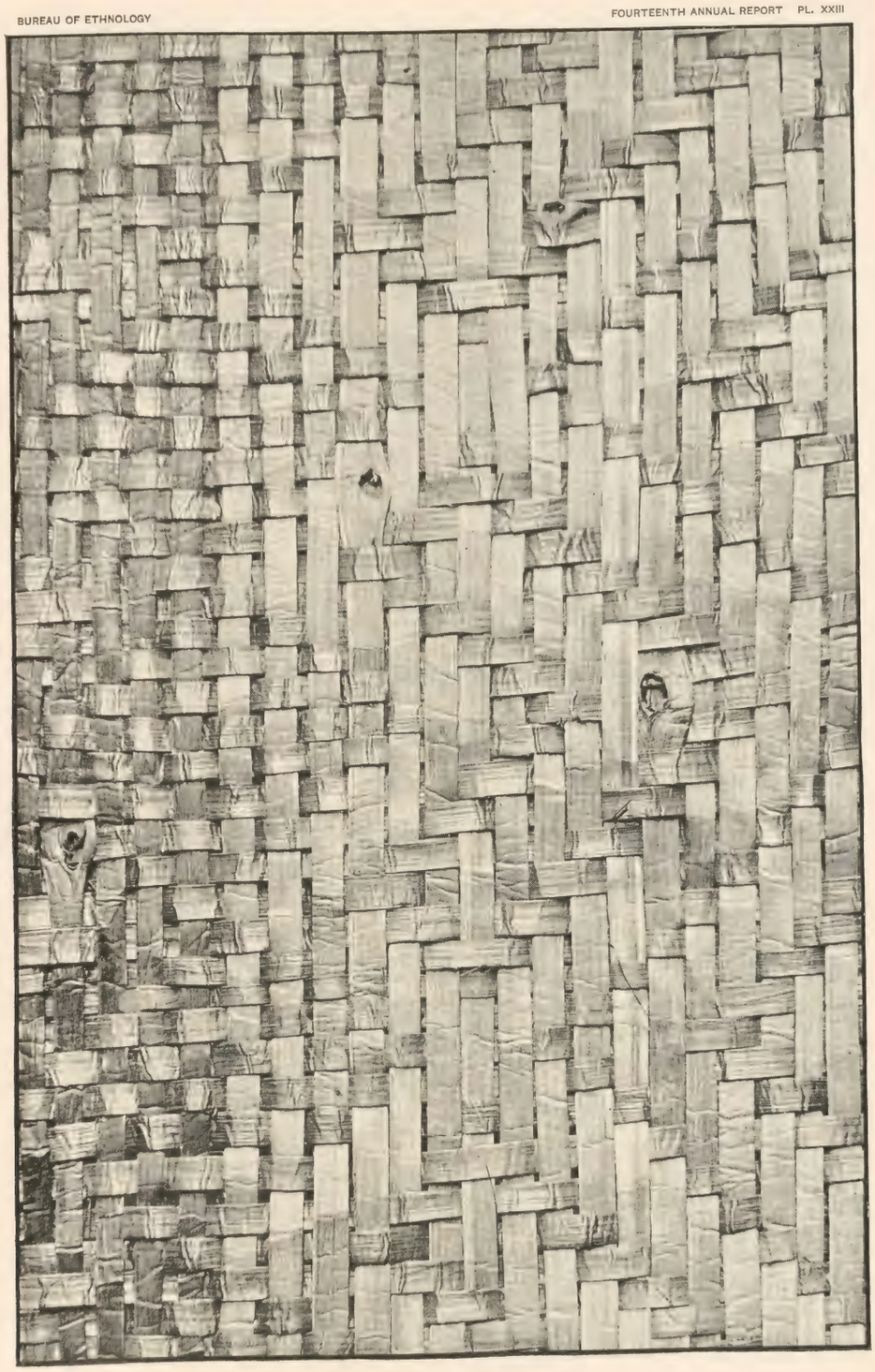
Although fire-sticks were used for making fire and for drilling harder substances, like bone and shell, the aperture drilled was probably not of greater depth than could conveniently be accomplished by rotating by hand the drill point of silicious material used.

As a matter of interest and comparison, it may be appropriate to state in this connection that the Chumash, an extinct tribe who formerly inhabited Santa Cruz island, opposite Santa Barbara, California, formerly made globular shell beads similar to those found in Wisconsin. The tribe referred to were also the manufacturers of the beautiful stone and shell weapons found on the Pacific coast, where the subject of shell and bone drilling may be studied in every variety of ornament. The most interesting shell beads found in this locality are made from the tivola, abelone, etc. The cylindrical shell beads, the smallest of which are three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter and an inch and a quarter in length, have "perforations but little more than a millimeter (or less than one-sixteenth of an inch) in diameter, and the difficulty in making them must have been very great."[1] Large quantities of these beads have been discovered, and some specimens procured by the writer are 4 or 5 inches in length, with a bore just large enough to permit the passage of a broom straw. Even smaller perforations are noted in the work just cited.

In the recent excavation of graves, bundles of thin triangular pieces or spicules of hornstone have been found. Each of these bundles contains several hundred specimens, the individual drills being carefully flaked from a core so as to be almost perfectly triangular longitudinally, gradually tapering to a sharp point. These specimens have an average length of an inch and three-fourths, and a diameter at the thicker end not exceeding one-eighth of an inch.

These delicate drills had no doubt been employed in making the indentations at the ends of the cylindrical beads, which subsequently served

[1] Wheeler's report U. S. Geog. Survey West of the 100th Meridian. Washington, vol. vii, p. 266, pl. xiii.



SECTION OF BARK MAT

as a starting point for the bristle drill used in perforating the entire length of the bead.

In several graves opened during the summer of 1884, there were found, among other articles, bundles of the whiskers or bristles of the sea lion (*Zalophus californicus*), which animal, together with one or two species of seals, formerly abounded along the southern coast of California and the islands of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, and others. The bristles of this animal are now highly prized by the Chinese of the Pacific coast, who tip them with gold and use them as toothpicks on account of their elasticity and strength.

In investigating a large collection of long beads from the Pacific coast, curved as cut from the shells themselves, the author found that several of the specimens had been split longitudinally, exposing to view an interesting interior, and suggesting a solution of the method employed in making the delicate perforations. The bead having received a preliminary drilling at each end, as before mentioned, by using the triangular fragment of hornstone—the ends of nearly all perforations being rather flaring or of funnel shape—the bristle was next applied, and twirled or rotated between the thumb and fingers, while, at the point of contact with the shell, silicious silt or fine sand was applied to aid in cutting away the calcareous matter of the shell. The soft stratum between two layers of the harder enamel was naturally followed by the drill, thus without the slightest difficulty causing the perforation to be curved, from end to end, to conform to the convexity of the shell from which the bead was made.

In some of the shorter beads which have split longitudinally, exposing the bore, it is shown that the drilling was accomplished from both ends, the axis of the perforation from each end being in a perfectly straight line, the two perforations meeting at or near the middle of the specimen. In some examples the two perforations were shown to pass each other; in these instances the bead was thrown aside, and subsequent splitting exposed to view the condition described.

In shells of abnormal convexity and having a length of more than 3 or 4 inches, perforations in a straight line from either end would not always reach the middle along the line of least resistance, as offered by the softer calcareous stratum, but would sometimes emerge from the sides, leaving a portion of the middle part of the bead solid. That the bore followed the course of the curve of the bead, the bristle drill continuing between the superior and inferior strata of harder enamel, is shown in many examples.[1]

Substances having the texture of bristles, human skin, etc, are less liable to destruction by erosion from the application of silt, or fine sand, than harder mineralogic materials. This is demonstrated by the use of the sand blast, and also by practical experiments in drilling with bone, wood, and porcupine quills, and the whiskers or bristles of mam-

[1] Wheeler's report, etc, op. cit.

mals. The tough, bony, or semisilicious surface of such materials offers just sufficient softness to grip the particles of sand and to direct more force on the mineral substance or shell.

A common method of drilling by using the palms of the hands to rotate the drill necessitates the placing of the object to be drilled on the ground in the hands of another, or between the feet of the operator. When so slender and delicate an object as a cylindrical shell bead was to be worked, it was held in one hand whilst the bristle was twirled with the other. The silt could readily be applied as required by simply dipping the bristle into it, as it may have been kept wet in a steatite bowl or a shell vessel.

The condition of the transverse striæ present in the perforations, as exposed in split beads, lends additional testimony to the process of drilling by the use of silicious matter, as above suggested. The rapidity of the rotary motion of the bristle, or pressure upon it while in rotation, is also indicated in long beads by the gradual expansion at regular points in the bore as would result from the lateral vibration of the bristle, one side of such a bore following an undulating line, as a musical cord in vibration, or in the graphic illustration of a sound wave.

When drilling was done in hard shells, in which no soft stratum existed, the drill holes would frequently not meet at the middle, and in such beads a semicylindrical cut was made in the side of the bead at the middle, so as to pass half-way through the lateral diameter of the bead, exposing the drill holes and allowing the ends of the cord to emerge at that point to admit of tying. Such beads were evidently used in necklaces, whereas the long, thin, curved beads were used for earrings and hair ornaments, this use being suggested by the relative position to the skeleton as they were found in graves.

Emblems of personal valor or of exploits are seldom seen. No warfare between the Menomini and neighboring tribes has occurred for many years, and the custom of wearing specially marked feathers, to indicate some particular action or achievement, has long since fallen into desuetude. Head ornaments, such as the tail of a buck, are sometimes worn, to denote that the wearer is a fleet-footed runner, especially in the ball game; or he may wear hawk feathers as indicating the phratry of which his clan is a member.

Menomini moccasins are made of buckskin, with soles of par-fleche or rawhide. The front is sometimes ornamented with beads, the tongue having a rectangular pattern in beads stitched on it. The sole of the moccasin is cut from the rawhide, and is outlined from the bare foot. The upper is made of a single piece of buckskin, with the seam at the heel. The flap remaining after the cuts are made to admit the foot is thrown forward so as to lie down toward the front over the instep, and then has the bead ornamentation on what was previously the inside.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

TANNING

The moccasin is fastened to the ankle by a buckskin thong passed around the top through a number of holes, which permit it to slide easily while being fastened.

The garters above referred to are made by the women in such patterns as they may be able to design or elaborate. There is a general type of diamond and lozenge shape outlines, sometimes of solid colors, though more frequently filled in by sharply contrasting tints. Frets, vines, and meanders also are common. The accompanying illustrations (plates XXV–XXIX) will better convey an idea of the variety of patterns in use by Menomini beadworkers.

Many if not all of these designs used in beadworking have been introduced among the Menomini by intercourse with the Ojibwa, with whom they have been friendly neighbors from the earliest historic times. This is shown not only by the identical patterns existing among both tribes, but is evident also from the frequent intertribal traffic, existing even at this day. So late as 1891 a specially appointed delegation left Red Lake, Minnesota, to visit all the Ojibwa and Menomini settlements in southern Minnesota and in Wisconsin, to gather every available large specimen of beadwork for traffic with the Arikara and Hidatsa of North Dakota, from whom the northern Ojibwa obtain horses. Annual visits were made by the Ojibwa to these tribes, and the latter would, in time, procure more horses, in exchange for the beadwork from the Crows of Montana. In this manner the Ojibwa and Menomini beadwork gradually found its way as far west as the Selish Indians, in northwestern Idaho, from whom examples have been recovered.

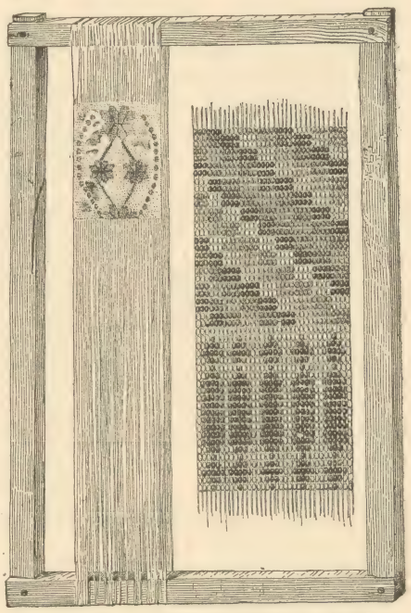


FIG. 45—Frame holding unfinished beadwork.

Recently some enterprising individuals have introduced machine-made beadwork and disposed of it through the traders. The original methods of making it, as pursued by the Indian women, is slow and difficult, and in no instance do they appear to receive a fair compensation for their labor. The work is usually done without the aid of patterns or diagrams. There are three processes of embroidering with beads, and as all the work, excepting that in which the beads are sewed directly on cloth or buckskin, is made by a definite system, a

description of the process may be of interest, especially as this subject has hitherto been untouched.

After deciding on the article to be worked—a garter, for example—a frame of wood is made sufficiently large to extend from 4 to 6 inches beyond the finished piece. Figure 45 represents a frame of this character. The pieces of wood are usually of pine, 2 inches broad and from a half to three-fourths of an inch thick, made rigid by screws or thongs, where the pieces intersect. Threads of linen are then wrapped vertically over the top and bottom, each thread being a bead's width from the next. In some instances, as will be referred to later, the threads are wrapped so as to run by pairs. These form the warp. The number of threads depends on the width of the proposed design.

The pattern is begun at the lower end, several inches from the frame. A fine needle is threaded, the other end of the fiber being secured to one of the lateral threads of the warp; then the needle is passed through a bead of the desired tint of the ground color of the garter, and the thread passed under one vertical or warp cord; another bead is then taken up, after which the needle is pushed along over the next cord; and then another bead being threaded, the needle is again passed along under the next following cord, and so on alternately above and beneath the warp cords until the other side is reached, when the outer cord is merely inclosed by one turn. The same process is followed in the return to the side from which the beginning was made, except that the threads alternate, the woof being now above instead of below the warp cords. Figure 46 represents the process described.

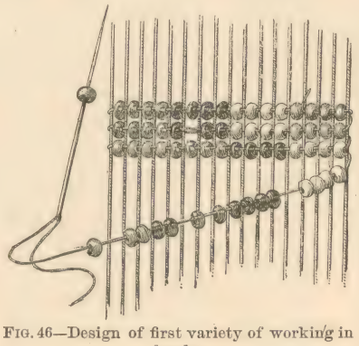
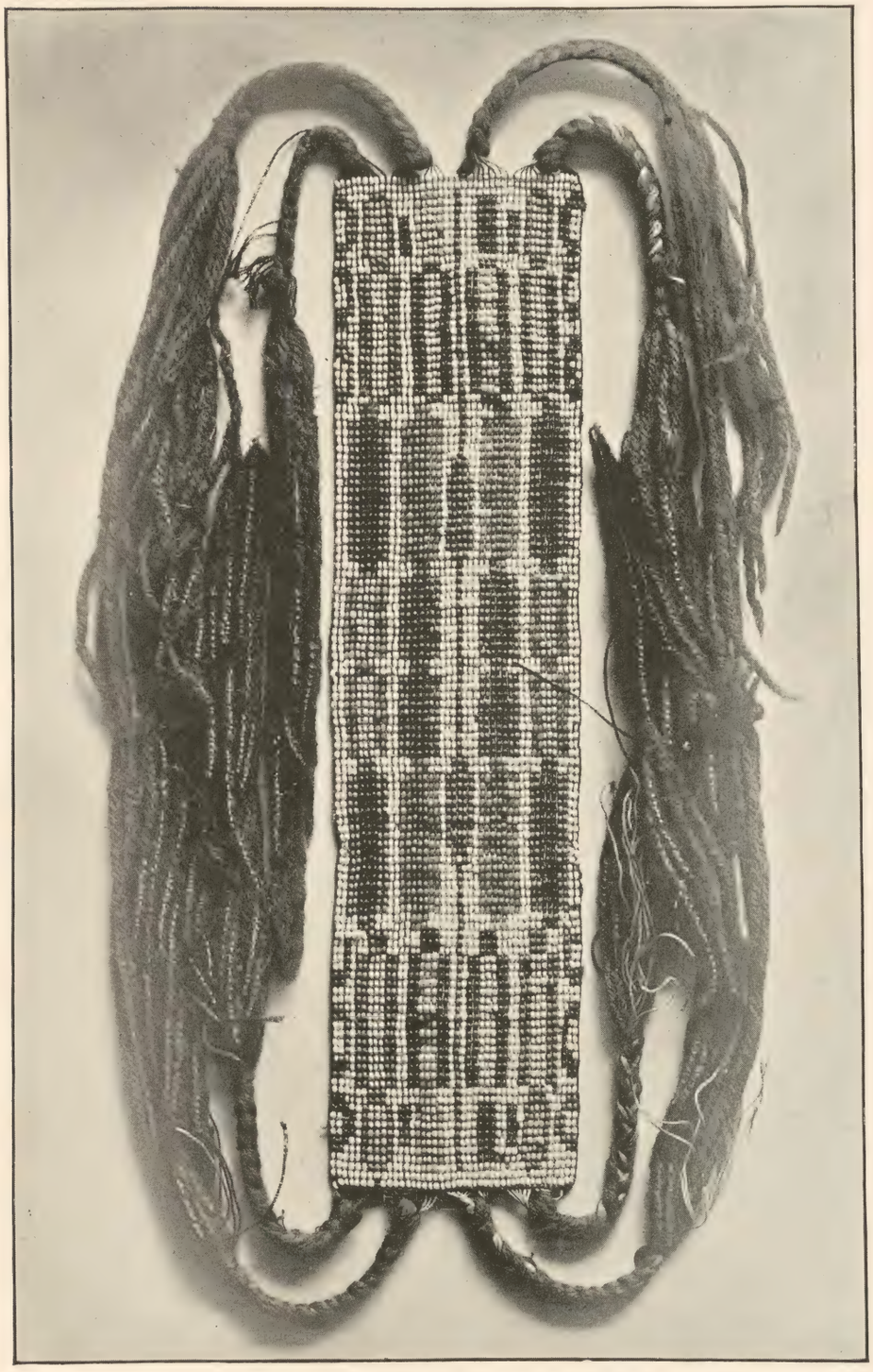


FIG. 46—Design of first variety of working in beads.

The chief difficulty which one encounters is in remembering the exact point at which a new pattern should appear, as the color of the bead required for this must be inserted at the proper time and the number of spaces carefully counted and reserved for use as the pattern is developed. Reference to the illustrations will aid further in the elucidation of this difficulty. When the design is completed, the warp-cords are gathered by bunches of two's or three's and tied in knots, so as to prevent the dislodgment of the woof fibers and the consequent destruction of the entire fabric. To these ends are afterward attached strands of woolen yarn to lengthen the garter, so as to reach around the leg and admit of tying in a bowknot (plate XXV).

The above illustrates the simplest method of working beads. The type of beadworking shown in figure 47 is a little more complicated. In this there are two vertical warp cords or threads between each two



BEADED GARTERS SHOWING ART FIGURES

beads, there being an alternate movement of the pair of warp cords backward and forward, thus making it similar in appearance to the preceding pattern, excluding the beads, when the latter are placed sidewise.

The woof thread is run to the side of the garter, and a bead is then passed through and returned in the next upper space, where another row of beads is taken up to continue the design. When the opposite border of the garter is reached, a single bead is again threaded and permitted to extend as a projection to guard the external warp threads against injury.

A third variety of beadwork is effected by using the vertical warp cords as before, but instead of passing the threaded needle through one bead at a time, whenever a vertical thread is passed, the necessary number of beads required to reach across the pattern, as well as the proper arrangement of colors to carry out the design, are threaded and laid down on the warp so that each bead falls within its proper space; then, as the lateral thread is inclosed by the weft thread, the needle is passed back through the same row of beads, but this time beneath the warp instead of above, thus entirely inclosing the weft. This requires a delicate needle and a fine though strong thread. This variety of beadwork is usually found only in garters, whereas the other two forms occur in almost all other kinds of bead objects, such as the sheets used in making medicine bags, in collars, baldrics, belts, and narrow strips, the two ends being fastened together by tying or otherwise. The cord itself is then decorated with beads by simply threading on a single fiber and wrapping this about the primary piece from one end to the other. By a little care in the proper selection and arrangement of colors, very pretty effects are produced.

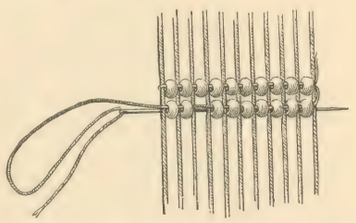


FIG. 47—Design of second variety of working in beads.

Beads are stitched on clothing, moccasins, etc, by simply threading one or more beads on the needle and sewing them down along the outlines marked on the outside and afterward the inside of the article which it is designed to ornament.

As a rule, the ends of the pieces of beadwork are at right angles to the direction of the warp, but in many small examples, such as collars or necklaces, the ends terminate diagonally, an effect produced by the successive rows containing one or two beads less than the preceding row, the diagonal side being on one side of the article only, and not divided so as to turn toward a central apex by simultaneously leaving off one or more beads on both sides.

In the third variety of bead-weaving there are only single vertical threads between each two beads as in the first named, but the cross-

threads forming the woof are double instead of single, and as the threads pass through the bead they diverge so as to inclose the warp, after which they again unite to pass through the next bead. An example of this is shown in figure 48. The lateral edges of the garter may be smooth or beaded—that is, the threads may either simply inclose the outside vertical thread and return to take up the next upper row of beads, or they may pass through one bead and then return on the next line. The object of the lateral beads, which project edgewise, is for the same purpose as that mentioned in connection with the second class of weaving.

Dance bags—so called because they are ornamental and worn chiefly by well-to-do Indians at dances—are made of a piece of cloth or buckskin about 15 inches square, from the two upper corners of which a continuous band or baldric, 4 or 5 inches broad, extends upward so as to pass over the shoulder opposite the side on which the bag is worn. The entire piece of material is covered by a sheet of beadwork, bearing designs similar to those on the garters, though frequently more elaborately combined or grouped. The flat part of the bag contains a very narrow slit for a pouch, the latter being often no larger than a vest pocket (plate XXIX).

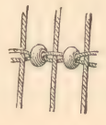


FIG. 48—Third form of working in beads.

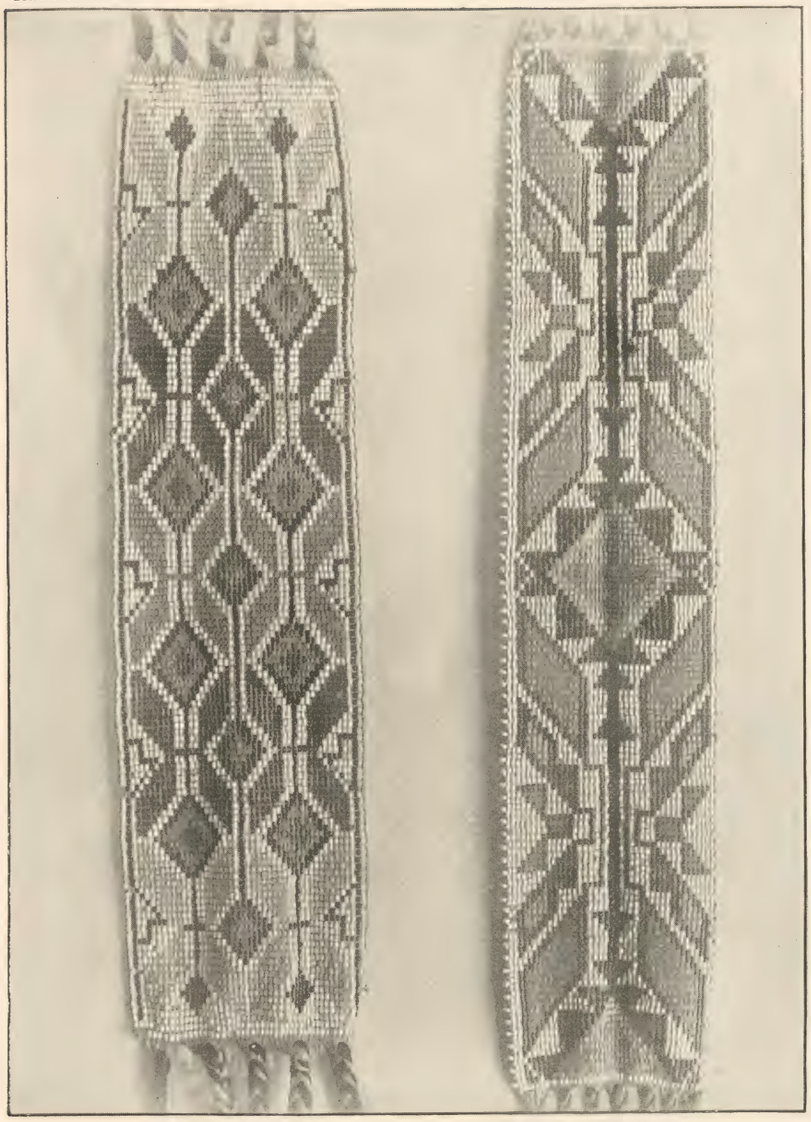
A medicine-man considers himself fortunate if he owns one of these bags. The ordinary number worn by the mitä′wok is three or four, part of them being worn at the left side, the others at the right. Sometimes a dozen such bags are worn by a single individual, beside other bead ornaments consisting of necklaces, breast-pieces, garters, armlets, etc, until the weight of the decorations causes him considerable inconvenience in these prolonged ceremonies.

Beaded belts also are worn, but originally all belts were made of fiber. Woolen yarn is now employed in weaving strips, about 6 inches wide and 3 feet long, from each end of which a fringe extends a foot and a half or more beyond. The texture is close, and the warp consists of strands of almost every obtainable color, twisted together in an apparent tangle, though on close inspection the color designs appear to consist of lozenge-shape stripes, and sometimes diagonal lines returning to the side from which the first deviation was made, thus often resembling an elongated zigzag pattern.

HUNTING AND FISHING

GAME OF THE MENOMINI REGION

Hunting is still engaged in by the Menomini, though not to such an extent as formerly. The mammals most abundant in their country are the black bear, deer, hare, porcupine, wildcat, and lynx. Occasionally



BEADED GARTERS SHOWING ART FIGURES

a panther, wolf, beaver, or an otter is reported as having been seen, but grouse and ptarmigan are somewhat scarce.

FISH AND FISHERIES

Sturgeon and trout were caught in great quantities in the early days, the former chiefly by means of the spear. Previous to the erection of dams in Wolf river, great numbers of sturgeon migrated upward each spring to spawn, and Indians were then stationed along the river at favorable places ready to cast the spear when the fish appeared. Many of these fish are from 4 to 5 feet in length. The excitement during their capture was intense, and even now frequently forms the topic of animated conversation relating to bygone days.

While the tribe still occupied the shores of Green bay, great numbers of lake fish were caught, chiefly among which, on account of the excellence of its food, was the white fish. At that time, as well as subsequently, gill-nets were used for placing along favorable places near the shore. These nets were made of cords of native fibers, the process of twisting which is elsewhere described. From the wild hemp and the nettle fine strings were twisted for use as fishing lines, the hooks being made of two pieces of bone joined together at the lower extremity so as to resemble a V in shape. One arm of the hook was longer than the other, and to this longer arm the line was attached.

TRAPS

Two forms of game traps are used by the Menomini; the larger is the dead fall, made of logs and used in catching bear. The other is made somewhat on a similar principle, though much smaller, and is used only for small mammals. This trap, represented in plate xxx, is made as follows:

Four stakes, each about 2 inches in diameter and from 18 to 20 inches high, are driven into the ground, so that they form the corners of a parallelogram, as shown by 1, 2, 3, and 4 of figure 49. The two pairs of stakes are about 20 inches apart, with just sufficient space between those of each pair to permit a sapling to slide between them. A short piece of sapling, 4 inches in diameter, is then placed on the ground, the ends being made to project beyond each pair of upright posts. The sapling, 4 inches in diameter and 10 to 12 feet long, is taken as the movable or falling piece, which rests on the short stick just mentioned. A short distance to the side (at 5, figure 49) is a short, stout peg, with a notch on one side, to which is attached a cord, while on the opposite side (at 6) is another short peg, to which is attached a salted string. In plate xxx the trap is represented

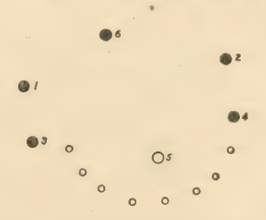


FIG. 49—Groundplan of trap for small game.

as set. On the post marked in the above diagram is a short stick, to the inner end of which is attached a cord strong enough to hold up the fallen log, while at the other or outer end is another cord extending to the peg marked 5. This cord has previously been soaked in brine, as has also the string extending from the middle of the vertical cord across the inside of the trap to the opposite peg (at 6). The latter string, being salted, is a sufficient bait to tempt a hare or other rodent to gnaw the string along its course to the upright cord, which latter, if gnawed in twain, permits the fallen log to drop on the animal's back and thus secure it without injury to the pelt. To prevent the animal from approaching the trap from the side (at 5), stakes are driven into the ground, as indicated by the small circles in the figure.

Bear traps are composed of a sort of pen or corral, of upright posts, leaving but one entrance, through which the bear is compelled to pass in order to reach the tempting morsel of meat with which the trap is baited. The meat is attached to a cord, which is so arranged that the slightest disarrangement of the meat will cause the dead-fall to drop. This dead-fall consists of the trunk of a tree, weighted with stones or timber sufficient to crush the animal.

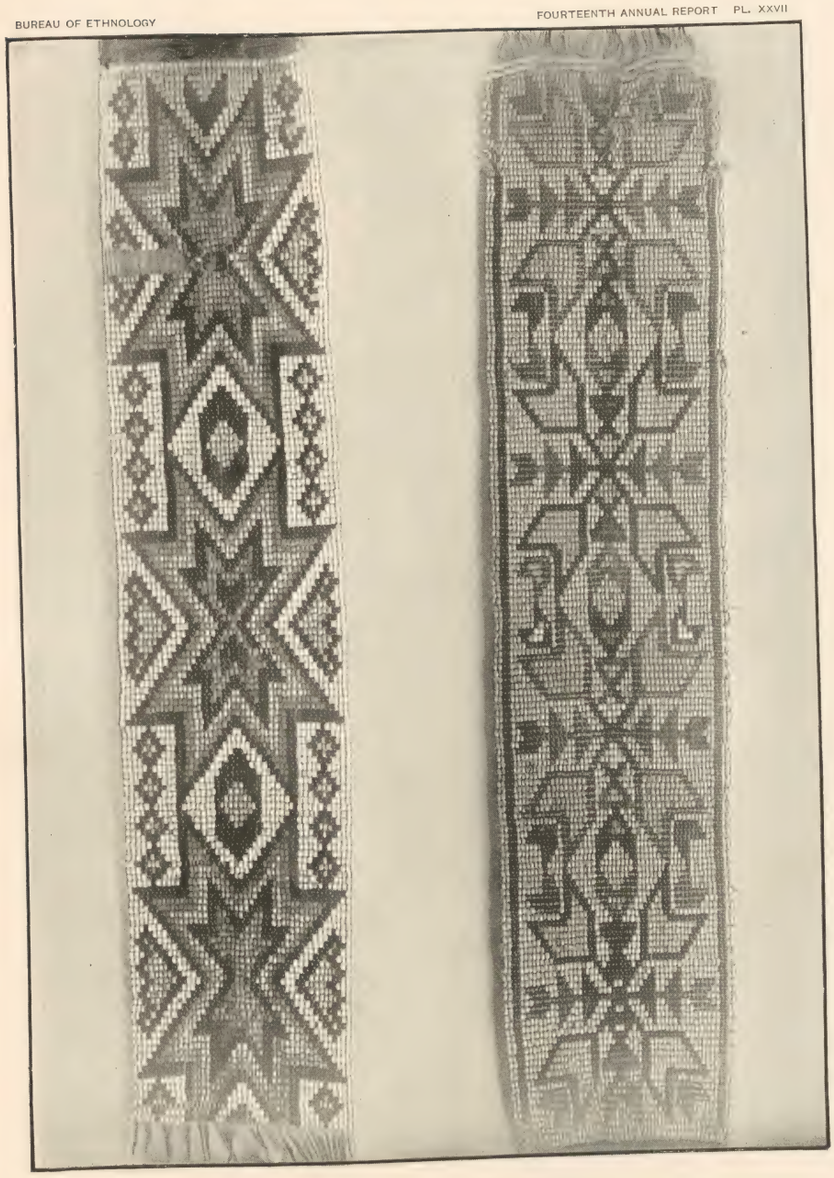
Women seldom participate in hunting, although both Ojibwa and Menomini women devote special attention to ensnaring the lynx and the wildcat. These animals are regarded by the Indians as very stupid, because they are so easily taken.

When a trail is discovered in the snow, indicating the course taken by a lynx or a wildcat in leaving and returning to its lair, the woman finding it will search for a spot where the trail passes near by a tree or through a copse. She will then take a strong cord or a string of sinew and, after tying an end to one side of the trail, will make a simple loop 8 or 10 inches in diameter, and tie the other end to a tree or post on the other side of the trail. The loop is then set up by means of thin sticks placed transversely across the trail, so as to be brought just high enough for the head of the animal to pass through it. When the animal thus finds itself entangled in the noose, instead of backing away it will push forward, causing the noose to tighten more and more until death by strangulation results.

Beaver traps are sometimes baited with certain vegetal substances of which these animals are very fond, but to make the bait, or "medicine," effectual, the substance is colored with vermilion, or other sacred paint. This is then placed between two sticks, each about 2 inches in length, laid crosswise, and then attached to a steel trap.

BOWS AND ARROWS

The weapons employed in former times consisted of axes, arrows, and knives of stone, though knives of shell also were used. The manufacture of stone relics, says Shu'nien, was discontinued about four generations ago. In those times hickory and ash were generally selected



BEADED GARTERS SHOWING ART FIGURES

for the manufacture of bows. The limb was cut to the required length by pounding and cutting with a stone ax; then the wood was heated on both sides, near the fire, thus softening it sufficiently to admit of being scraped down to the desired breadth and thickness. Bow-making was tedious work. The sinew was generally made from the ligaments obtained from each side of the vertebræ of the moose. The ligament was split, scraped, and twisted into a cord by rolling the fibers between the palm of the right hand and the thigh, and with the left hand drawing it away as completed.

Bows and arrows are now used only by the younger members of the tribe, who employ them in killing birds and in target shooting, when a trifling wager is sometimes staked by the participants. Bows are sometimes made of ash, and cedar and ash combined, but hickory is generally used for this purpose, as the bows are not so elaborately and carefully made as formerly. A typical bow, made by an old expert, measures 46 inches in length, three-fourths of an inch in thickness at the center, and an inch and a quarter in width, narrowing down toward each end to five-eighths of an inch. The ends of the bow are somewhat thinner than the middle. The notches for the bowstring are cut about an inch from the end. Frequently one edge of the bow is ornamented by allowing projections of the original surface of the wood to remain to the height of nearly half an inch, these projections being as broad lengthwise as they are high, and serrated at the top. These serrations are subsequently colored red, blue, or some other tint, according to the fancy of the owner. The projections noted are scattered along the left edge at intervals of 4 inches, the intervening surface of that edge of the bow being of a different color to that selected for the tops of the projections, a pleasing contrast thus being presented.

The bowstring was made of sinew, as among all the tribes of the great lakes. One end of the string was secured by knotting; the other end was looped, in order that the bow might be quickly strung.

Arrow-making

Having studied the process of arrow-making among quite a number of tribes, including the Chemehuevi and Coyotero Apache, at a time when jasper, obsidian, and bottle-glass arrowheads were still manufactured, I shall describe somewhat in detail the process employed by the Menomini. Among these people the stone weapon, as before remarked, is now almost a thing of tradition, and there are at this day but two classes of arrows found, and one of these only at rare intervals. The first class is the game arrow with the iron point; the second is that designated as monoxylic,[1] i. e., made of a single piece of wood and used chiefly by boys in shooting birds and for practice or play.

The wood intended for shafts is gathered late in the autumn, cut in lengths exceeding 2 feet, tied in bundles of several dozen shafts each

[1] Prof. O. T. Mason in Smithsonian Report for 1893, Washington, 1894, p. 654.

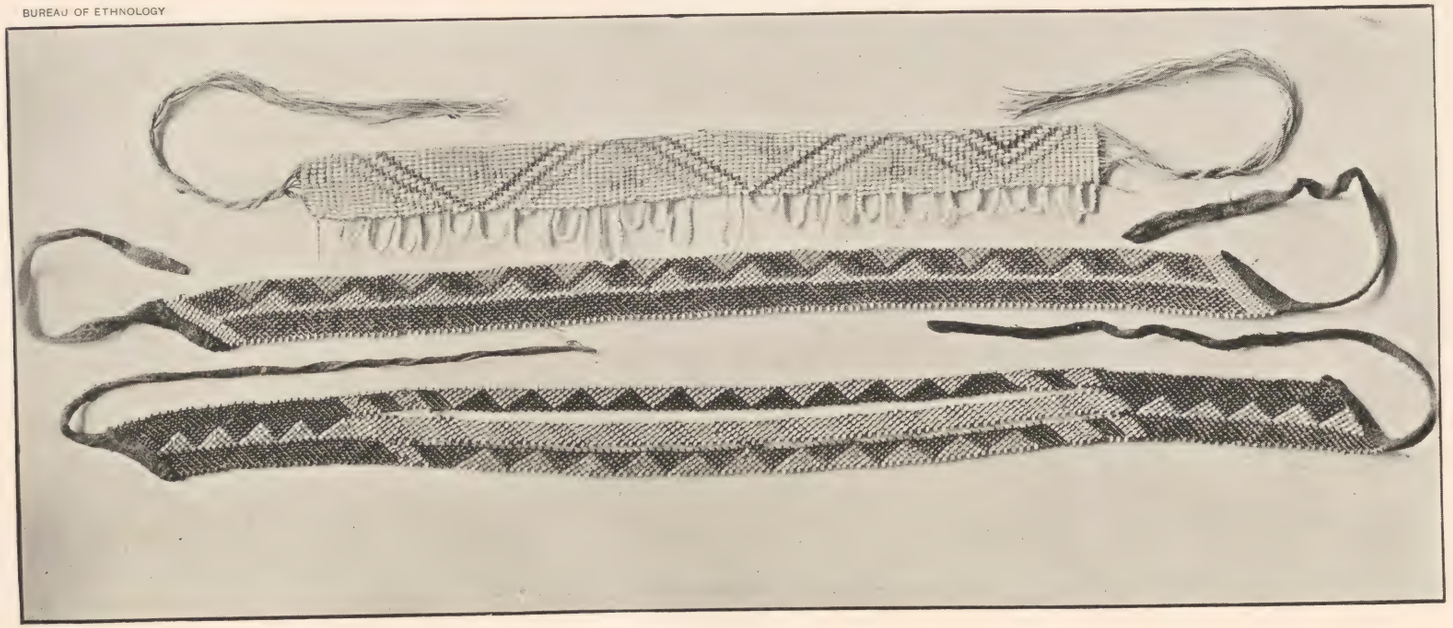
and suspended from the rafters of the house, where they become thoroughly dry during the winter. The sticks are of light wood, as free as possible from knots or irregularities in growth, and vary from a third to a half of an inch in thickness.

These being disposed of for the time being, iron arrowheads are procured from the trader, as these points are now manufactured in the East and packed in boxes of a thousand or more and offered for sale at agency stores. In many instances the Indians made their own points, securing for the purpose pieces of hoop-iron from various packing cases sent to the reservations. Such arrowpoints are usually made somewhat shorter than those manufactured for the trade, owing to a desire to economize in material. The arrowpoints made for the trade measure from 3 to 4½ inches in length, scarcely ever more than seven-eighths of an inch across at the widest part, and about one-sixteenth of an inch thick. The edges are sharpened. The tang of the arrow—the basal projection which fits into the shaft—is usually from one-half to three-fourths of an inch long and about one-fourth of an inch wide. In hunting-arrows the tang was formerly serrated, so that sinew seizing would firmly secure it, and the shaft, on withdrawal from the animal, would bring with it the arrowhead. In war arrows, however, the sides of the tang being smooth, the arrowhead would readily become loosened after the sinew wrappings became moistened in the wound, so that, on attempting to withdraw the arrow, the head would remain and do its deadly work.

The next step in arrow manufacture was to procure feathers for the shaftment, and for this purpose the flight and tail feathers of accipitrine birds are prepared. The webs are split from the midrib, the soft medullary cells scraped from the strips of horny substance bearing the web and cut into lengths of from 6 to 7 inches. About an inch of the web is removed at each end to permit secure wrapping to the shaftment. The width of the projecting web is only about a quarter of an inch, and three feathers are attached to each shaftment. The sinew fibers are obtained from the deer, the ligaments extending along each side of the spinal process, from the head backward, generally being preferred to those of the legs. These sinews are dried, and when required for use, may readily be shredded by wetting and sometimes by gentle hammering.

Glue is obtained by boiling the hoofs of the deer. Glue-sticks are found in possession of almost all warriors; they are made by cutting a stick 6 inches in length and as thick as the little finger, then dipping one end into the melted glue and allowing to harden, the process being repeated until there is a considerable bulb at the end. When it is desired for use, the stick is dipped in hot water and then rubbed on the part which it is desired to fasten.

When arrowshafts were to be made, only thoroughly seasoned sticks were taken, and for immediate use the straight ones only were selected.



BEADED NECKLACES

By means of a knife the bark was scraped off, and sometimes sufficient of the wood to reduce the diameter to the required size—ordinarily three-eighths of an inch. If no pieces of glass were at hand, a piece of sandstone was sometimes taken to further reduce the roughness of the shaft, and then fine sand was placed in a piece of blanket or buck-skin and employed as sandpaper is used.

In some instances flat pieces of bone with rounded notches on the edge, or even holes of the diameter required for the shaftment, were used for further smoothing and rounding. The stick was then cut to the required length, varying from 22 to 23 inches.

A cut was then made with a small saw, or a knife blade filed into a saw, at one end of the shaft to receive the tang of the arrowhead, the

FIG. 50—Apache iron point.

incision being from one-half to three-fourths of an inch in depth. Then the other end of the shaftment was gradually tapered for about 3 inches, to within one-fourth of an inch of the end, which bulb or nock was left expanding, with a square parallel sided, or probably sometimes an angular notch at the end.

The arrow tang was inserted and carefully wrapped with a thin, flat band of sinew (figure 50), which was then smoothed down with glue to insure adhesion. When dry, the creases, of which there were three, were made to extend from the sinew straight down the shaftment for 10 or 11 inches (plate XXXI, *b*). These creases were made with a sharp-pointed piece of iron—the end of a broken blade—or a piece of glass, and is believed to permit the discharge of blood from the wound. The feathers

FIG. 51—Arrowshaft showing mode of feathering.

having been prepared are next attached lengthwise, beginning where the creases cease and extending back to the nock. Only the top and bottom of the feathers are touched with glue, the intervening portion of the length of each being free and detached. Sinew fibers are then wrapped around the shaftment to hold down the ends of the feathers—each end being about an inch long, from which the web has been removed—and the glue-stick applied to fasten them. The feathers are equidistant around the shaftment (figure 51).

There is another step in arrow-making, which is seldom taken in the manufacture of arrows in North America. To prevent the detached portions of the feathers from being forcibly or accidentally torn from

the shaftment, a sinew thread, not thicker than a strand of silk, is tied horizontally around the feathers and shaftment midway between the glued ends.

As a finishing touch, the creases are tinted with color bought of the trader, while additional marks are placed on that portion of the shaftment exposed between the feathers. The specimens of arrows before me, made by the Menomini, have each five spots of dark blue placed at intervals of an inch or so along each of the three sides. A blue band also is painted around the shaftment at the forward end of the feathered tips, while sometimes an additional band is found around the end which touches the nock.

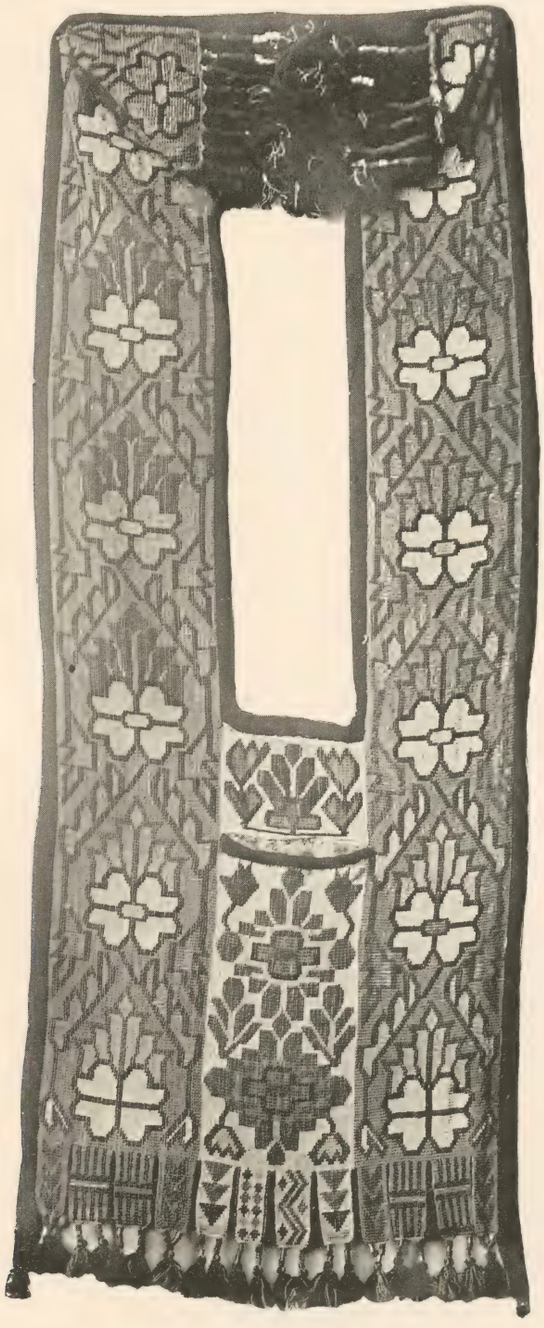
The various northwestern tribes of the Algonquian stock were careful in specifically decorating with colors their own individual arrows, by which means they were recognizable by others of the band of which the owner was a member. Duplications were common, but it is claimed that even then each person could readily recognize his own property. These property marks, being generally known, were sometimes the cause of serious trouble; for instance, when one Indian would steal the arrows of another for the purpose of destroying an enemy, the friends of the latter ultimately ascertained the identity of the owner of the arrows and avenged the death, the true criminal remaining unknown.

Intertribal warfare is known to have occurred through such means between the Arapaho and Sioux, and between the Sioux and the confederated tribes at Fort Berthold, North Dakota; and the Apache and other tribes of the far southwest are reported to have obtained the arrows of neighboring Indians to use in attacks on outlying settlements of the whites, thus causing the raid to be attributed to another and possibly peaceable tribe.

In his report on "North American bows, arrows, and quivers," Professor Otis T. Mason refers to the statement frequently made by frontiersmen that the plains Indians had two ways of mounting an arrowhead with relation to the notch at the nock. "If the plane of the arrowhead be horizontal when the arrow is in position for shooting—that is, at right angles to the notch—the missile is a war arrow, to go between the ribs of men. But if the plane of the head be vertical when the bow is drawn, the missile is a hunting-arrow for passing between the ribs of buffalo and other mammals.[1]

Colonel Richard I. Dodge,[2] in speaking of the Comanche, has fallen into the same error. Captain John G. Bourke, of the United States Army, whose active experience in the southwest, especially among the Apache tribes of Arizona, entitles his opinion to high consideration, believes this to be a mistake, and remarks that he has seen all kinds of arrows in the same quiver.[3]

[1] Smithsonian Report for 1893, Washington, 1894, p. 661.
[2] Wild Indians, Hartford, 1890, p. 419.
[3] Quoted by Professor Mason, op. cit., p. 661.



DANCER'S BEADED MEDICINE BAG

But this statement would not be true of the remainder of the numerous tribes of Indians located between Mississippi river and Pacific ocean, as an almost uninterrupted experience of twenty-four years has taught the present writer. I have before me a collection of arrows made by the Coyotero Apache at Camp Apache, Arizona, tipped with arrowheads of iron, jasper, and bottle-glass, in which 65 per cent have the notch for the arrowhead in the same plane as the notch for the string; 4 per cent in which the two notches are at right angles, while in the remaining 31 per cent the plane of the notch for the arrowhead appears alike in no two instances, and presents various degrees between the vertical and horizontal planes, as mentioned in the preceding class. In other examples which I have before me, and which embrace a number of iron-tip arrows made by the Crow Indians, no attempt at any system is perceptible, the planes of the arrow notches occurring at almost every angle from the plane of the string notch.

With reference to the hunting-arrows of the Menomini, 15 per cent present the plane of the arrowhead at right angles to the plane of the string notch, while the remaining 85 per cent are made without regard to any care whatever in so far as the plane of the arrowhead notch corresponds with that of the string notch.

The second class of arrows already referred to embraces such as have the head or point formed from the same piece from which the shaft itself is fashioned—a thick piece of pine, cedar, or ash—having been shaved down from the thickness desired for the head to that required for the shaft. The head of a common form of bird-arrow is shown in plate XXXI, *a*. Specimens of this type usually measure from seven-eighths of an inch to an inch and an eighth in diameter, the head being from 2½ to 3 inches long. The arrows are 28 inches in length, though the feathers—of which there are three, as usual—are only 2½ in length. The latter are glued to the shaft without the usual sinew wrapping at either end. The anterior part of the web of the feathers is nearly an inch wide, but it slopes abruptly to the level of the shaft at the nock. The nock expands slightly, while the notch is shallow and circular. The shafts are painted red or blue from the nock to the anterior part of the feathers, at which point four bands of color—alternately blue and red—encircle the shaft. The posterior portion of the head is longitudinally painted with alternate stripes of red and blue, terminating in a transverse band of red at the base. The anterior part of the head is uncolored.

Another variety of arrowhead is fashioned of the same piece of wood which forms the shaft, and is represented in plate XXXI, *d*. The projections on the sides of the head are merely the stubs of branches or roots. A third variety of bird-arrow is simply a continuation of the ordinary thickness of the shaft, rounded at the apex, or perhaps even slightly sharpened to a point, as shown by plate XXXI, *c*.

Still another interesting variety is shown in plate XXXI, *e*, in which thorns of large size have been attached to the head of the shaft by

means of sinew thongs. The points of the thorns have been broken off, but still serve admirably for bird shooting.

Release

It may be appropriate to remark that in arrow release the thumb and forefinger are used in grasping the arrow, the forefinger being bent so that the second joint is pressed toward and opposite to the ball of the thumb, a method affording a maximum of strength. The bow is firmly grasped, the arrow lying across the top of the hand and on the left side of the bow. In rapid shooting, the arrows are taken one by one from the quiver as wanted, thrown quickly across the left hand and the notch fitted to the string as the right hand is pulled back for release. The quiver at such times is thrown upward toward the shoulder that the arrows may easily be taken therefrom.

Penetration

With reference to the penetration of the arrow, much depends on the bow. I have examined a bow belonging to Long Soldier, a Sioux hunter of magnificent physique, who formerly dwelt at the now abandoned agency of Grand River, North Dakota. The string of this bow I could scarcely pull at full arrow length, even when standing on the bow and pulling the string with main strength. This was perhaps the strongest bow used in the Sioux camp, and the report was current, and doubted by none, that Long Soldier had often shot arrows entirely through the body of the buffalo. In this case it is of course to be understood that the arrow encountered no large bones. Bows and arrows were used long after the introduction of firearms, as the former could successfully be used in hunting game and shooting down sentinels without revealing the presence of an enemy.

It is well known to those familiar with the subject, that as late as ten or fifteen years ago, when hostile Indians were still thoroughly in practice with the bow and arrow, that it were safer to stand before an Indian's rifle at 80 yards than at the same distance when he was armed with bow and arrow. Since these more primitive weapons have been discarded, however, the Indians have become much more expert with the rifle, as has many times been shown.

Bows and Bowstrings

The bows of the Menomini are made of a single piece of wood, generally without sinew backing. Ash is commonly selected, unless hickory can readily be obtained. To prevent the wood from becoming brittle, the bow is frequently sized with deer brains.

It may be of more than ordinary interest in this connection to note that some of the older men of the Menomini claim to have seen bows, made by members of their tribe, consisting of two pieces of wood, glued together lengthwise, and wrapped at intervals with buckskin or sinew.

TRAP FOR SMALL GAME

Professor Mason's remarks[1] pertaining to compound bows do not refer to a certain form which, so far as I am aware, is now found only in Arizona and Nevada, among the Chemehuevi, and in the Orient among, I believe, the Japanese. This bow consists of two distinct pieces of wood, of almost equal size, glued together longitudinally. The most beautiful specimens of workmanship noticed anywhere amongst the Paiute and Chemehuevi were observed at the mouth of several small tributaries to Colorado river, in southeastern Nevada. These bows were graceful in form, being curved in the shape of the traditional "Cupid's bow." They are less than 3 feet in length, and are about three-fourths of an inch thick at the grip, but thinner and broader at the curve of the limbs, gradually narrowing down toward the nocks. Two species of wood of equal size were used in their manufacture, the flat surfaces being glued together lengthwise from end to end, then scraped down to the required dimensions and polished. Ash formed the front, or, more properly, the back, of the bow, while the inner side of the curve was of cedar. Having been glued, the entire back was covered with sinew, the edges of which extended around the lateral edges toward the cedar portion. This backing added to the strength and elasticity of the bow, which was furthermore increased by seizings of sinew strands tied about the bow at the grip, at the nock ends, and at one and sometimes two equidistant points between these places, each wrapping being perhaps as broad as the palm of the hand.

These bows, like those of the Menomini, were occasionally anointed with deer brains to prevent brittleness and consequent fracture, the extremely high temperature and dry atmosphere during the greater portion of the year being very severe on the elastic properties of the few kinds of wood available for bow-making in the arid southwest.

The bowstrings used by the Menomini are of sinew, obtained in the way previously described.

Quivers

The quivers of these Indians were formerly made of skins with the fur remaining thereon, as well as of dressed buckskin, but they are now fashioned from coarse cloth or flannel, decorated with brightly colored patches, small bells, and other pendants.

Modern Stone Arrowpoints

As before stated, the Menomini Indians admit having manufactured stone weapons until "several generations ago." But they actually used stone arrows within a comparatively recent period, and these, on account of their rarity and the superstition connected therewith, have been retained to this day and used as amulets by the mitä'wok.

The discontinuance of the manufacture of stone weapons is attributable to the introduction of improved firearms, axes, and knives, and to

[1] Smithsonian Report for 1893, pp. 631–679, plates xxxvi–xciv.

the procuring, from packing cases, of bands and strips of sheet-iron, from which convenient and effective arrowpoints were made for use both in hunting and in warfare. Among the tribes of the great lakes, as elsewhere, arrows were sometimes preferred to firearms, since they could be fired noiselessly in their hunting as well as in attacks on the sentinels or scouts of an enemy. During my investigations in the southwest in 1871, stone arrowheads were found in use among quite a number of small bands of Indians scattered over the untraveled portions of southern Nevada, southeastern California, and northern and middle Arizona. Although a few old guns were found in possession of most of these bands, the bow and arrow had preference for the reasons above stated, and because of the scarcity or difficulty in procuring ammunition and of their familiarity with aboriginal weapons.

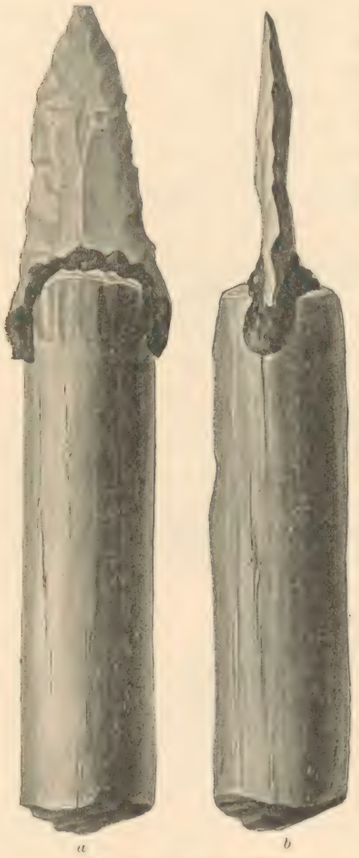
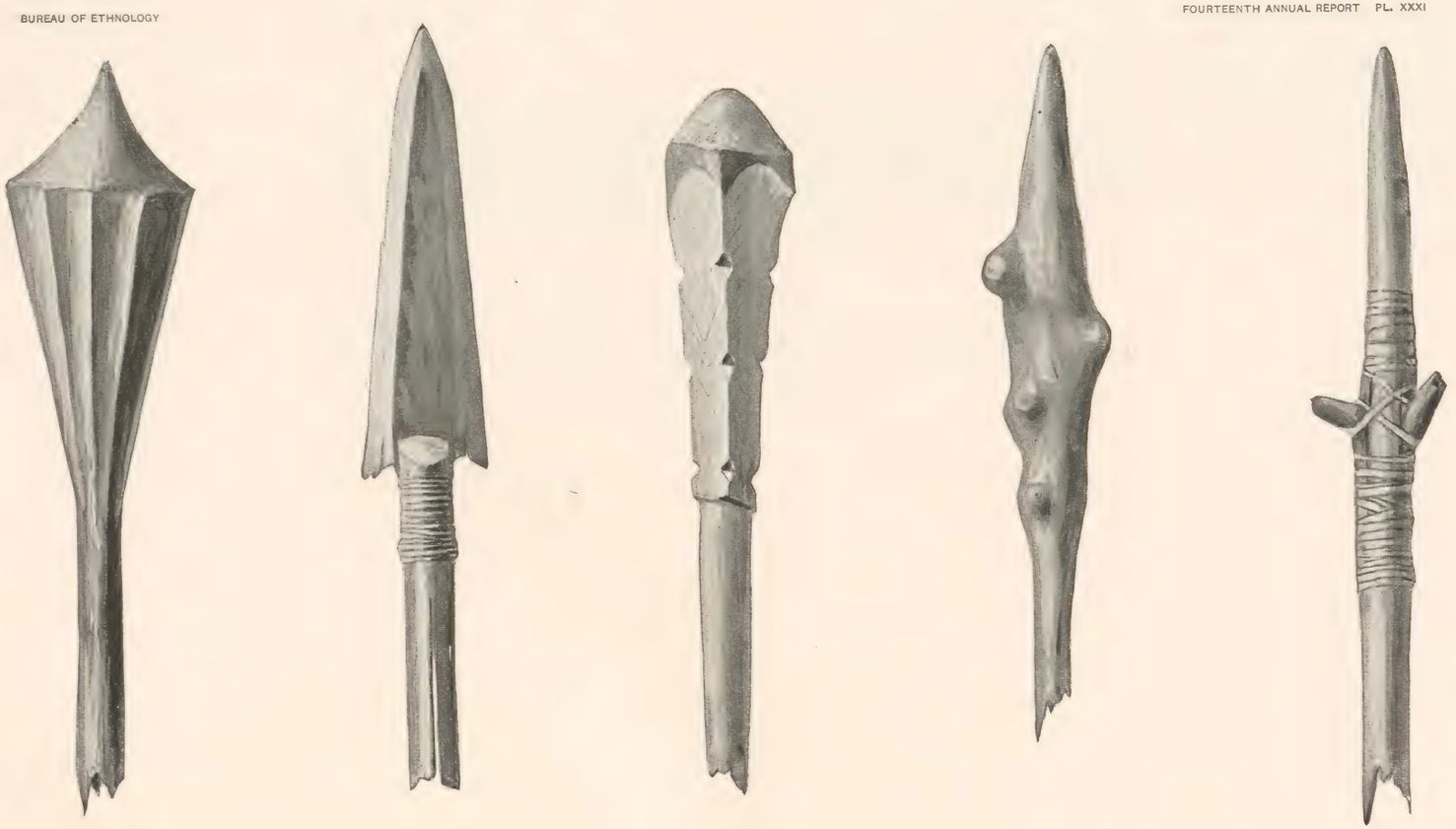


FIG. 52—Ute stone knife.

Although stone arrowheads and knives were found in use—to a very limited extent in some instances—only a few tribes still manufactured them, while others may have procured them by barter with neighboring Indians, or utilized such as they found abundantly in certain localities, such as at old camp sites or on the ruins of ancient pueblos. In some instances arrowpoints were made of bottle-glass, of several varieties of silicious mineral, and especially of obsidian, large quantities of pebbles, bowlders, and finely fractured pieces of which occur in various localities in northern Nevada and southeastern California, as well as in other sections. The Indians amongst whom stone-point arrows were observed were the Tiva'tika Shoshoni, at Belmont, at Hot Springs canyon, south of Mount MacGruder, and at Green mountain in Nevada; the Paiute, at Benton, at McBride ranch, at Big Pine, and at Camp Independence in Owen valley; and the Panamint Indians, on the eastern slope of Inyo mountains, and 10 miles southeast of Owen lake, all in southeastern California; the several Paiute bands at the headquarters, Armagosa river, in the Armagosa desert, west of Spring mountain; at Paiute Charlie's camp, 30 miles south of the latter point, on the



a *b* *c* *d* *e*

VARIETIES OF ARROWHEADS

so-called old Spanish trail; at Cottonwood creek, the headwaters of Corn creek, and at Las Vegas—both streams draining into Colorado river—in southern Nevada. Also, the Chemehuevi Indians on Cottonwood island, in Colorado river, about 30 miles north of the Mohave, and on the north bank of Colorado river near the mouth of Rio Virgen, where were also some Paiute from Moapa reservation, in southern Nevada. Among both of these tribes knives of stone, with short wooden handles, were observed. Similar specimens were collected by Major J. W. Powell, at Kaibab, southern Utah, illustrations of which are presented in figures 52 and 53. On the great plateau in Arizona we noted the same to occur to a limited extent among the Shivwits, a Shoshonean tribe, and also among the Walapai, of Yuman stock. But more abundantly were stone arrows found in use among the Apache, at Camp Apache on the upper waters of Salt river.

FIG. 53—Ute stone knife.

The manufacture of arrowpoints was observed only near the mouth of the Rio Virgen, among the Chemehuevi, by whom stone knives also were made. In the latter implement a triangular piece of stone—resembling a large arrowhead without notches—constituted the blade, being secured to the end of a wooden handle by means of a vegetal gum and careful wrapping with pieces of sinew.

A large part of southern Nevada is exceedingly arid, the flat range deserts being devoid of vegetation and literally strewn with a great variety of silicious minerals fractured in flakes, conchoidal pieces, and splinters of every conceivable form. These afford an inexhaustible and convenient supply of material for the primitive arrow-maker, requiring little labor for final shaping. The shaping of the points and the chipping of the cutting edges were effected by first taking a piece of buckskin with which to grasp the flake, the latter being securely held between the tips of the fingers and the edge or base of the thumb, the narrow edge of the flake protruding, then flaking by pressure with a piece of bone or a bear's claw mounted on a short wooden handle. The flaking instrument, while being held against the edge of the flake so as to get a grip and prevent slipping, was steadily, but forcibly, directed upward at right angles to the axis of the edge, and slightly backward and toward the left—that is, in the direction of the base of the arrowhead when working along the one side, and toward the intended point when flaking along the other. The triangular pieces of chert, chalcedony, and jasper used were somewhat larger than the average arrowpoint and were set into a notch cut in the anterior

portion of a piece of wood about an inch in diameter and from 5 to 6 inches in length.

The gum or resin of the *Larrea mexicana* was utilized to set the stone blade, which required no additional strengthening because of the adhesive power of the gum; but when glue was made of beaver-tail or deer-hoof, sinew was sometimes wrapped over the glued base or tangs of the stone point to lend additional strength.

The processes employed in the manufacture of stone arrowheads have been repeatedly referred to and illustrated in recent years, so that further description is now unnecessary.

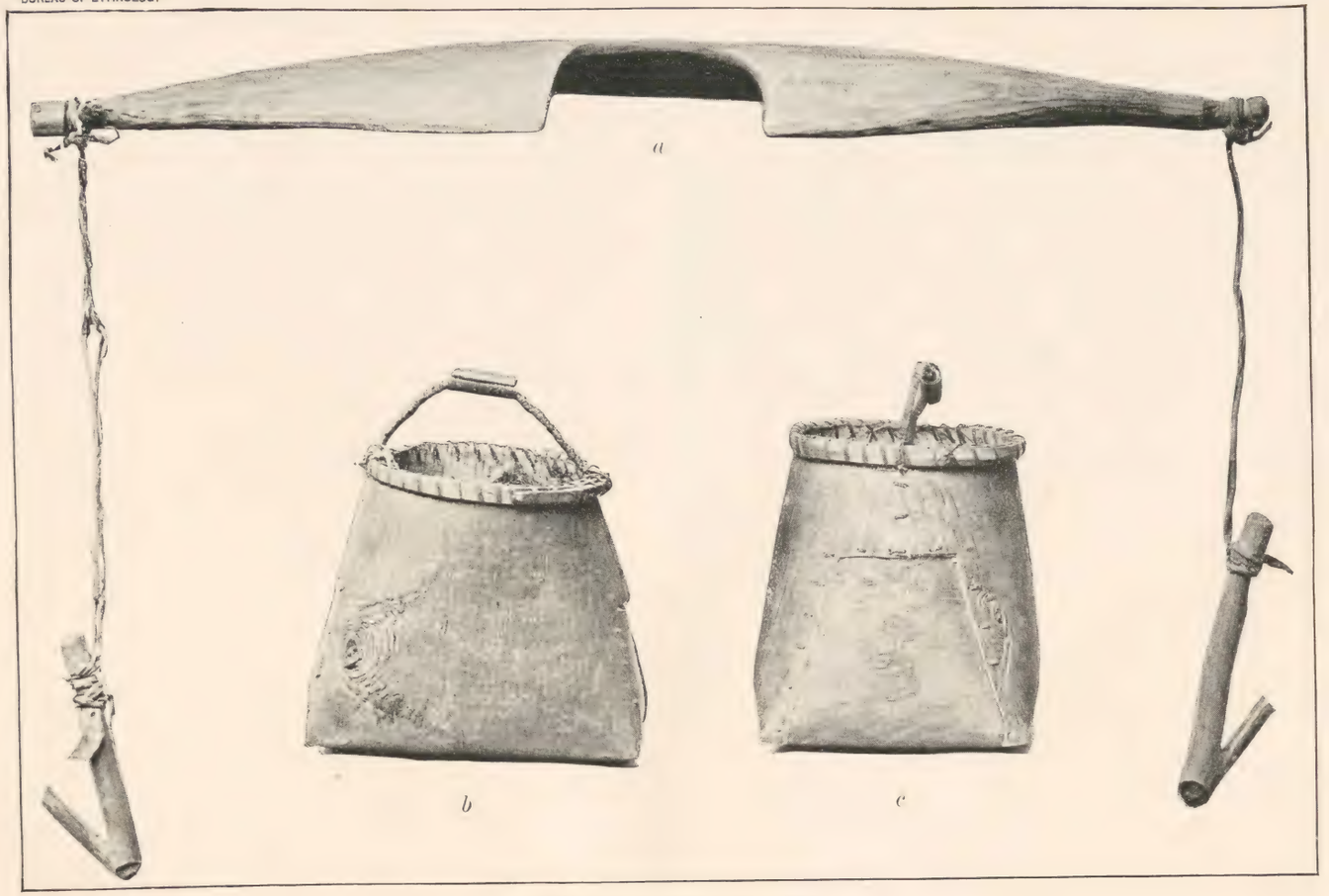
Notwithstanding that from 25 to 30 per cent of the arrows found among the Apache at Camp Apache, Arizona, were made from stone and glass, the manufacture of glass points only was observed by the present writer. In addition to specimens made of bottle glass, chalcedony, gray jasper, and obsidian, one specimen made of gold quartz was obtained, but the locality from which the mineral was procured could not be learned, the owner of the arrows refusing to disclose the place. All of these points were rather small, the average size corresponding to that given in the accompanying illustration (figure 54), though in

FIG. 54—Apache stone point.

some instances they were long and narrow. Furthermore, the notches for the reception of the sinew strands were at each side, a short distance from the base. The sinew, being thus in a depression, was protected from injury by violent friction with the edges of the arrow. Iron arrowpoints, on the contrary, were fastened to the shaft by inserting the tang into the fore end of the shaft, and then tying it with sinew (plate XXI, *b*). In both instances, mesquite gum or other resinous substance was generally used to secure the arrowpoints. Immediately behind the point, and along the foreshaft for a distance of perhaps 5 or 6 inches, a dark reddish substance resembling dried blood mixed with clay had been applied. The arrows were said to have been poisoned, and were carefully handled by their owners. As some of the Apache poisoned their arrows by dipping them into decomposed liver, to which had been added crushed tarantulas, scorpions, and frequently the venom of the rattlesnake, it is only reasonable to suppose that their assertions may have been correct.

POISONED ARROWS

The Menomini admit that their ancestors poisoned arrows by besmearing the points with rattlesnake venom and it may be asserted that many of the tribes whose territory bordered on the Menomini country



BIRCHBARK SAP BUCKETS AND YOKE

practiced various ceremonies and methods of preparation of supposed or actually poisonous compounds, which were believed to aid in the destruction of the life of the animal or person struck or wounded by an arrow, or toward whom the missile was directed, regardless of the distance between the intended victim and the person using the weapon. In many instances the venom or decomposed organic matter employed no doubt caused septicæmia and finally death; but the motive prompting the preparation of such arrows, and the power possessed by them, is to be found in their mythologic beliefs.

According to Mr J. N. B. Hewitt, both the Tuskarora and the Cayuga Indians of the Iroquoian stock used poison similar to that above mentioned for anointing their arrows, and the Dakota, Blackfeet, and other tribes to the westward of the Menomini practiced a like custom, so that it is only reasonable to assume that in former times this tribe was acquainted with a method of poisoning arrows, even if the practice was not generally followed.[1]

An instance in illustration of this was the use by the Ojibwa and Dakota—neighboring tribes of the Menomini—of the delicate spines of the leaves of the common cactus (*Opuntia missouriense*), found in the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri. Although exceedingly minute, these spines cause much pain if they puncture the skin. They were formerly gathered and mixed with grease in the form of an ointment, which was applied to arrowshafts, as well as to small depressions bored in leaden bullets. The extreme pain caused by the presence in the flesh of these delicate spines has suggested the belief that when a missile so anointed is shot into a human being or a beast, the spines travel forward in pursuit of the life, or more literally the shade, of the creature and compel its abandonment of the body in which it had its abode. The mitä'ᵛ, however, if he be very powerful, may succeed in calling back the life of such a victim, provided the gifts are sufficiently valuable to appease the ma'nidos, whose aid must be invoked.

In the expulsion of demons from a person possessed by them—the effects being known by bodily suffering, etc—the shaman may have recourse to more than the simple performance of exorcism. Remedies believed to be obnoxious to the life of the demon, or mystery, possess-

[1] I have already had occasion to present in detail the several methods of poisoning arrows, as practiced by several well-known tribes of Indians, and present herewith the bibliographic references, viz:

Poisoned Arrows. Pacific Rural Press, San Francisco, California, vol. xv, 1878, p. 82. (Read before the Philosophical Society of Washington, District of Columbia, January 5, 1878.)

The Use of Poisoned Arrows. Mining and Scientific Press, San Francisco, California, vol. xxxvi, 1878, p. 163.

Ueber die Zubereitung des Pfeilgiftes durch die Pai-Uta Indianer von Nevada. Verhandl. Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie und Urgeschichte (April 17), 1880, pp. 91, 92.

Note sur les flèches empoisonnées des Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord. Bull. Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris, tome sixième, iiiᵉ série, iᵉ fascicule, 1883, pp. 205–208.

Das Pfeilvergiften der Indianer aus Puget Sund. Das Ausland, No. 13 (March 26), 1888, p. 260.

Poisoned Arrows. The American Anthropologist, vol. iv, No. 1, Washington, 1891, pp. 67–71.

Klallam arrows were tipped with heads of native copper and caused to corrode by wetting with seawater; Lipans employed the yucca juice, and the Sissetons the spines of a small cactus, *O. missouriense*.

ing the patient are administered. Such "remedies" may also be forced into the victim whom it is desirable to remove from one's presence, and are then erroneously termed poisoned. On this theory many decoctions have been reputed to be poisonous.

The hair of the tail of the blacktail deer has been used in a manner similar to that in which cactus spines are used, for producing abortion. The hair is chopped fine, then mixed with the fat of a bear's paw, and administered. Gastric irritation follows, leading, possibly, to uterine contraction, and the ultimate expulsion of the fœtus. The Indian's explanation is, however, that the fine spicules of hair act like magic arrows, dart forward in the body in pursuit of the life of that which it is desirable to overcome, with the result indicated.

It also has been stated that the blowgun was used in former times by Indians of North America, but its darts were not poisoned, as by the tribes of northern South America. The weapon was evidently of little value save for target shooting, on the results of which wagers were made.

FOOD

FOOD IN GENERAL

The food of the Menomini Indians consists of such scant supplies of vegetables as they may raise, pork obtained from the Government and by purchase at the stores, meats and fish obtained by hunting, berries and wild fruits in season, and such dishes as the women have been taught or have learned to make by contact with civilization. At the burial feast of 1890, I was astonished to see served to the attendants, and of which I also partook to a limited extent, roast beef, poundcake, raspberry pie, and coffee with cream and sugar, apparently as clean and almost as good as that usually served at a second-rate hotel. At the same time it was also observed that several of the visiting medicine men and women came provided with large bagfuls of green cucumbers, which their favored guests or friends ate raw with keen relish after merely paring off the rind.

Salt is not used by the Menomini during meals, neither does it appear to have a place in the kitchen for cooking or baking. Maple sirup is used instead, and it is singular how soon one may acquire the taste for this substitute for salt, even on meats. At the ceremonies of 1893 lard and soda biscuits alone formed the meal of the attending medicine men and others aiding in the ceremonies, each half biscuit being dipped into the bucket to scoop up a quantity of lard equal in size to a small English walnut. One of the mitä'wok, a Potawatomi, who had eaten nothing during the day until about 2 oclock in the afternoon, began to eat this nauseating mess with the first set of four medicine men, continued with the second set after the first had finished, and leaned back to all appearances gratified only when the third set of assistant medicine men had eaten to repletion. Notwithstanding

CAMP OF SUGAR MAKERS

this unusual gastronomic feat no evil results were noticeable two days later.

GORMANDISM

The quantity and variety of food which some Indians are capable of consuming is beyond the comprehension of a white man. This is so well known that it is unnecessary to enter into lengthy discussion of the subject, but for illustration two instances which came under my observation may be alluded to:

The first occurrence was in 1871, while the author was ascending Colorado river. The expedition of which he was a member had secured the services of sixteen Mohave Indians to assist in getting the small boats over the numerous rapids and to do possible duty in event of an attack from hostile tribes. On the first day out, sixteen rations were issued to the chief, to serve his men for one day. A ration, at that time, was sufficient to serve one man for two days; but when eleven of the Indians reached camp that day, they demanded that food be served, being unwilling to wait for the arrival of the other five, who were farther down the river and who could not reach camp in time for the regular supper. The consequence was that the sixteen rations were eaten at that meal by eleven Indians, who even then threatened to desert unless the quantity of food was increased.

The second instance is that of an Apache woman at one of the military posts in eastern Arizona, who, on receiving her rations for the week, consumed all of the food at a sitting, trusting to her ability to find sufficient tunas to sustain her until the next issue day.

OFFENSIVE FOOD

The Menomini Indians are not addicted to eating all kinds of reptiles, insects, and other loathsome food, as was common to many of the tribes of the Great Basin and of California. This form of diet may result from having always lived in a country where game, fish, and small fruits were found in greater or lesser abundance, and the evident relish with which the so called Diggers, the Walapai, and others, devour grasshoppers, dried lizards, beef entrails, and bread made of grass-seed meal mixed with crushed larvæ of flies, would appear as disgusting to the Menomini as to a Caucasian.

MAPLE SUGAR

Formerly large quantities of maple sugar were made annually, but the ease with which cane sugar came to be obtained by barter from traders' stores has gradually caused this industry to become almost obsolete. Dr Jedidiah Morse, in speaking of the French settlers at Green Bay, Wisconsin, says:

> These people and the Menominees, with whom, by the ties of relationship, they are connected, make from the maple tree about one hundred thousand pounds of sugar annually, and from three to four hundred gallons of molasses. These, with

their skins, etc., are nearly all sold for whisky, at an immense sacrifice. It is a common practice with these Canadians to sow their garden seeds late in the fall, which, from experience, has been found preferable to the usual method elsewhere of sowing them in the spring.[1]

According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1859, there were made in that year over 200,000 pounds of maple sugar, and in 1863 40 tons were made by these people. While at Leech lake, Minnesota, in July, 1892, I was informed that the Ojibwa of that locality, who number less than 1,500, had during the preceding spring made almost 90 tons of sugar. When it is taken in consideration that nearly all of this sugar was consumed by the Indians themselves, it shows an almost abnormal fondness for sweets. It virtually forms a substitute for salt; much of it is used with coffee and tea, while the greater portion is eaten either in the granular form, in cakes, or as "sugar wax," which is merely a plastic form of sugar, made by throwing the boiling sirup on the snow to cool. Maple sirup also is made to some extent, but the Indians prefer to dissolve the sugar in water when sirup is desired, instead of retaining it in vessels, which, among them, are always scarce, or else perhaps not to be had at all.

The season for sugar-making came when the first crow appeared. This happened about the beginning or middle of March, while there was yet snow on the ground. This period of the season was looked forward to with great interest, and, as among the Minnesota Ojibwa today, became a holiday for everybody. Each female head of a household had her own sugar hut, built in a locality abounding in maple trees—the *Acer saccharinum*—which might or might not have been convenient to her camp, but which was the place always resorted to by her, and claimed by right of descent through her mother's family and totem.

During the early spring, when the birchbark is in prime condition for peeling, pieces were cut and folded into sap dishes or pans, each measuring from 7 to 10 inches in width, about 20 inches in length and 8 inches in depth. The ends were carefully folded and stitched along the edge with thin fibers of basswood bark or spruce root, in order that it might retain the shape as represented in figure 55. A woman in good circumstances would possess as many as from 1,200 to 1,500 birchbark vessels, all of which would be in constant use during the season of sugar-making.

The next articles to be made were sap buckets, which also were fashioned from birchbark, cut and folded at the corners so as to avoid breaking and consequent leakage. The folds were also seamed with pine resin. The buckets were of various sizes, though usually they held from 1 to 2 gallons.

The example of sirup bucket represented in plate XXXII, *b*, *c*, measures 6 inches across the top, which is round, and 7 by 8 inches across the bottom, which is rectangular; the depth is 8 inches.

[1] Report to the Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 50.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

CAMP OF BERRY PICKERS

The folds at the top of the rim are held in place by means of a thin strip of wood neatly stitched with strands of basswood bark, and an additional cord is made to extend across the top to serve as a handle. Two buckets are attached to the wooden hooks suspended from a shoulder-yoke, an illustration of the latter being presented in plate XXXII *a*.

The yoke is made of light though durable wood. The specimen obtained from the Menomini, and now in the National Museum, measures 34 inches in length by 6½ inches across the indent part, the depth of this thick concavity being 2 inches, while the piece itself is but half an inch. The cords are apparently of buckskin, while the hooks are evidently of oak. The Indians claim to have invented this form of yoke, though this is a difficult question to decide, since they have been in contact with the whites more than two centuries.

As maple-sugar making appears to have originated with the Indians, it is reasonable to presume that their requirements would in time have suggested the construction of such a contrivance as a yoke to facilitate the transportation of buckets of sap, particularly as by this means the weight would be transferred to the shoulders, making the burden less fatiguing to the arms. Wooden sap-troughs also were made during the summer season, when opportunity or inclination offered.

FIG. 55—Birchbark vessel for maple sap.

The season of sugar-making, as before mentioned, began in March, when the crows migrated from the south. At this time everyone was on the lookout, and so soon as the necessary camp equipage and sugar-making utensils could be brought together each family removed to its customary sugar grove. On arriving at the grounds, tents or temporary wigwams were erected for sleeping quarters, and a frame structure, with a roof of bark or mats, before described, was constructed for sheltering the sugar-makers. A sugar-making camp is illustrated in plate XXXIII.

When these preparations had been completed, and the kettles suspended from the ridgepole, the trees were selected; then, with an ax, a transverse cut, anywhere from a foot to 2½ feet above the ground, was made in the trunk. Into this cut a chip of wood was wedged, to direct the flow of sap away from the tree and into the bark vessel placed on the ground beneath. All available pans were thus placed at trees conveniently situated, and the sap was collected and brought to the

boilers, who poured it into the kettles. So soon as one kettleful was converted into sugar, a new lot of sap was hung over the fire. Care was taken by the women detailed to superintend the boiling to note the period at which the sirup began to granulate. It was then poured into wooden troughs, where it was worked and the granulating process completed.

When maple sirup is thrown on the snow to cool rapidly, it becomes waxy in consistence and is then termed sugar wax, and is highly esteemed as confectionery. Small dishes, from 2 to 4 inches in diameter, also are filled with sirup, which is allowed to cool and harden, forming sugar cakes. These are given to friends and visitors, and pieces are always put into the grave-boxes of deceased relations, as an offering to the shade of the dead.

As the sugar is cooled and ready to be removed from the trough, it is put in makaks, or boxes, for transportation and future use. These makaks, which are made of birchbark, resemble sap-buckets in shape, though they are larger at the base than at the rim, and each has a lid with a slightly conical center. These boxes vary in capacity from 2 to 50 pounds, those of average size holding about 25 pounds of sugar. The cover projects slightly over the rim of the bottom vessel, and is finally fastened by stitching with strands of basswood bark.

Another, though more modern, form of sugar receptacle is made of saplings arranged on the same principle as the timber of a log house, but inclosing a space of only about 10 by 15 feet. The front and back poles are erected to the height of 6 or 7 feet, then turned off toward the central ridgepole, as in a modern roof. The vertical poles are from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches thick, and are placed about 2 feet apart. The horizontal saplings also are about 2 feet apart, and are secured to the former by lashing with basswood bark. The roofs are afterward further strengthened by fastening with withes and brush, over which are placed the long, crude rush mats made solely for this purpose. Sometimes the bark or rush mats are fastened to the roof without the underlying rushes.

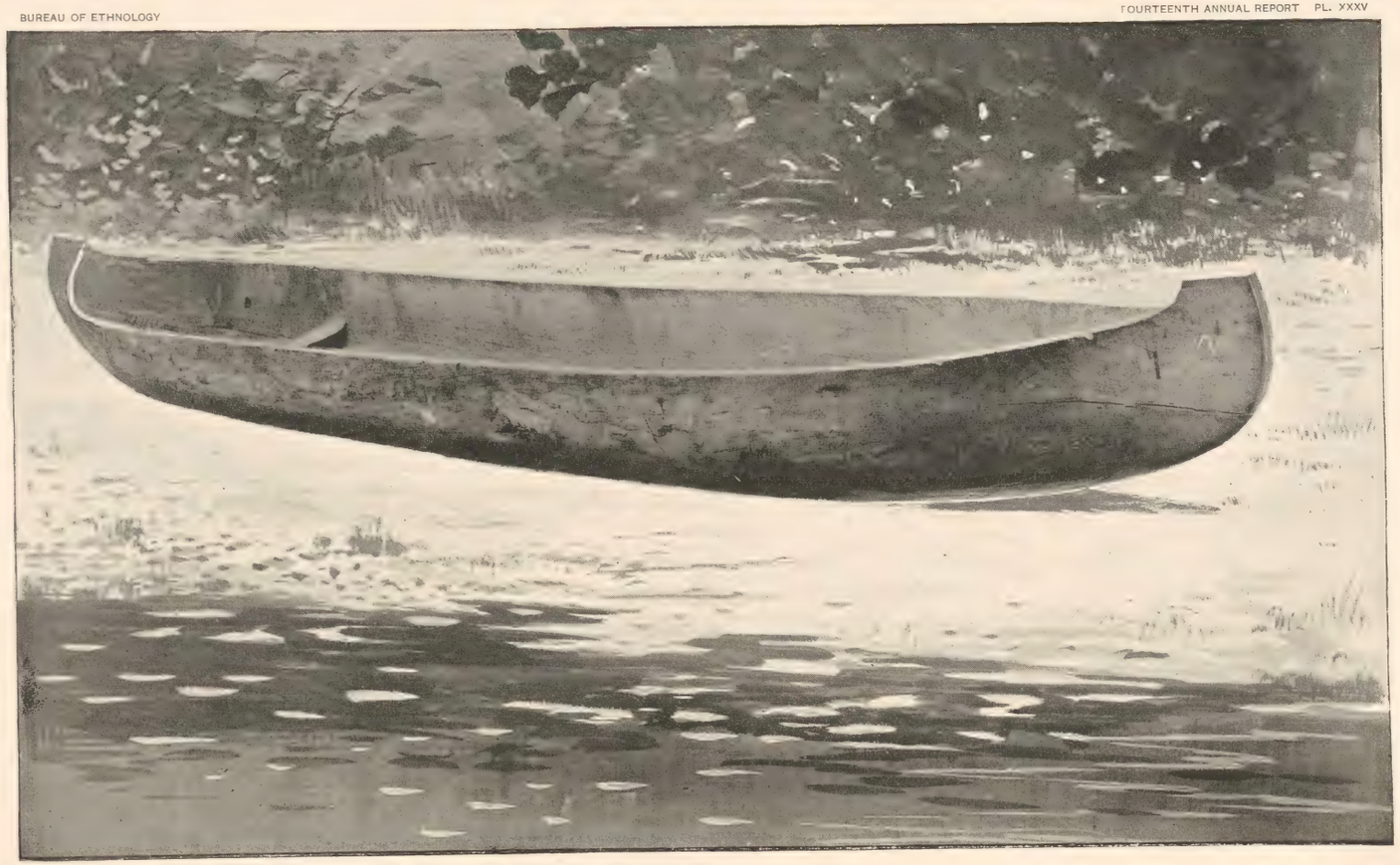
WILD RICE

Apart from the vegetables which the Menomini now cultivate, wild rice is still gathered in large quantities for use as food. As before stated with reference to the tribal designation, the term Menomini is derived from two words signifying "rice men," or "rice people," the French, at the time of first meeting them, having designated them Folles-avoines or False Oats, as wild rice was called by them.

Dr Morse,[1] who visited this tribe at Green Bay, in 1820, says of their food:

> In the spring they subsist on sugar and fish; in the summer, on fish and game; in the fall, on wild rice and corn, and in the winter on fish and game. Those who are

[1] Report to the Secretary of War, New Haven, 1822, p. 48.



WOODEN CANOE OR DUGOUT

provident have some rice during the winter. The fish, consisting principally of sturgeon and salmon-trout, are in the greatest abundance in the bay.

The Menomini method of gathering and cleaning wild rice is as follows: At the proper season the women, and frequently the men as well, paddle through the dense growth of wild rice along the shores of the lakes and rivers, and while one attends to the canoe, the others grasp with one hand a bunch of rice stalks, bend it over the gunwale into the boat, and there beat out the ears of rice. After collecting a load in this manner, the next process is to dig a hole about 6 inches deep and 2 feet across; this hole is then lined with a dressed buckskin and filled with the rice, which is beaten with a stick, heavier and somewhat curved at one end. In this manner the husk is separated from the grain, and by winnowing on a windy day by means of a birch-bark tray, the rice is cleaned. Sometimes the rice and hulls are separated by spreading on a mat and fanning with a bark tray. It is then ready to dry in a metallic vessel, after which it is stored for use when required.

Some of the Menomini women make a special form of bag in which to beat out the rice. This bag is 2 feet wide by from 18 to 20 inches deep, and is woven of bark strands. It resembles very much an old-fashioned carpet-bag. After the rice is put into this, the bag is laid into a depression in the ground and beaten to separate the hulls.

Sometimes a hole is dug in the ground, a large mat placed into it, and the rice laid on the mat. To prevent the scattering of the seed while beating it, other mats are suspended from racks on three sides of the depression, so as to keep the rice from flying out too far. The fourth side is left open for the thresher.

The rice is subsequently kept in bags. To prepare it for use, it is boiled and eaten plain with maple sugar; or it may be boiled with meat or vegetables, or with both, and served as soup.[1]

BERRIES AND SNAKEROOT

During springtime it was customary among the more northern bands of the Menomini to gather large quantities of raspberries, some of which were eaten fresh, but the larger portion was dried and used during autumn and winter, when other food became somewhat scarce. In summer, when blueberries ripened, many of the Indians encamped in localities which afforded abundant quantities. These also were dried, though their freshness could be preserved by putting them into barrels of water, which was changed every day or two. By this means the Indians were enabled to carry the berries from time to time to sell. During the berry season the woods frequently reechoed with shouts of hilarity and merry-making of the younger folk, after the completion of the day's labor. Plate XXXIV illustrates a camp of berry hunters in

[1] See Indian Use of Wild Rice, by G. P. Stickney; Am. Anthropologist, Washington, April, 1896.

middle Wisconsin. Formerly, temporary shelter-tents of bark were erected, but now the simpler and less troublesome canvas tent is used.

Large quantities of snakeroot (*Senega polygala*) also were collected and afterward pressed, for transportation to the larger towns. Now, however, this plant has become rather scarce, and search therefor has been practically abandoned. Most of the snakeroot now comes from northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, both localities being within the territory of the Ojibwa.

CANOES

The Menomini have almost entirely discontinued the making of both the simple dugout and the birchbark canoe, and even among the old men but few are now recognized as having, in their day, been experts in this industrial art.

The simpler form of boat was the dugout, made of the single trunk—preferably that of a butternut tree. This wood is much heavier than most others available, but the Indians believe it to resist better than any other variety the effects of long contact with water, as well as the erosion to which the bottom is subjected by frequent rowing in shallow streams with beds of gravel or bowlders.

The specimen represented in plate XXXV is of pine. It was made by Mä′tshi-kinĕ′u^{v}—Bad-eagle—shortly after the removal of the Menomini to their present reservation. The canoe is therefore about fifty years old, but it is a typical example. The total length is 20 feet, the diameter across the gunwale at the point of the first inside rib is 21¼ inches, and at the second rib 20¼ inches. The total height is 11 inches. It will be observed that on the inside of the bottom of the canoe, near each end, stands a ridge of wood resembling a rude rib—for which it is really intended to serve—to give strength to the sides and to preserve the form of the vessel.

As the dugout is only from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness, it becomes apparent that such a permanent support is necessary to prevent the breaking of the bottom, such damage easily resulting from exposure to the air after having been in the water for a long time. In the example above illustrated, a longitudinal crack, at some points over half an inch wide and extending nearly the entire length of the boat, resulted from drying.

The paddles employed are the same as for the birchbark canoe, the blade and handle each being about 2 feet in length.

When a single oarsman uses a canoe, he always kneels at the stern or narrower end of the canoe, the difference in the width of this part corresponding to the smallest diameter of the trunk from which it was made. When the tree does not have any perceptible variation in diameter, the outside is chipped down with an ax and a draw-knife, in order to make the stern narrower, and thus to give the canoe almost the shape of a cigar. The oarsman places a small bunch of grass in the bottom. On this he kneels and paddles only at one side, readily keeping the canoe

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

CUTTING TIMBERS FOR BARK CANOE

in a straight course by following each stroke with a slight outward turn, thus compensating for the divergence of the bow from a true course.

When a second oarsman is present, he occupies the bow and uses his paddle at the opposite side to that of the oarsman at the stern. Frequently these canoes are laden with people from stern to bow until the gunwale touches the water's edge; yet the occupants appear entirely unconscious of any danger, on account of the skill with which the oarsmen manipulate their paddles and control every movement of the canoe.

The birchbark canoe is by far the most graceful piece of mechanism produced by the Menomini. But few are now either made or owned by these people, since their more advanced mode of life does not demand extensive travel by such means.

It is believed that the birchbark canoe is the invention of the Indian. The earliest reports concerning the discoveries of the French mention this vessel, and Indians arrived by canoe at French settlements from parts which no explorers had then penetrated.

The general form of the canoe differs to some extent among the various northern tribes. The type of canoe made by the Menomini resembles that of the Ojibwa of Wisconsin, who are their nearest northern neighbors, and with whom they have for many years maintained friendly relations, and to some extent intermarried. For their manufacture large birch trees that appear to furnish the best bark are selected, and the pieces are cut as large as possible. These sections are sewed together with threads made of the long, thin roots of a species of spruce, a material both durable and well adapted, notwithstanding constant wetting.

The framework of the bark canoe is made of white cedar, which is durable, light, and elastic. The ribs are thinned with a drawing knife (plate XXXVI), and when the required number have been made, they are curved according to the part of the canoe which they are intended to brace—the middle, of course, being much more distended laterally, while the ends gradually narrow to a point.

The tops of the ribs are held in place by being tied to a crosspiece, the rib and crosspiece thus resembling a bow and its string. Then the entire series of ribs is fastened by tying to the longitudinal strips corresponding to the gunwale, thus setting up the skeleton, as it were. These strips also are cut to the required thickness by means of a draw-knife.

When the framework has reached this stage, the bark, which in the meantime has been stitched together, is laid on the ground, the framework placed upon it, and then the bark is turned up over the sides, when short posts are driven into the ground, all around the canoe, to hold the outside strips, to reinforce the edge or gunwale, and to prevent the breaking of the bark at that edge. The appearance of the work at this stage is presented in plate XXXVII. All the necessary stitching is then done to hold in place the tightly secured bark. The bow and the

stern, though apparently similar, are still sufficiently unlike for the Indian to note which is the bow, for that end of the canoe, as in the dug-out, is usually a little broader across the shoulders. The bottom of the canoe is lined with thin slats or shingles to protect the delicate bark from being broken. The seams, small punctures, and knot holes are then sealed with pine resin.

Although the women have many duties to perform in connection with the building of a canoe—such as cord-spinning, the stitching together of the pieces of bark, and the final lashing of the long pieces forming the gunwale—the men are generally the ones to use the paddle when traveling.

The paddle is made of cedar or some other light wood. It measures about 4 feet in length, of which nearly one-half is devoted to the blade, which varies from 4 to 6 inches in width. Generally the top of the handle has two projecting pieces resembling the letter T, giving the oarsman an easy and effective means of holding and using the paddle.

When not in use the canoe is always pulled ashore and turned over in order to allow the bottom to dry.

VOCABULARY

INTRODUCTORY

In reviewing the subject of Menomini linguistics, it may be stated that two printed works, a vocabulary of about four hundred words (which has supplied the material for nearly all comparative purposes to which reference is made in bibliographies) and the Lord's prayer (which has been reprinted in a number of works), comprise all the published material in the Menomini language.

The two works mentioned are a Catholic prayer-book and a catechism, both by Father Zephyrin, O. S. F., formerly missionary at Keshena, Wisconsin, the editions of which are exhausted. A few hymns also were printed by Father Zephyrin, on a small hand-press, the entire number covering only twelve unpaged, unstitched leaves, some of them being printed on the backs of picture cards.

Père Flavien J. Bonduel[1] published the Lord's prayer in Menomini, which has been reprinted by Bergholtz, Shea, Trumbull, and other students of Indian linguistics.

The Menomini vocabulary referred to is that compiled by W. H. Bruce and published by Henry R. Schoolcraft.[2] The copy in the library of the Bureau of Ethnology bears many corrections by some unknown person, indicating, apparently, that numerous errors in phonetics existed. This vocabulary has been used by many writers from which to select numerals and other words for comparison with various Indian languages.

[1] Souvenir religieux d'une mission Indienne, Tournai, imprimerie de Malo et Levasseur, 1855.
[2] Indian Tribes, vol. ii, Philadelphia, 1852, pp. 470–481.

PHOTO BY INGERSOLL

SETTING UP BARK CANOE

Fathers Blase and Oderic, of the order of Saint Francis, at Keshena, Wisconsin, have prepared jointly a manuscript grammar and dictionary of the Menomini language for their own use, the arrangement of Baraga's Ojibwa Grammar—one of the most complete and satisfactory at hand—being followed. This manuscript was kindly given to the present writer, who is now editing the work for publication. In its preparation the German alphabet was employed, but the entire work is being rewritten so as to accord with the phonetic system now almost universally adopted.

In the accompanying Menomini vocabulary, which includes also a number of geographic terms and comparisons with Ottawa and Ojibwa synonyms, I have endeavored to avoid unnecessary diacritical marks and letters having sounds not their own, so as to aid in the ready comprehension by the general reader of the phonetics used. On the whole, the alphabet of the Bureau of Ethnology has been employed, the vowels having the so-called continental sounds; but instead of using the letters tc for *tsh*, I have adopted the latter to represent the sound of *ch*, as in *chat*. The following list of phonetics will serve to elucidate the system employed:

Phonetics

a, as in *far*
ä, as in *hat*
â, as in *law*
b, as in *bed;* interchangeable with p
d, as in *date;* interchangeable with t
ĕ, as e in *bet*
e, as a in *late*
g, as in *gimlet;* interchangeable with k
h, as in *hot*
ĭ, as in *it*
i, as e in *eat*
k, as in *kin;* generally used instead of g
l, as in *lip*
m, as in *met*
n, as in *not*
ŏ, as u in *but*
o, as o in *boat*
p, as in *pin*
q, as the ch (German) in *nicht*
r, as in *rod*
s, as in *saw*
ss, as the Shoshoni *sso'ssoni*, the hissing sound of s merging into that of sh
t, as in *tap;* also interchangeable with d
tsh, as ch in *chat*
ŭ, as in *pull*
u, as in *rule*
ᵛ, is found at the end of many words as a faintly sounded letter, and occurs in words in which the plural becomes *wŏk*, partaking apparently of the sound of w
ⁿ, nasalizes the preceding vowel
z, as in *zone*
ai, as in *aisle*
âi, as oy in *boy*

MENOMINI-ENGLISH

a''asĕn, stone.
abäq'so, deer.
abäq'so so'kum, abä'shush sho'kum, buckskin; from abäq'so, deer, and so'kum, skin.
abä'shŭsh, the deer; a gens of the Menomini.
abä'shush sho'kum, abäg'so so'kum, deerskin, buckskin (sho'kum, so'kum,=skin).
abi'sĭk, black; the general term, however, is ape'sĕn.
aiä'ni, to laugh.
aiä'nin, laugh.

aiä′niwŏk, they are laughing.
aiä′nuᵛ, the opossum, "laugher." So called because when one is touched or teased, he grins as if laughing.
ai′awis, ai′awish, first.
Aioněsh′i, "good-looking spotted animal;" personal name of a woman.
aka′mia, across, or on the other side of, the river.
âkaq′siwŏk, a game played with a wooden bowl and eight pieces of deer horn, resembling the Ojibwa game of plum stones.
âkas′siânŏk, pieces of deer horn (some of which are colored), used in a game similar to the Ojibwa plum-stone game. The pieces are put into a wooden bowl and violently shaken; after settling, the counting depends on how the pieces lie, the red and white sides uppermost. Used in the game of âkaq′siwŏk.
a′kemaq′tĭk, black elm; from a′kamok, snowshoe, and aq′tĭk, tree or wood, i. e., the wood used for making showshoes. The wood splints are used also in basket making.
aki′ko, those.
akim′, them; they.
akui′kikaᵛ, "he who draws out arrows;" a shaman who professes ability to withdraw arrows shot into people by other bad shamans.
akum′, these (animate pronoun).
ämak′, a bee; *pl.*, ämo′ak.
amo′pĕme, wax.
a′moso′poma, honey.
anä′, some.
ä′nä′maqki hawai′tokŏk, underground beings or gods, of whom the silvery white bear was chief.
änä′maqki′oq, beneath the earth.
Änä′maqki′sä, "little-thunder," a personal name.
ana′maqkiuᵛ, cellar; anything underground.
ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ, underground. Also denotes the evil beings who dwell in the earth, and who constantly antagonize the inä′mäqki′wŏk—thunderers—and the human race. These beings destroyed Na′qpote, the brother of Mä′näbŭsh; and they also gave the latter much annoyance at the time of his growing to manhood, and at the establishment of the Mitä′wit, or Grand Medicine society.
änä′mäqkiŭᵛ, inä′mäqkĭ′ŭ, 1. the thunder; the thunderbird; deities of the air, who cause the spring rains to come to produce vegetation. 2. One of the phratries of the Menomini Indians, embracing the kinĕ′uᵛ, shawa′nani′, pinä′shiu, opash′koshi, pakäsh′tsheke′u′, pekike′kune, ke′shewa′toshe, maq′kwoka′ni, kaka′kĕ, inäq′tĕk, piwat′inot′, omas′kos, and una′wanĭnk′.
anaq′, star; *pl.*, anaq′kŏk.
ânaq′kian, anaq′kion, mat.
â′naqkwŏt, cloud; *pl.*, â′naqkwŏtan.
Ane′mau, a German; *pl.*, Ane′mauwŏk′.
a′nemau paqki′sikan, rye; i. e., German bread, from Ane′mau, German, and paqki′sikan, bread, flour.
ane′pakaku′aqtĭk, black oak; the bark is crushed and boiled, and the decoction employed for sore eyes.
ani′no, those.
ânipi′ŏqkan, leaf; *pl.*, ânipi′ŏqkanan.
anŏ′peqkan, notch in the end of an arrow for the bowstring.
â′pätâ, half.
Â′pätâke′zhĭk, "half-the-sky," a personal name; from â′pätâ, half, and ke′zhĭk or ke′sĭk, sky.
ape′sen, black. Also äpi′sĭk.
Äpe′sen wä′mäqtiko′siŭᵛ, negro; i. e., black Frenchman, from äpe′sen, black, and Wä′mäqtiko′siŭᵛ, Frenchman.
aq′gots′, third.
aqkä′, kettle.
Aqki′nakŏshĕ′, "terrible-looking," a personal name.
aqku′apaqtâ′mä, the horizon.

aqpu′akan, a pipe bowl made of stone.
aqpu′akan nâq′tĭk, wooden pipe-stem; from aqpu′akan, stone pipe bowl, and nâq′tĭk stem, i. e., wood.
äq′tik, stick; piece of wood.
äs, placed before the cardinal numbers it forms ordinals, as äs nish′, the second; äs mita′ta, the tenth.
a′sabema′tĭ situ′a, to live.
ä′säni′u, angel.
a′sawĭq′kana, on the other side of the road.
ä′seäta′a, to do a thing; to act; to work.
ä′sepan, raccoon.
ase′päq, rock, stone.
asĕs′kĭ, mud.
äshâ′kan, mortar for crushing herbs and nuts.
äshâ′kanäq′tĭk, pestle; *lit.*, a mortar stick, from äshâ′kan, a mortar, and äq′tĭk, a stick or piece of wood.
asha′wĭk, there; at that place.
ashke′paki^{v}′, green.
äskä′, pine.
a′skaa′qpŭkŭ, an aquatic plant, growing to the height of 4 feet; roots used for medicine.
a′skikeshkipoto′, to saw.
a′skikesh′kisama′, to cut.
askĭ′paqtĭ′, to strike.
asmuq′kâhâ, east.
as′nik, west.
Âss′kâss, the Menomini word for Oshkosh, a city in eastern Wisconsin. The word signifies bear's claw. *See* Oshkosh.
a′tano′qĕn, a story; a narrative.
atshi′ke′sĭŭ^{v}, north.
atshi′ke′sĭwä′ĕnan, the north wind.
Âwai′etŏkwâ′beno′, "big-shade-coming-day;" a name applied to one of the mystic personages.
awai′tŏk, little.
awai′tŏk pa′niq, dwarf; from awai′tŏk, little, and pa′niq, boy.
Awâ′noqnĭŏ^{v}, "the-air-we-breathe;" personal name of a woman.
awa′nuqnĭ^{n}′a, fog; also a personal name.
awisi′an, when are you going?
Bäboq′kewĕŭ, woodcock; the old man who carved an old woman out of a poplar tree; mythologic.
Baiä′weqshĭ′, "that-which-rattles;" a personal name.
baku′oqtä′, belt of skin.
bakwa′tene′kan, cake sugar; maple sugar made in the form of small cakes, which is served to visitors and children, and placed before the grave-boxes of the dead as an offering of "first fruits."
bama′desitŭ′a, life; living people; bama′desitŭa pasa′ noqkiwŏk, living people must work.
bama′teshituŏg, the people; all people.
bäqki′, ashes.
bĕbo′na, a year; *pl.*, bĕbo′nan.
e^{n}, yes.
ehaiyom′, this, referring to animate things.
enâ′baqtâm, his dream.
ĕnâ′baqtan, a dream.
ene′qpe, then.
enĕ′, enoq, that.
eno′, this suffix to the cardinal numbers forms the multiplying numbers, as, su′asĭk, eight; suasĭk′-eno′, eight times.
es, shell; e′sak′, shells.
e′shika′nashi′kan, one side of his or her hips.
esh′ko′da, fire; *pl.*, esh′koden′.
e′sikan′ikĭŭ^{v}, half moon.
esko′tä, fire; also esh′kotä′, the same as the Ojibwa form.
e^{n}′tosheawŏk, to create; to cause to be born.
ganik′ni′pe′sĕ, long lake, a long narrow body of water.
geo′′netshĭ^{v}, to be surprised.
ge′sŏ, sun; usually pronounced ke′sŏ.
haiä′paqtaŭ tipäq′ka, midnight.
hanaq′kin, a mat, made of rushes or bark; general term for mats of any description.
hanaq′papĕqtsĭ, meteor, *lit.*, falling star.
hâ′ne, some.
ha^{n}ni′, a ball for playing games;

usually made of buckskin stuffed with hair; also, bullet.

hani'tiyŏn, fish spears.

ha'nŏke'sian, where are you going?

hanu^{n}'ĕ, rattlesnake; larger and longer than the common *Crotalus horridus*, possibly the prairie rattlesnake of the prairie-dog towns of North Dakota.

ha^{n}q', star; *pl.*, hanaq'kŏk.

hau'ka, affirmation; yes; that is right; it is well. The word is employed in the Medicine society by members when one salutes another by his proper title of relationship or as a friend; then the one so addressed responds by the above term.

hawä'nĕ, who?

Hawä'tok, God.

hawe^{v}', it is; that is.

he^{n}', yes.

hĭnĭ', and.

hiqka'tĕ, low, as low water.

hishe'ĕkĕ'ŭ^{v}, like; similar.

Hŏho'peshĕ', "little-whoops," a personal name, from hŏho', a call or whoop (onomatopoetic), and peshĕ', little.

Hoqpan'iuq'ki, "lung-woman;" a mythical female.

hos'kĭe^{v}, to do; to be able to perform an act.

ik, signifies color, and forms an inseparable suffix in all words pertaining to color.

inä'mäqkĭ'ŭ^{v}, ana'maqkĭ'ŭ, thunder; also refers to the thunder god; *pl.*, inä'mäqki'wŏk.

inän', natural.

inanä'bä, an ax.

inä'netshĭ'pai, "dressing the dead;" mitä'^{v} ceremony for the dead when a new candidate is brought forward to fill vacancy.

inä'ni, inä'niŭ^{v}, man—specific and generic designation; miq'kinä'ni, medicine man; shaman.

inän'oqpan', plant growing wild, having a tuberous root resembling potato, and boiled and eaten as such; the word signifies "natural potato," from inän', natural, and oqpan', potato.

inän'sho'pŏma, maple sugar; from inän', natural, and sho'pŏma, sugar.

inäq'tĕk, raven; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

ina'wetŏ', rattlesnake skin, for medicine bag.

inĕ'', in, at, then.

ĭno'otin, it is his?—used as an affirmation, and not as an answer to a question.

iom, this.

io's, here; at this place.

ishpe'kan, it is high.

Ka'dabaqshĭŭ^{v}, "one-who-broils;" a personal name.

kaiä'nomek ko'sa, "fishes," in general; proper names.

kaie'sani ne'awäq'kĭk, afternoon; from kaie'sani, after, later, and ne'awäq'kĭk, noon.

kaiis'nĕbäk, corpse—of man.

kaiyes', as soon; or, as soon as.

kaka'kĕ, crow; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

Ka'kikätshiwan, "everlasting falls;" a personal name.

kaku'ĕne, grasshopper; *literally* the jumper, the one who first possessed tobacco.

kaku'eneŭ^{v}, kaku'ĕne, the grasshopper, *lit.*, the "jumper," the one whom Mä'näbŭsh commanded to always remain a jumper, and an annoyance to tobacco growers.

kan, no.

kân. *See* kon.

käna'maqtsĭŭ snawaq'kĭk, mid forenoon.

kanau'mĕqtshĭŭ', before, as, before some other event occurs; previous to.

kana'wehe'a, take care of us; protect us.

kan'niwĭq'tiqtonan, I can not.

kaq'kŏp, string.

kaq'pape'shi, thread; made of the nettle mashân', or shä'nap, wild hemp. Also applied to common thread of foreign manufacture.

kaq'tse'idan, run, rapid movement.

Ka′shekoqkaŭ, "one-who-carries-light"; also applied to the moon. A personal name.

Kashkĭq′kapan, "the dark haze at the horizon." The name of a mythic female who dwells in the north, and who was visited by Mä′näbŭsh while the latter was still among the Indians.

Kä′tshemĭqtä′ŭ, "one-who-dances;" a personal name.

kawä′tokan, shades; mysteries. (See footnote, p. 39.)

Ka′wi′kĭt, "rough-face;" a personal name.

ke′au, thy body.

ke′bama′tisĭm, you live, or are alive.

kebit, your tooth.

kek, thy house.

ke′nach, thine; yours.

kene′puwe′mŭᵛ, you are standing (*pl.*).

Kĕne′shä, "eaglet;" a personal name.

Ke′niaqki′san, "little-eagle;" a personal name; from kinĕ′ŭᵛ, eagle, and ki′sa, little.

keno′kan, your hip.

ke′nuna′ha, to ascend; to go upstream.

kĕnu′shi shĭke′pŭ′ĭ, dwarf willows.

keŏ″′netshĭᵛ, to be surprised.

keqpâ′kan, it is thick.

kes, after, employed to indicate something that has occurred; forms a past tense prefixed to a verbal phrase; thy head.

ke′sĕkoq, heaven.

kesh, past; after; keshni′po, he is dead; kesh mâ′tshĭᵛ, "he is gone;" kesh mâ′tshiwŏk, they have gone.

ke′shawa′toshe, k′eshewa′tshe, sparrow-hawk, *Falco sparverius;* also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

ke′shĭk, blue.

kĕshi″′nĕ, swift flying, as birds of the genus *Falconidæ* dart through the air. Menomini form of Keshena, a village in Wisconsin. *See* Keshena.

Ke′shĭuqkäŭ, "moon-woman;" a personal name.

keshmâ′tshiwŏk, they are gone.

keshni′po, he is dead.

Kesi″′ĕne, Keshena, "swift-flying;" the name of a former chief of the tribe, and also the name of the village on the reservation. *See* kĕshi″′nĕ.

ke′sĭk, the sky.

ke′sik hasi′nakŭŏ, "blue color," from ke′sik, sky, and hasi′nakŭŏ, color.

ke′sikinâmin, I see the blue sky.

ke′sikŏt, day; ke′sikotŭn, days; nis ke′sikŏt, two days, from nis two, and ke′sikŏt.

ke′skanan, cut with an ax.

kesma′tshiado′, after they have gone.

ke′so, ke″′sŏ, the sun.

ke′spapa′kaman′, clubbed—with a stick, or pommeled with the fist.

kespi′äto, after they have come.

ke′sposhi′pahau, he, or she, was stabbed.

kes we′qtamŏwau, he has told.

Keta′kibihot, the striped one; the sunfish; also a mythic personage who participated in the game of ball between the people of Mä′näbŭsh and the ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ. The modern name is nak′uti.

kĕ″′tshinä′nĭŭᵛ, old man, from kĕ″′tshi or kĕtshi, old, aged; inä′niŭᵛ man.

keu′, thy wife.

Ke′waiatshi′wan, "the-eddy;" a personal name.

Kewäsh′kum, "to-cause-something-to-turn;" a personal name.

kewe′nĭmon, thy heads.

ki, it, he.

kikäse′nan, veins.

kikis′, thy son.

kikiso′wawŏk′, your sons.

ki′kituan′, council of Indians.

ki′kitŭ′wikŏ′mĭk, council home; from ki′kituan′, council, gathering of braves and chiefs; and wikŏ′mĭk, a habitation. The latter word is a variant of wig′iwam, and is rarely heard; also, as wi′kiŏp.

ki′kitwŏn, to talk, to speak.

kime′wan, kime′an, rain; also a personal name.
kina′, you; omitted from verbal forms.
ki′naq, yours.
kina′′tshishin, tickle him or her; *imper.*
kina′′tshiso′, he or she is ticklish.
kinaⁿuĕq′katayom′, "that you may feel good."
kĭnĕ′, you.
ki′nĕ, giant.
kĭnĕ′kitin, it is yours.
kĭnĕ′puam, thou art standing.
Kine′she, "young-eagle;" personal name.
kinĕ′uᵛ, golden eagle; a gens of the Big Thunder or Eagle phratry.
kinĕ′uᵛwai′denât, "coming-to-the-eagle;" the Menomini name applied to the beaver when he came to the Eagle phratry as the head of a gens. He is now second chief of the phratry. He came with an Ojibwa name, which meant "white hands," Wa′pinä′-kät, on account of the lighter color of the soles of his paws.
Kĭ′nĭaqki′sa, "little-she-eagle;" a personal name.
Kĭ′niaqki′ŭ, "eagle-woman;" a personal name.
kinis′, a long while.
kini′shipi′minaq′kiyă′, we two twist.
kĭnok′, skin.
kĭno′ka, "the-long-one;" a personal name.
kino′pik, snake.
ki′nua, you; we.
kinu′′ä, ye, yourselves.
kinu′′äkiti′nuä, it is yours.
kĭ′oᵛ, mother; ni′kioᵛ, my mother; o′kiun, his mother.
kipi′minaq′ki, we twist.
kiqkaq′kwun, shin.
kiqsĕ′se, girl.
kis, son.
kiseteq′se, little toe; *pl.*, kiseteq′san.
kise′wato′ssĕ, sharp-shin hawk.
kishä′, good, great; all powerful; Kishä′ Ma′nido, great mystery, the chief ma′nido of the many recognized by the Menomini.
Ki′shano′wĭŭ, "one-who-sheds-tears;" a personal name.
Kishe′wadō′shä, "swift-little-hawk;" a personal name.
Ki′shiwä′tshiwan, "roaring-rapids;" a personal name.
Ki′skapamiq′kĭŭ, "early-dawn;" the name of a mythic female who dwelt in the north. She was visited by Mä′näbŭsh, while the latter was still among the Indians.
kis′kâsh, toenail.
kis′pin, if.
kitâ′bâkŭs, lynx. (*L. canadensis* L.)
kitä′mi, kitä′mu, the porcupine; also a gens of the Bear phratry.
kititan, your sinews.
k′itosha′shishine′, we slipped.
kitshki′ŭᵛ, old.
ki′ŭᵛ, they.
Kiwaqkwo′′amuqk′, "flying-clouds;" a personal name.
kiyu′, that place; that spot.
ko′atan, afraid.
kŏke′an, to dive.
kokosh′, hog; pork.
kon, snow.
konä′pamik, "sacred thing," the shell, *Cypræa moneta*, employed by the medicine men in their ceremonies of initiation. The shell is apparently swallowed, the breath blown on the medicine bag, and then the bag thrust toward the candidate, by which action the shell is supposed to be shot into the latter's breast. The Ojibwa and Ottawa term for this shell is mī′gis; Potawatomi, wâp′miknŏk.
konwo′iak, nobody; *lit.*, not somebody.
koqke′wâba′, koqke′wâboq′, day after tomorrow.
koqke′wanâ′koᵛ, day before yesterday.
koq′kipikuq′ki, the mouse; a mythic animal that cut the sinew cord with which the sun had been tied.
koqnä′sŏk, thy fathers.
koq′ne, thy father.
kŭkŭ′kŭu′, owl; the horned owl. (*Bubo virginianus.*)

kuniq′katan′, frost.
Kushe′aqkĭ′ŭ, "French-woman;" a personal name.
kwapu′owe, o′kapu′owe, the hazel.
kwi′tshiwa′no, "current-from-above;" a personal name.
kwopŏ′, juice; sap, as of a tree.
mä′′äsĕ, many.
mä′ätĭk, stick counters, used in gaming.
mä′atĭkonâgan, wooden bowl; employed usually in playing the game of âka′qsiwŏk.
mä′ätikwop, bow, made of wood.
määtsh′awai′ĕdŏk, great mystery; from määtsh′—great, and wai′edŏk, unknown being. The latter word is seldom employed except to indicate the God of civilized peoples, the ordinary designation of a mystery or shade being ma′nido.
maioq′kaqa, sunrise.
mä′kese′sapakwa′tä, bead belt, used by shamans during ceremonials of the cult societies.
mamâ′kaᵛ, slave.
mamâ′tsĕĭta′, Indian; sometimes abbreviated in conversation to mamâ′tshim.
mama′tshĕ′tau, Indian; *literally*, "moving he is."
ma′matshĕ′′tawŏk, the Indians.
mamä′tshoqki, to gag, as when nauseated.
mä′näbai, giant; mä′nabaiwok, giants.
Mä′nabaiwŏk, giant people who dwell in the extreme pole, who fish by the light of torches; the light is seen against the sky as the aurora.
Mä′näbŭsh, the Menomini hero-god; the grandson of Noko′mis, and intermediary in the founding of the Mitä′wit or Medicine society, between the Great Unknown and the Indians; from mäshä′, great, and wabŭs′, rabbit; great rabbit, because of his ability to perform great deeds.
mä′′näkua, badger. In Menomini myth he received from Mä′näbŭsh the skin of the silvery white bear, one of the defeated underground beings.
ma′nät, plenty; sufficient.
mä′näto′wŏk, much game; name of Manitowoc, a Wisconsin town.
mä′nawats, few.
Mänä′wŏt, Menomini for the word Milwaukee; Mänä′waqkiik, the Potawatomi form.
maq′kak′, sugar box; made to hold granulated maple sugar. Made of birchbark, oblong, and a little narrower at the top than at the bottom. It has a conical cover, which is stitched down until the sugar is needed.
maq′käsin, moccasin; *pl.*, maq′käsinan.
mäqki′, blood.
mâq′kĭk, mäq′kĭk, maq′kĭŭᵛ, red.
mäqkŭ′ŏm, maqku′ŭm, ice.
maqku′ŭm babe′qtsin, hail; from maqku′ŭm, ice, and babeq′tsin, falling.
maqkwa′ninĕuk′, mythical red birds, who were in reality Indians so transformed, through the aid of magic powers. These birds were found by Mä′näbŭsh, in his travels while yet among the first Indians who existed.
mäq′kwâ′nŏp, wool belt, used by men as a sash.
maq′kwoka′ni, ma′quana′ni; red-tail hawk, *Buteo borealis*. Also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
mäq′sewan, wood.
mäq′tĭkpaqaq′tshikan, wooden mallet used by women to beat elm logs for the purpose of loosening the splints for making baskets.
mä′se, masĕ′′, many.
mase′naqnâtek, printed.
mäshä′, me′sha, great, all-powerful.
mashân′, nettle; a plant of the genus *Urtica*, the fiber of which is made into thread for sewing.
ma′shena′qekan, book, paper.
Mä′shĕnomäk, great fish; a mythic water monster which devoured many of the first people, but who was in turn destroyed by Mä′näbŭsh.

mashkiq′kiŭᵛ, medicine.
masko′tia, prairie.
masko′tia pisäq′kiŭᵛ, buffalo; from masko′tia, prairie, and pisäq′kiŭᵛ, cattle.
masse′nä, turkey.
mä′tehosh′, wooden canoe, or dugout.
mä′teko′min, acorn; *pl.*, mä′teko′minan.
mä′tĭk, tree; *pl.*, mä′tikŏk.
mä′tĭk wop, wooden bowl; ma′tĭk, tree, wood, and wop, bowl.
mäts, great.
Mätsĕwai′ĕdŏk, the devil; bad being. Literally signifies bad god, as the word Wai′ĕdŏk is employed to designate the God of the whites, ma′nido being the proper word to signify mystery or shade.
Ma′tshe hawai′tŏk, "bad being or mystery;" the devil.
matsheq′kewis, eldest brother.
mâ′tshi, great, celebrated, large.
mä′tshi, mä′tsi, bad.
Mätshikinĕ′ŭᵛ, Mät′sikinĕuᵛ, "bad-eagle;" a personal name.
Mä′tshiwiqkwa′wĭs, "she-who-governs;" the name of a mythic woman who dwelt in the north, and who was visited by Mä′näbŭsh during his wanderings.
matskiset′, big toe.
Mätwash′kät, "making-a-sound as-he-goes;" a personal name.
mawau′, all.
meäbĭt, me′bit, me′pit, tooth; ke′bit, your tooth; ni′bit, my tooth; we′bit, his or her tooth; *pl.*, me′pitan, me′bitan.
me′iŏᵛ, body.
me′kĕm, to give.
me′minem, to vomit; ni me′minem, I vomit.
me′mŏt, a friend; ne″at, my friend.
men, berry; *pl.*, meⁿ′nän.
me′na, me′nĕ′, hair; me′nĕ′nŭn, hairs.
menän′, to give to someone else.
me′nŏk, glans penis.
meno′mä, rice; the seed of the wild rice, *Zizania aquatica*, used to great extent by the Indians. The Menomini Indians are named after this seed. (See p. 12.)
mep, an arrow.
mepäq′kiqkwanâ′gan, ankle.
meqku′ŏm, the ice.
mes, head; mesŭn, heads; wes, his head; inä′niŭᵛ wes, man's head.
me′sha, mäshä′, great, all powerful.
me′shinika′ke, chicken-hawk (believed to be the swiftest).
me′sibine′bĭk, water demons; *pl.*, me′sibine′bikŏk.
me″simin, apple; *pl.*, me″siminŏk.
me′sokua′san, to sew.
me′tĭk, a stick, twig, or piece of wood.
me′tĭko′nĕ, canoe.
me′tsheshŏ′, he or she is eating.
metshe′shŏwŏk′, they are eating.
metshĭm′, food.
Mĭa′kinĕŭᵛ, "true-eagle;" a personal name.
mian′, straight.
Mia′nisĕ, "little-owl," the nickname of a tshi′saqka, named Na′waqkwäs′kum, "he-whose-feet-do-not touch-the-ground."
midân′, mouth.
migäq′sikwon, knuckle.
mi′hikan, a road.
mi′hikä′sä, a trail.
mikä′atshine, thumb.
mika′san, vulva.
mikä′tĭk, knee.
mikek′, otter.
mikoq′tägan, mikŏq′takan, throat.
mimä″anŏt, stomach.
mimä′nitä, brain.
mimä′tikwŏk, bowstring; the word is sometimes pronounced mimä′ätikwok.
mimot′, belly; omo′te, his belly.
minä′, right hand.
mi′naba′kan, right arm below elbow.
minä′maqtshian′, left arm.
minâ′pium, husband.
minâq′ki, armpit.
mi′ne′nenä′tshin, finger.
mĭ′nikân′, village; city, i. e., large village.
mino′gan, hip.
mi′nonâgan, breast, of a woman.
mi′noq kwu′ŏn, scalp.

mi'nudi'sen, bag, used to hold or carry rice.
mip, morning.
mi'qegân, a path.
mi'qikan, a road.
mi'qikä'sä, a trail.
miq'kä, forehead.
miqka'an, heel.
miqkä'no, the turtle; also a gens of the Bear phratry.
miqkât', leg.
miqke'sik, eye; miqke'sikun, eyes.
miqki'kan, neck.
miqki'mŭn, shell necklace, used by women and men at ceremonial dances.
miq'kinäni, "medicine man." A member of the Mitä'wit or Grand Medicine society.
Miqkinä'nĭŭᵛ, lucky man; a personal name.
miq'kinĕ'nĭ, a partisan, a leader; also a personal name.
miq'kiqkwu'ŏn, eyebrow.
miqkon', gall.
miqpâ'nŭn, lung.
miq'pepa'kun, rib.
miqtaq'pĕgan, chin.
miq'tawŏk, miq'tâwŏk, ear; miq'tawŏkun, miqtâ'wŏkan, ears.
miq'tigan, neck.
miqtshe'wäwŏk, right arm above elbow.
miqtshi'ikwŏn, thigh.
misâ'ba, lead.
mi'sägini'wi, bladder.
misäq'pa, footprint.
mise'kaqnan, hail.
mise'kaqnan, fine hail with first snow of the season.
miset', foot.
miset'esan, toes; *literally*, little feet.
mise'waiaq'tik, body or trunk of tree.
mishaq'kiminag'oshĕ'ŭᵛ, wheat; the grains of the cereal.
mi'shikine'bĭk, the mystic water monster that destroyed Na''qpote, the brother of Män'äbŭsh.
mishke'sik, eye; face.
mishke'sik, eye; mishke'sikan, eyes.
Mishkwo'panoq, "red-dawn;" a personal name.
misik', again.
mi'sikaia'wit, second.
miskâs', fingernail; toenail.
misse'wŏs, "wound medicine;" a remedy employed in the curing of arrow or bullet wounds.
mitä', heart; medicine.
mitä'', navel; otä', his navel.
mitä'ᵛ, a member of the Grand Medicine society of the Menomini Indians; *pl.*, mitä'wok. Ojibwa, midē'; *pl.*, mide'wok; Ottawa, mite'wini'ni, i. e., medicine man. Delaware, meteu, doctor, derived from *meteohet*, to drum on a hollow body; a turkey cock is sometimes called *meteu*, from the drumming sound of his wings. (Brinton and Anthony, Lenâpe-English dictionary.)
mitâ'gŏs, a warclub.
mita'mu, woman.
mitân', daughter; otâ'nan, her daughter.
mi'täni'niĕn, right arm.
mitâ'nikum, nostril.
mitâ'niqtĭ, war-spear.
mitâ'nmaq'kan, shoulder.
mi'tânoq'ikan, first finger.
mitä'nuniᵛ, tongue.
mitä'onâqan, medicine dish: a vessel employed by medicine men in mixing plants and roots for medicinal decoction or infusion. Ojibwa, midē'onâqan.
mitaq'piqkan, chin; jawbone.
mitäskuo'tsine, little finger.
mita'ta, ten.
mita'ta hai'awĭk, tenth.
mita'ta na''nihine', thirteen; i. e., ten and three.
mita'ta 'nano, ten times.
mita'ta ni'ananhine', fifteen; i. e., ten and five.
mita'ta ni'hine', fourteen; i. e., ten and four.
mita'ta niko'tine', eleven, i. e., ten and one.
mita'ta nikutwa'satähine', sixteen; i. e., ten and six.
mita'ta ni'shine', twelve; i. e., ten and two.
mita'ta no'qwikauhine', seventeen; i. e., ten and seven.
mita'ta saka'hine', nineteen; i. e., ten and nine.

mita'ta ssu'asĭkhine', eighteen; i. e., ten and eight.
mitä'towaq'ka, medicine drum; employed by mitä'wok during Medicine society ceremonies and initiation.
mitä'tsĭŏk', the shade or shadow which the Indian believes to hover about the place of death for four days.
mitau'gŏs, warclub.
mitau'niqti, war spear.
mitä'waqtĭk, medicine post, erected within the medicine building; from mitä', medicine; aq'tĭk, stick, post, or tree.
mitä'wikŏ'mik, the medicine wigwam; the structure in which the ceremonials of the shaman society is held. Ojibwa, mide'wigiwam. Ottawa, mite'wikŏ'mik. (See footnote, p. 70.)
Mitä'wit, the cult society of the Menomini; known commonly as the Grand Medicine society. Ojibwa, Mide'wiwin'. Ottawa, Mite'owin.
mitiq'san, skin leggings.
mitiq'suŏn, eat; ni mitiq'sĭm, I eat; ki mitiq'sim, thou eatest; me'tshesuŏq, he eats; kimi'tshiqsĭ, we eat; mitshiq'sikun, you eat; metshe'sŏwŏk, they eat.
mi'tisĭm, mi'tishĭm, to eat, eating.
mi'tshikiqkwe'wis, eldest sister.
mi'tshinŭe'^{v} ke'bama'tisĭm, you are still alive.
mitshi'os, nose.
mitshis'kiŭ^{v}, enemy; nitshi'kiu^{v}, my enemy.
miton', mouth.
mito'nine'sĕ, kidney.
mona'toäk, animals.
mo'nipiono'we, tamarack tree.
mo'qkaha, sunrise, *lit.*, digging something out of the ground.
moq'kuman, white man, Caucasian.
moqwai'o, maqwĕ'o, 1. The wolf. 2. A phratry, consisting of the Moqwai'o, Änäm', and Abä'shŭsh gentes.
mosh'kui'kwas, an aquatic plant found in cedar swamps, used as a remedy.
mo^{n}'s, moose; also a gens of the Moose phratry.
moskĭk', swamp.
mosku'tĭŭ, prairie.
Mowäq'kiŭ, eater—giant cannibals; referred to in mythologic tales.
muqke'sik, face.
mu'sâpä'ŭ^{v}, old bachelor.
mu'sâpi'aqkiŭ, old maid.
Mushaq'kwätuq'kĭŭ, "sky-woman;" a personal name.
nä'ĕna', elder brother—said by younger brother.
na'etä, smoke.
Nai'äqtäwâpami, "chief-of-a-multitude;" "can-not-but-be observed." A personal name, of the present second chief of the Menomini.
Naiäq'to, "certain-one;" a personal name.
naiĭk', sunset.
nai'omâ'gan, neck-yoke for carrying buckets.
naioq'tä, a carrier, a transporter.
na^{n}ish', we two; employed in dual form.
na^{n}'ish ni'kipa^{n}moqna'ŭ', we two are walking.
na'kawa'hekata^{v}, granular sugar.
nâki'sĭt, observed, seen, visible.
naku'ti, the sunfish; was formerly called keta'kibihot', the striped one, and as a mythic personage is referred to only under this latter designation in the ritualistic ceremonies. A gens of the Bear phratry.
namä'i^{v}, nomä'eu, sturgeon. A gens of the Bear phratry.
Nä'mäku'kĭu, beaver woman; a mythic being adopted by the Big Thunder phratry as one of its gentes.
namaq'tŏkanaq'tam, he struck it with the left hand, or left-handed.
nami'ŏqka, to kill sturgeon.
Nâ'motam', "tells-the-truth;" a personal name.

n'änä, näĕna′, elder brother.
na'nat'ska, humming bird, *Trochilus colubris*.
nä′natua, to kill, to destroy.
nä′nauwe′qta, a brave or warrior.
na''ni, three.
nä''nimau, tobacco.
na''ninŏ, thrice.
na''nino mita′ta, thirty; i. e., thrice ten.
na''nino mita′ta niko′tine, thirty-one; i. e., thrice ten, and one.
naniq′sĕ, a mouse (*Mus musculus* L).
nani′sĕ, rat.
näni′takina′kua, dusk.
na''niwŏk, three hundred.
na''niwŏk misik′ta niko′tine′, three hundred and one.
na′nokupaq′kwe, a carrying bag.
Nano′qke, an old name for the bear; the word survives in the ritual of the Grand Medicine society. The usual modern designation is owa′sse. The old term refers to one of the deities who was changed by the Great Mystery into an Indian.
nänoweq′tau, war chief.
napa′kiken, it is flat.
Nä′pote, also pronounced na'q′pote; an "expert marksman;" the name of the brother of Mä′näbŭsh.
näqka, evening.
Na′qkaha''amu, "plucks-blossom-from-the-tree;" a personal name.
Nâqkwesh′kum, "until noon;" a personal name.
Na''qpote, "expert marksman;" the brother of Mä′näbŭsh, who dwells in the "land of the setting sun," to await the arrival of the shades.
naq′se, younger brother.
n'ase, younger sister, or brother.
nä'se′, younger sister—said by elder brother.
Näsĕqkai′ĭk, "travels-alone;" a personal name.
Na′shikâ′pawe′, "stands-in-the-dark;" a personal name.
na′shipu′tshi′kan, fibers made of bark.
na′taho′toa, to look for; to search for.
nâ′tâwe′, a large, thick snake, like the viper; "has a face like a raccoon."
nâ′tâwe′, the missasauga rattlesnake.
Natom′pĕmo^{n}nĕŭ^{v}, "the first one to walk;" personal name of a woman.
Nätshi′wĭqkŏ', "he-who-bullies;" a personal name.
näwai′wan, sturgeon; plural of nämai′, or näwai′.
Na′waqkwäs′kum, "one-whose-feet-do-not-touch-the-ground;" a personal name of a tshi′saqka, whose nickname is Mia′nisĕ, "little-owl."
Nawaq′kweshkŭm′, "half-a-month;" a personal name.
Na′wata′winĕ′ŭ, "she-who-picks-berries;" a personal name.
näwä′ŭ^{v}′ "one-who-sees;" the name for the sand viper, *heterodon* sp?
'ndâ′, uncle—father's brother.
neât′, friend.
ne′au, my body.
nĕ′awäq′kĭk, noon, midday.
nebân′, sleep, to slumber; nibän′, dead; ni′bŭa, he is dead.
nek, my house.
ne′kan, the ground, soil, sand.
ne′kon, my houses.
nekot′eno, once.
nemak′, now.
ne′mâtŏk, elder or younger brothers.
nĕme′nekĕm, give to me.
ne′moak, a dance.
ne′naq, mine.
ne^{n}''nau′, killed; referring to many that may be killed, as fish or any other objects.
ne′ninau, our head.
ne′paqaqkwaq′tĭk, black ash.
nepäu′, death.
ne^{n}peno′ä, summer.
nepua′, dead.
ne′puam, standing.
ne′pue^{v}, he or she is standing.
ne′puwe′makŏt, it is standing.
ne′puwe′mŏk, they are standing.

Ne′qkoshi′anĕ′ŭᵛ, "hasty;" "high temper;" personal name of a woman.
nes, my head.
ne′′tau, brother-in-law; either sister's husband, or wife's brother.
nĕ′uᵛ, wife.
newe′newan, my heads.
ni, my, our; before words beginning with a consonant.
niᵛ, four.
ni′anăn, five.
ni′ana′nanŏ, five times.
ni′ana′niwŏk, five hundred.
ni′ananiwŏk′ misik′ta niko′tine′, five hundred and one.
ni′anan, mita′ta, fifty; i. e., five times ten.
ni′anan mita′ta niko′tine′, fifty-one; i. e., five times ten and one.
nibăn′, dead, deceased.
ni′bit, my tooth.
ni′bŭa, he is dead.
ni′daiă′nim, I laugh.
nidishi′eⁿnŏk, all brothers and sisters.
niᵛ′ino, four times.
niᵛ′ino mita′ta, forty; i. e., four times ten.
niᵛ′ino mita′ta niko′tine′, forty-one; i. e., four times ten, and one.
nik, sunset.
nika′dama′tschiâm, I am going.
nikan′; *pl.*, nika′ni, a colleague, or companion mitäᵛ or medicine man; a salutation employed by a member of the Mitä′wit when he enters and takes a seat.
Ni′kaniq′sakwä′ŭᵛ, "she-who-leads;" a personal name.
Ni′kânish′, "foremost-man;" a personal name.
nikaq′tshikam, I run.
nika′taminäm, I want to drink.
nika′timâ′tshiam, I am going.
ni′ka′timâ′tshiam wâba′, I am going tomorrow.
ni′ke′anka, I am born.
nike′sminäm, I did drink.
ni′keth mâtshiam, I have gone.
ni′′kĭoᵛ, my mother.
nikis′, my son.
niko′shimaq′, elder or younger sisters.
ni′kŏtke′so, month; from ni′kot, one, and ke′so, sun, and omitting, the word tabaq′, night—which is used to designate moon as "night sun."
niko′tono′, once.
ni′kŏts, one.
niku′tiqnŏk, one thousand; also sometimes abbreviated in rapid conversation 'nkut′wŏk.
niku′tuwäk′, one hundred.
niku′tuwäk′ misikt′a niko′tine′, one hundred and one.
niku′tuwäk′ misik′ta ni′shine′, one hundred and two.
nikutwa′sätä, six.
ni′kutwa′satahai′awĭk, sixth.
ni′kutwa′satä′ mita′ta, sixty; six times ten.
ni′kutwa′satä mita′ta niko′tine′, sixty-one; i. e., six times ten and one.
ni′kutwa′sätä nanŏ, six times.
ni′kutwa′sätä niwŏk′, six hundred.
ni′kutwa′säta′niwŏk misik′ta niko′tine′, six hundred and one.
nimä′nim, I am drinking.
nimäq′sa, nimaq′so, my grandfather.
nima′tseiṭam′, I am roving.
ni′me′, elder sister—said by younger brother.
ni′me′minem, I vomit.
nimi′kim, I give.
nimi′tishim, I am eating.
ni′mot, my brother.
nina′′, we; us; ourselves.
niⁿ′nä, I; myself.
nina′bema′tesim, I live; I am alive.
ninâ′minäm′, I shall drink.
nĭ′nanaiâ′wik, fifth.
niⁿ′nänik, my house.
niⁿnä′nitin, it is mine; *lit.*, I, mine.
ni′na′niti′nina, it is ours.
ni′na′′nomi, cough.
nine′puam, I stand; I am standing.
nine′puam′inau, we are standing.
nino′kan, my hip.
Nio′pet, "four-in-a-den;" personal name; name of the present chief of the Menomini, who is the son and successor of Osh′kosh.

nipa^{n}/moq ne/minau, we are walking.
nipe/shĕ, lake; Shawa/no nipe/she^{v}, Southern lake; a body of water in Wisconsin.
nipĕ/ŭ^{v}, water.
nipĕŭ^{v} pâ/kotĕ/ŭ^{v}, spray; from nipĕŭ^{v}, water, and pâ/kotĕ/ŭ^{v}, flying.
nipi/hikem, I paddle.
nipi/hike/men/aŭ^{v}, we paddle.
nipi/minaq/kim, I twist.
nipi/oshkun, bullrushes, used in making mats.
ni/pishkino/pik, water snake; from ni/pish, water, and kino/pik, snake.
ni/pon, my arrow.
nipui/nämä/, brother's son, or daughter.
niqe/, mother's brother—uncle; also applied to male cousin—sister's son.
nis, nish, two.
Nisĕt/, corruption of Elizabeth; a proper name.
nishi/menau/pihe/kĕ^{v}, we two paddle.
nishitŭa/piminaq/kitŭa/, they two twist.
ni/shiwŏk pihike/wŏk, they two paddle (dual form).
ni/sinŏ, twice.
ni/sino mita/ta, twenty; i. e., twice ten.
ni/sino mita/ta na/nihine/, twenty-three; i. e., twice ten, and three.
ni/sino mita/ta ni/ananhine/, twenty-five; i. e., twice ten, and five.
ni/sino mita/ta ni^{v}/hine/, twenty-four; i. e., twice ten, and four.
ni/sino mita/ta niko/tine/, twenty-one; i. e., twice ten, and one.
ni/sino mita/ta ni/ku twasatähine/, twenty-six; i. e., twice ten, and six.
ni/sino mita/ta ni/shine/, twenty-two; i. e., twice ten, and two.
ni/sino mita/ta no/qwikanhine/, twenty-seven; i. e., twice ten, and seven.
ni/sino mita/ta sa/kähine/, twenty-nine; i. e., twice ten, and nine.
ni/sino mita/ta ssu/asikhine/, twenty-eight; i. e., twice ten, and eight.
ni/sita^{v}, a foot.
ni/suwŏk, two hundred.
ni/suwŏk misik/ta niko/tine/, two hundred and one.
nit, my, our; before words beginning with a vowel and the aspirate h.
nita/nâbaq/tan, my dream.
nitä/nuni/ŭ^{v}, my tongue.
nitä/pinau/, I caught him.
ni/tshian, infant, male or female.
nitshish/kiŭ^{v}, enemy.
ni/ŭ^{v}, four; also pronounced ni^{v}.
niwi/no, fourth.
niwiq/tiqtan, I can; I am able.
ni/wŏk, four hundred.
ni/wŏk misik/ta niko/tine/, four hundred and one.
Ni/yätäwa/pomi, "a conspicuous or large person;" a personal name.
'nku/twŏk, one thousand; a rare contraction of niku/tiqnŏk.
no/kan, the hip.
Noko/mis, the grandmother of mankind and of Mä/näbŭsh and his brother Na/q'pote. The earth.
noma/ĕŭ, sturgeon; Noma/wiqkito, Sturgeon bay.
nomäi/, beaver.
nomäsh/, fish; also a personal name.
Noqko/mä, grandmother; the usual form is Noko/mis. This signifies also the earth, being personified as the mother of Mä/näbŭsh, the mythic deity who acted as intermediary between the Good Mystery and the Indians; the founder of the Mitä/wit, or Grand Medicine society.
noqnä/sŏk, my fathers.
noq/ne, my father.
noq/nĕ, father.
noq/nenau, our fathers.
noq/sĕsĕ/, grandson; granddaughter.
noq/wikan, seven.
noq/wikan hai/awĭk, seventh.

no'qwikan mita'ta, seventy; i. e., ten times seven.
no'qwikan ta''nĭwŏk, seven hundred.
no'qwikan ta''nĭwŏk misi'-kta niko'tine, seven hundred and one.
no'qwikata'na'no, seven times.
no'ten, wind; *pl.*, notenän.
nowä', late.
nowe'na, after a while; shortly.
nowe''nan, wind.
o, his; their; before words beginning with a consonant.
oka'kopena'kan, basket, made of thin splints of wood.
Okan'to, "boat paddle;" a town in Wisconsin—Oconto.
o'kapu'owe, the hazel; contracted to kwapu'owe.
oka'sanan', her vulva.
okä'skimânĭ', kingfisher.
okâ'wa, pike, a fish; Ogâq'kanĕ, the "place of pike;" the name for a town in Wisconsin, named Kaukau'na.
o'kawa'sĭkŭ, coot; also a gens of the Crane phratry.
O'kĕmawa'peshĭŭ^{v}, "chief-of-the-swans;" a personal name.
o'kian, his mother.
O'kimâsh, "younger-chief;" a personal name.
oki''san, his or her son.
o'kitshiwa'no, "on-the-summit;" a personal name.
oki'ŭ^{v}, can; able; to be able.
oko'qtaka'ni, by the throat.
oko'qtaka'ni nitä'pi^{n}nau', I caught him by the throat.
o'k'shŏsh, o''sass muskrat; the younger brother to the beaver, and a sub-phratry of the Bear phratry.
okwe'mau, chief; council chief; leader; a personal name; old chief, Shekâ'tshokwe'mau.
omä''nomi'nĕ'u^{v}, Menomini; *pl.*, omä'nominĕwok', from mä-no'mĕ, rice, and inä'niŭ^{v}, man.
omäs'kos, the elk; one of the younger brothers of the Big Thunder gens and phratry, and also the water carrier.
omâs'kŭs so'kum, antelope skin; from omâs'kŭs, antelope, and so'kum, skin.
omi'^{n}ni^{v}, wild pigeon.
o^{n}mot', belly—abdomen.
onâ'ko, onâ'ko^{v}, yesterday.
onäm', a dog.
onä'miqkĭu, thunder.
onä'nekŭot, sport; fun; amusement.
ŏnä'nin, to swim.
opäq'kwoni', his or her back.
o'päqni'sĕ, a boy; youth.
opäq'sus, a deer.
opa'shĕso'kum, buckskin.
opash'koshi, turkey buzzard; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
opi'kishika^{v}, one who dries the drum head by holding it toward the fire.
opi'shĭŭ^{v}, black.
opi'wĭkan, a bone with a hole through which fibers are drawn for smoothing.
oqkât', his or her leg.
oqko'man, oqko'mŏn, iron.
oq'nan, his father; oq'nanan, his fathers.
oqpän', potato; *pl.*, oqpä'niŏk.
oqpe'tawŏk, oqpe''tawŏk, the fliers; a term applied to the various birds composing the so-called thunderers, or the Big Thunder phratry, i. e., the eagles, hawks, etc.
oqpu'akan, pipe; nit oqpu'akan, my pipe.
oqt'äqkwan, a limb of a tree.
oqta'tisiĕ'ŭ^{v}, to be born.
os, the radical of the designation *father*, though usually combined in conversation with the pronoun, as no'sa—my father, etc.
osâm', "it to be;" it is; state of being.
o'sass, o'k'shŏsh, muskrat; the name also of a subphratry of the Bear phratry.
Osa'wapanoq'kiu^{v}, "the-greenish-tint-seen-at-early-daybreak." The name of a mythical female who dwelt in the north, and who was visited by Mä'näbŭsh while he was yet among the Indians. This woman was the wife of Pas'kinĕ'ŭ^{v}.

osâ′wa shu′nien, gold; from waisâ′wik, yellow, and shu′nien or ssu′nien, metal, money.
ose′kan, grass.
ose′kan kino′pik, small green grass snake, common in temperate climate.
ose′peo′me, his creek, or small stream; from reference to the original birthplace of the wolf, i. e., moqwai′o, wolf, and ose′peo′me, his creek.
osha′shishin′, he or she slipped.
osha′shishi′nŏk, they slipped.
osha′win, yellow.
oshi′kan, hips; pelvis.
oshkĕ′inä′niŭᵛ, young man; youth; from oske′ or oshke′, young, and inä′niŭᵛ, man.
Oⁿsh′koⁿsh, "claws;" Osh′kosh, late chief of the Menomini Indians.
O′shona′muni′qkĭŭᵛ, "vermilion-woman;" a personal name.
oske′, young; new.
oske′ ge′so, young sun, new sun; after daybreak.
oske′inäniŭᵛ, young man; youth; from oske′, young, and inä′niŭᵛ, man.
os′kima′moshiwe′, to copulate; original form of word found throughout northwestern and prairie tribes, mosh′ewe.
os′kimita′mu, young woman; a maiden; from os′ki, young, and mita′mu, woman.
os′kinä′ni, to kill.
os′kinä′niuᵛ, young man; from oskē′, young, and inä′niŭᵛ, man.
o′ski′nipa, to die.
os′se, a species of duck called the "old squaw;" also a gens of the Crane phratry.
ot, his; their; before words beginning with a vowel and aspirate h.
otä′tshia, the crane; a gens of the Crane phratry.
oti′nopi′ane, stern, of boat.
otoq′kaniman, amulet; charm.
otshi′tan, sinews.
otshi′aninŏ′ko, bow, of canoe.
otsi′pĕ, stump of tree; also applied to a root.
owä′otin, whose is it?
owä′qsĕ, owa′sse, a bear.
pa′kahe′kanak, sticks used by singers to keep time to the rendering of chants or songs: *literally*, singing sticks.
paka′nawe′, butternut tree; the wood preferred for dugout canoes.
pakaq′tshikä′sä, hammer.
pakäsh′tshĕkĕŭᵛ, swift-flying hawk; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
pâ′kotĕ′ŭᵛ, flying; nipĕ′ŭᵛ pâ′kotĕ′ŭᵛ, *lit.*, water flying; spray.
Päme′′net, "flying-by;" a personal name.
Pa′miki′shĭkŏk, "scattering-clouds;" a personal name.
pa′niq, boy.
papeq′tsinan, fall, drop, tumble.
päq′kewo′po, lye obtained from wood ashes and used in making solution in which to boil fibers, such as basswood bark, etc, for making cord or thread.
päq′ki, ashes.
päqki′nishe′ĕkĕ′ŭᵛ, flour; *lit.*, pulverized like ashes; from päq′ki, ashes, and neshe′ĕkĕuᵛ, like, similar to.
päqki′shitan, bread.
paqki′sĭkan, wheat; flour.
paqte′tshugan, "fighting medicine;" a substance given by Mä′näbŭsh to one of the ten who came for gifts.
Päsa′näqkwatŭq′kĭŭ, "the-touching-clouds;" a personal name.
pasa′noqkiwŏk, they must work.
Pa′shaano′qkĭŭ, "the-yellow-streak-of-vapor-seen-at-early-dawn." The name of a mythic female who dwelt in the north, and who was visited by Mä′näbŭsh, while the latter was still among the Indians.
Päshana′niuqkĭŭᵛ, "the bird's-tail-touching;" a personal name.
pa′siku′gäsi meno′mä, oats; *lit.*, horse rice, from pa′siku′gäsi, horse, and meno′mä, rice.
pâ′siwŏk, to dry, by hanging up to dry.
paskwo′hekan, wooden scraper used in dressing the soaked and stretched deerskin.

paskwo′hiki′, to scrape with a short scraper on a board, as when dressing deerskin.
pawa′hika′na, "the place where rice is knocked out" (of the ear).
pawa′qikan, stick for beating rice from the stalk; *pl.*, pawa′qikanan.
pawa′qikanäq′tĭk, threshing stick, used in beating rice from the hull.
pĕ′, the time; the period.
pe′ĕtĕŭᵛ, froth.
pe′ita, foam.
pekä′kanŏk, ribs of canoe.
pe′kike′ku′ne, a species of hawk that remains in Wisconsin during the winter; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
pe′kŭskŏk, to break up—as ice on a river.
pe′kwahe′kan, wooden scraper used in dressing the soaked and stretched skin of deer.
pe′mika′mĭk, sweat-lodge; sudatory.
pe′mĭn, sweat-bath; Ojibwa, mido′dowi′win.
pemo′ⁿnon, walk; locomotion.
pĕmo′tsiken, shoot, (generic).
pe′niki′konau, fish-hawk; also a gens of the Eagle phratry.
pepâ′kan, it is thin.
pe′pon, year; winter.
pĕqkiu′ᵛ, they do.
peqtshĕnama′wan, mitä′ᵛ bag, or sack used by a medicine man in which to carry sacred objects.
peq′tshi kŭn′a, medicine bag; a pouch made of the skin of an animal, a bird, or even a bear's paw or a snake skin, in which are carried the sacred objects of a medicine man.
peshe′, pise′uᵛ, pishĕ′u, panther; *Felis concolor*.
peswâ′ba, dawn.
Pe′′taŭᵛ mitä′mo, "bird-woman;" a personal name.
pe′tshikŏmâ′kan, snuff.
pe′wona′skin, reeds; aquatic plants.
pi′, to paddle.
pi′etät, arrive at or reach a place.
pi′hikekŭ′na, ye (*pl.*) paddle.
pi′hikem, he paddles.
pi′hike′nŭn, you (thou) paddle.
pi′hikewŏk, they paddle.
pi′kuaha, to tan.
pi′kŭihipâ′sha, tanned buckskin.
pi′kwohe′ko, to scrape, in an upright manner, as when dressing deerskin.
pi′minaq′kinun, thou twisteth.
pi′minaq′kŏ, he twists.
pi′minaq′kowŏk, you or they twist.
pi′minaq′kwan, twine, either of the stores or of domestic manufacture. The Indians employ the bark of the basswood for twine used in making mats, and also the wild hemp, shä′nap, and the nettle, mashân′.
pimoq′nĕ, he or she is walking.
pi′napishko′shina, come and eat me; the words used by Mä′näbŭsh to the water monster when he called the latter to destroy him.
pinäq′kŭan, comb.
pinä′shi′, pinä′shiu, bald eagle; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
pina′ssi, o′shet, "eagle-leg," a prairie plant having yellow flowers, used as a medicine.
pi′ŏt, to come or arrive at a place.
pĭpo′nä′neᵛ′, sparrow-hawk, *Falco sparverius*; also a personal name.
piq′kiman a′moqtaq′tĭk, purple color; from piq′kiman, preserve, and a′moqtaq′tĭk, dye.
piq′tanwan, quiver, for arrows.
pisäq′kĭuᵛ, cattle.
pise′uᵛ, pishĕ′u, panther (*Felis concolor*).
Pi′shäqku′uqkĭŭᵛ, "cattle-woman;" a personal name.
Pi′ta′nowĕ, "approaching-daylight;" a personal name.
Pi′taqka′mikuq′kĭŭ, "that-which-grows;" a personal name.
Pitwaiä′qkum, "coming sound;" a personal name.
Pi′twä′keshid, "coming-noisily;" a personal name.
Pitwäsh′kum, "coming-with-a-sound;" a personal name.

piwat′inot, beaver; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry. Former or archaic name, nomäi′.
poka′qtshi′ki, the duck hawk, literally "the hitter," because of his rapid flight in descent when after quarry.
poniq′kotan, frost.
pono′e, winter.
posi′pahatu′a, to thrust with a weapon or pole.
po′sitŭ′a', to get in or gain access to.
psha′kiwas, plants of which a decoction is rubbed on the legs by players in athletic games.
sagi′siᵛ, surprise; to be startled.
sa′'ĭe, now.
saiyi′kwakin′, in the spring (of the year).
sa′kä, nine.
sa′kăhai′awĭk, ninth.
sa′kä mitäta, ninety; i. e., nine times ten.
sa′kä mita′ta niko′tine′, ninety-one; i. e., nine times ten, and one.
sa′kä mita′ta sa′kähine′, ninety-nine; i. e., nine times ten, and nine.
sa′käta′'nano, nine times.
sa′käta'niwŏk, nine hundred.
sa′käta'niwŏk′ misik′ta niko′tine′, nine hundred and one.
saq′ke, mink.
säqkom′, saliva.
sa′wâna'nan, south wind.
sawä′newe′aq, have mercy on us.
sâwa′no, south; also ssâ′wa′no, and sha′wano.
sĕ′ko, weasel.
se′pe, river; Mi′nikâ′ni se′pe, Menomini river.
sĕqkum′, saliva.
se′wan, sweet.
se′weqnan, sour.
Sha′batis′, corruption of Baptiste (French); a personal name.
Shâboi′tŏk, "penetrating-sound;" a personal name.
Shaka′naqkwŏd′, "peeping-cloud;" a personal name.
shaka′shitaᵛ, wax sugar; maple sugar in a waxy form, made by throwing the boiling sirup upon the snow. When cool, it is wrapped in pieces of birchbark and served to friends and visitors.
shake′buqtam′, to bite (general term).
shak′shak′ĕu, great blue heron; also a gens of the Crane phratry.
shä′nap, wild hemp. This plant grows at times to the height of five feet, and is used by the Indians for making thread, the fiber being long and durable.
shawai′niqtu′um, bless us; have mercy on us.
Sha′wana ke′zhik, "southern-sky;" a personal name.
sha′wa′nani, fork-tail hawk; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.
shawä′ne me′aq, have mercy on us.
shawâ′no'nan, south wind; from sha′wano, south, and nowē′'nan, wind.
Shâwaq′ka, "yellow-wings;" a personal name.
shawä′shiqtshikan′, mercy.
shawas′ket, an aquatic plant, used for medicine.
sheko′, weasel.
sheshi′kimä′, hard maple; *Acer saccharinum*, the sap of which is boiled for making sugar.
she′wakamĭtä′ᵛ, sirup.
she′wan, sweet.
she′weqnĕn, sour.
she′weqtâ′ken, salt; "sour and sweet."
she′weta′kan, salt.
she′weta′kan kaq′kop, salted string; used in baiting rabbit traps.
she′weta′kan ni′ap, string of salt; a continuous cluster of salt crystals.
Shi′awäqkĭŭ′, "bend-in-the river;" a personal name.
shĭkâk′, skunk; Shikâ′kâng, the place of the skunk, the original form of the word Chicago. *See* shikâ′ko.
Shikâ′kâng, "the place of skunks," from shĭkâ′k skunk, and âng, the locative suffix. Shikâk′, by Potawatomi, Fox and Kikapu; also, Skikâgung, by Ojibwa.

shikâ'ko, shikâ'go, skunk, *Mephitis mephitica.* The original of the name *Chicago;* sometimes pronounced also shi'gâgo, the g being rather unusual, though it occurs in the Ojibwa form shigâ'gung, the place of skunks, *gung* being a locative suffix. In Ottawa the word is shikâg'unk, *unk* being the locative.

shike'mĕ. Hell-diver, a wading bird of the genus *Fulica.*

shikin', urine.

shi'pi, a river.

shipi'asho'pomäq'tĭk, soft maple; from shi'pi, a river; sho'poma, sugar, and äq'tĭk, a tree.

sho'kum, hide or skin, as of an animal; as abä'shŭsh sho'kum, deerskin.

Sho'mĭn, "raisin;" a personal name.

sho'pomä, sugar, of any variety.

sho'pomakwopŏ', sugar juice or sap.

sho'poqta, sucking, or tasting.

Shu'nïen, Ssu'nien, money; a personal name.

sik'si'kwan, a flat drum, or tambourine, used by the jugglers, or tshi'saqka, during the period of invocation and chanting. It consists of a wooden band, covered with buckskin, or *parfleche,* and is beaten with a light drumstick, consisting of a stick, from 15 to 20 inches long, with a ball of buckskin secured at the farther end.

sinâ'wäta, "rattling tail," i, e., rattlesnake, *Crotalus horridus.*

skita', to be born.

sŏ'kana''niŭ^{v}, soon.

so'kum, skin, of an animal.

ssa'sowi kino'pik, garter snake; from ssa'sowi, olive colored, and kino'pik, snake.

ssikâk'. *See* shĭkâk'.

ssisi'kwan, rattle, of gourd or tin, used in ceremonial dances as an accompaniment to singing and drumming. The contents usually consist of grains of corn, or gravel.

sso'poma, sugar.

ssu'asĭk, eight.

ssu'asĭk haĭ'anĭk, eighth.

ssu'asĭk mita'ta, eighty; i. e., eight times ten.

ssu'asĭk mita'ta niko'tine', eighty-one; i. e., eight times ten, and one.

ssu'asĭk ta''nano, eight times.

ssu'asĭk ta'niwŏk', eight hundred.

ssu'asĭk ta'niwŏk' misik'ta niko'tine', eight hundred and one.

su'baisĭok, wood-duck; *pl.,* su'baisĭokŏk.

tä, that.

ta''apĕ, when.

ta''ape misik' api'ĭan, when are you coming again?

Ta'kizhĭkoqk', "day-woman;" a personal name.

tako'sawŏss, "the powder that causes people to love one another," love powder. Prepared from vermilion, scales of mica, and menstrual blood of a virgin, ground together, and secreted about the person whose affection is desired. It is put in a thimble, with some article like a hair or piece of clothing belonging to the one whose love is desired, and carried by the person operating. Cf. wiq'kiqpi'nakan.

tä'kwäkwo'a, autumn.

tamo^{n}', a gray squirrel; also the proper name of a woman.

ta''nâga, where.

tani'nakua'na, certainly; response to a question.

tâ'nine'ŭ^{v}, every.

ta'no''ka, where.

ta'nokkaiis' oqta'tisi'an, where were you born?

ta''nuna'gan, a trap; me'tĭk ta''nunagan, "stick trap," for catching small game generally; wabŭs' ta''nuna'gan, "rabbit trap."

täpä'nimenaq, our master.

taqnä'no we'iak, everybody.

tâ'tshikaqun', tattoo marks.

tawa'hiqkan, a tambourine drum used in social dancing.

täwäq'ikan, a drum, of any description; particularly a drum of

three pieces employed by drummers of the Dreamer society.

ta′wâq′ka, drum used in ceremonies of the Grand Medicine society. It consists of a piece of wood hollowed out of a piece of tree trunk, about 15 or 18 inches high and from 8 to 10 inches in diameter, having a head of buckskin and a bottom of wood. Water is put into it to the depth of 2 or 3 inches, giving the drum greater intensity of sound, which may be heard several miles away on a quiet night.

ta′waq′ka′kwanä′tĭk, drumstick; from tawä′qkwa, drum, and aq′tĭk, stick or wood.

tĕ’, at that place, that, there.

temi′ŭ, it is deep—speaking of a river or a well.

tepă′kĕ′so, moon; *lit.*, last-night sun.

tepa′qkanokäwin, judgment.

tipäq′, night.

titaq′bĭŭᵛ, bitter.

tobaq′, night.

tobaq′ke′so, the moon; from tobaq′, night, and ke′so, sun.

toto′ba, the saw-whet owl.

towâq′ka. *See* ta′wâq′ka.

tshe′kabä′wa’san, the name of a bowlder of pink granite, on Wolf river, where the Menomini deposit tobacco as an offering to the Great Mystery; formerly an Indian, but was transformed by Mä′näbŭsh, because he wanted everlasting life, which, as a rock, he is supposed to possess.

tshi′anisikan, a yellow flower resembling the aster, dried and powdered. It is then used as a snuff for colds, etc.

tshik′tshitĕm, “water side,” i.e., shore.

Tshikwâ′set, “the-sound-of-the-thunder;” a personal name.

tshi′pate′ŭᵛ, it is protruding, as from the ground like a twig; it is standing, like a post.

tshipe′kainoᵛ, ghost feast; a ceremony of the Grand Medicine society observed before the ritual of initiation begins.

tshiq′kwan, meteor.

tshi′saqka, a juggler; one who foretells, and gives remedies for various diseases caused by invisible beings or evil ma′nidos.

tshi′saqkan, a juggler’s operating wigwam, made by erecting four poles at equal distances, north, south, east, and west. They are then wrapped about with bark, blankets, or skins. The juggler enters and invokes the turtle ma′nido to bring him other ma′nidos to consult regarding prophecies or to answer questions put by visiting Indians.

uke′souno′mĕ, crown of the head.

u′kiqkaq′tĭk, the jack pine, the roots of which are sometimes split into threads for sewing together pieces of birch or other bark, when making canoes or building bark huts.

umâ′nuĭ, cheek.

umu′neⁿ, toothache worm; when pain occurs in the joints, or teeth, it is believed to be caused by a small worm.

una′waninkˊ, pine squirrel; also a gens of the Big Thunder phratry.

uⁿnäˊ, his or her arm.

uⁿnäqˊ, hand.

uⁿnäq′keq′san, finger — little hand, from uⁿnäqˊ, hand, and keq′san, little.

uⁿnäq′keq′si, his or her fingers.

uⁿnäq′ki, his or her hand.

unâ′tawa′pin, lightning.

unâwa′nik, squirrel.

uni′tipaqkot, night.

uqpâ′niŭᵛ, his or her chest.

uq′puokan, pipe.

uq′puokan ina′niŭᵛ, the “pipe man,” the attendant to the musicians of the Dreamer society.

wä, what?

wâbaˊ, tomorrow.

wâ′bakinĕ′ŭᵛ, “white-eagle;” a personal name.

wâbanˊ, dawn; daylight.

Wâ′bashäĭŭᵛ, “white-dressed-skin;” a personal name.

wabä′shĭu, marten; also, a gens of the Moose phratry.

Wâ′batshi′kĭ, "white-fisher;" a personal name.

wâ′beno, a certain class of mystery men who profess prophecy, prescribe medicinal preparations, and, more particularly, make and dispose of love powders and hunting medicines.

Wâbenona′sĭe, "Mystery of the dawn;" a deity.

wâ′benoqki^{n}, wâ′beno woman.

wâ′benotowaq′ka, wâ′beno drum, shaped like a tambourine and used during incantations. The stick is thin and elastic, about 20 inches long, and has a small ball of buckskin attached to the beating end.

wâ′benuna′qsiwŏk, eastern people, people of the dawn; mythologic.

wâbish′kĭŭ^{v}, wabis′kĭŭ^{v}, white, or natural color of bleached rush leaves for making mats.

wâ′bitetshi′ŏ, white crane; was in myth originally a bear.

wabo′ian, blanket.

wâboq′, tomorrow.

wâboqpän′, swamp potato; a tuberous root found in moist places, and eaten by the Indians. The word comes from wabish′kĭŭ^{v}, white, and oqpän′, potato.

wabu′, broth; tea; juice; usually applied to infusions and decoctions, with specific determinative prefixed, as mashkiq′kĭŭ^{v} wabu′—medicine broth or tea, i. e., a liquid remedy.

wabŭs′, jack-rabbit or hare of the northwestern states.

wâgaq′koman, a draw-knife, used in smoothing split wood in basket-making, and for other purposes in woodworking.

waia′biskik, white.

waia′biskik ssu′nien, silver; from waia′biskik, white, and ssu′nien (or shu′nien), money, metal.

waies′kisi′nit, the good, referring to persons of superior moral traits.

Waima′′tekit′, "with bow-and-arrow;" a personal name.

Wai′sauwi′ta, "red-mouth;" the name of a mythic dog belonging to Mä′näbŭsh, the hero god of the Menomini.

waisâwĭk, yellow.

Wai′shikwonät′, "tail-of-the-great-fish;" a personal name.

waiwe′pisiŭ^{v}, he is in a hurry.

Waiya′wĕ′saq′ka, "he-who-is-powerful;" a personal name.

wâka′mĭu, clear, transparent, as water.

Wa′ketshan, "hunchback;" a personal name.

wä′ki, what?

wâkiv′, crooked.

wâkiv′nin, crooked river.

wa′kŏ, red fox.

Wä′mäqtiko′siŭ^{v}, French; Frenchman.

wâna′gä, outer bark, of tree.

wanâ′ke, bark of a tree.

Wa′naqko′′shĕ, "little-apex;" a personal name.

wani′tipäq′ka, night.

wâpäq′sĕ, marten.

wâ′pemin, grain of corn; *pl.*, wâ′pemi′nŏk.

wâ′sâ, far, distant. The Menomini name for Wausau, a town in Wisconsin.

wâseq′sĕ, catfish.

wäsi′huan, paint.

watab′, running or extending under the surface of the ground, as roots of trees, when used for making thread for sewing.

wata′boqpän′, a tape-like tuberous root, of yellowish color, used for food. It is boiled like potatoes.

wa′tane′ken, it is round.

wâ′tap, alder; *pl.*, wâ′tapen

wato′, ball.

watuq′siŭ, live coals.

wâwiaq′pitan, an eddy, in a water course.

we′bit, his or her tooth.

we′′etŏn, bud, of tree.

we′iak, somebody.

we′iwĭ′kekoq′semiq′egân, "old women's path"—the rainbow.

wek, his house.

wĕ′kiwam, house.

we′kop, basswood bark; obtained

from the young sprouts and used in mat making.
wĕ′kowan, their house.
we′nach, his; theirs.
we′nanan, man's hair.
we′nŏk, his penis.
we′ŏwi′kä, old woman.
wepenâ′âtä, soot.
we′pŏts, early.
weq′ke, sweet flag; calamus; a plant of the genus *Acorus;* the root is chewed for a cold, cough, or sore throat.
wes, his head.
Wĕ′′skinĕ′ŭᵛ, the chief of the kinĕ′ŭᵛ or eagles; a mythic personage who had combat with the chief of the owä′sse, bears, over possession of fishing grounds.
we′sŏkan, pungent; peppery.
we′sup, gall; bile. The owä′sse we′sup, or bear's gall, is used to transfer to an enemy a worm that is supposed ultimately to kill him or her.
we′wan, his wife.
we′win, bow of horn.
wi′dishi′anŭn, wi′dishi′′anun, a phratry or brotherhood, consisting of a certain number of gentes or clans.
wi′gĭ, birchbark.
wi′ki, bark. *See* we′kop.
wi′ki hosh′, bark boat; from wi′ki, bark.
wik′iŏp, a habitation of bark, brush, or wood. It is a corruption of wikŏ′mik, which in turn comes from wigi′wam (wigwam).
wikŏ′mik, a habitation made of logs, bark, or other material; a variant of wig′iwam.
wi′naq, wĭnĕ′, his.
wĭnĕ′otin, it is his; response to question, but if simple affirmation the word is inŏ′otin.
wi′nua, they; them.
winu′′äti′nuwaŭ′, it is theirs.
wī′ŏqkŭ′an, hat, head-covering.
Wios′kasit, "the-good-one;" a personal name.
wiq′kiqpinakan, small bundle of medicine carried in a thimble, which is suspended from a ribbon and worn under the clothing or about the neck. The "love-medicine" takos′wŏss is worn in this manner, together with a hair, fingernail paring, or a fragment of clothing, from the person whose affection is denied.
wiq′tiqtan, to be able.
wisâ′waskĭk′, green.
Wisha′noqkwŏt,"dense-cloud;" a personal name.
Wishi′wäŭ′ᵛ, "going-for-somebody;" a personal name.
wi′skiᵛ, good.
wop, bowl.
wotâp′, fir tree, the roots of which are split into threads for sewing together the pieces of birchbark in making canoes.
wu′tshik, wŭtsik′, the fisher; also a gens of the Moose phratry.
yom, this, applied to inanimate things.
yoq′pe, now.
yŏq′peoske′sikoq, yumke′sikŏt, today.

ENGLISH-MENOMINI

abdomen, oⁿmot′; omo′te; his abdomen, mimot′.
able, to be, oki′ŭᵛ; wiq′tiqtan; I am able, niwiq′tiqtan.
access, to gain, po′sitŭ′a'.
acorn, mä′tekomin; *pl.*, mä′teko′minan.
across, aka′mia; on the other side of the road, a′sawiq′kana.
act, to, ä′seäta′a.
affirmation, hau′ka; eⁿ′; the former being employed as a response to a salutation or greeting, and signifies "that is correct;" "that is it;" "it is well."
afraid, ko′atan.
after, kes; kesh.
afternoon, kaie′sani ne′aw′äq′kik, from kaie′sani, later than, and ne′awäq′kik, noon.
again, mĭsik′.
aged, kitshki′ŭᵛ; sheka′tshau; oka′tshau.
alder, wâ′tap; *pl.*, wâ′tapen.
alike, hishe′ĕkĕŭᵛ.

alive, I am alive; nina′bema′tesim.
all, mawau′.
amulet, otoq′kaniman.
amusement, onä′nekŭot.
and, hĭnĭ′.
angle, asä′niman; ä′sä′ni′wan.
animals, mona′toäk.
ankle, mepäq′ kiq kwanâ′gan.
antelope, omâskŭs.
anterior, kanau′mĕqtshĭŭ′.
apple, me″simin; *pl.*, me″siminŏk.
arm, right, mi′tăni′niĕn; his or her arm, u^{n}nä′.
arm, right (above elbow), miqtshe′wäwok.
armpit, minâq′ki.
arrive, to, pi′ŏt; i. e., to arrive at a specified place.
arrive at, to, pi′etät.
arrow, mep; my arrow, ni′pon.
arrow drawer, akui′kika^{v}, a man who is possessed of the power of withdrawing magic and invisible arrows shot by rival shamans.
ascend, a stream, ke′nuna′ha.
ash, black, ne′paqaqkwag′tĭk.
ashes, bäqki′; päq′ki.
at, inĕ″.
autumn, tä′kwäkwo′a.
ax, manä′bä.
bachelor, old, mu′sâpä′ŭ^{v}.
back, his or her, opäq′kwoni′.
badger, mä″näkua.
bag, na′nokupaq′kwe, for carrying small household articles; also a traveling bag.
bag, medicine, peqtshĕnama′wan; Ottawa, pin′dziqusân′.
bag, rice, mi′nudi′sen.
ball, wato′; ha^{n}ni′, usually made of buckskin and stuffed with deer's hair.
bark (of tree), wanâ′ke; wâna′qä;
bark (for mats) we′kop.
bark boat, wi′kihosh′.
basket, oka′kopena′kan; basket made of elm splints.
baton, pa′kahe′kanak; stick used by singers in keeping time as if striking an imaginary drum.
bead belt, mä′kese′sapakwa′tä.
bear, owa′sse; the word employed for bear in mythic tales and the Grand Medicine ritual is nanoq′kĕ. Sometimes pronounced, also, owäq′se. The Ojibwa word is noq′ke.
beaver, nomäi′; piwat′inot.
bee, ämak′; *pl.*, amo′ak.
before, kenau′mĕqtshĭ′nŭ.
being, state of, osâm′; it to be; it is.
belly, o^{n}mot′ omo′te; his belly, mimot′.
belt (of wool), mäq′kwâ′nŏp; used as a sash by men.
belt (of skin), baku′oqtä′.
berry, men′; *pl.*, me^{n}′nän.
bile, we′sup; miqkon′.
birchbark, wi′gĭ; wi′ki.
bite, to, shake′buqtam′.
bitter, titaq′bĭ′ŭ^{v}.
black, äpe′sen; abi′sĭk; äpi′sĭk; opishĭŭ^{v}.
black oak, ane′pakaku′aqtĭk. The bark is crushed and a decoction of it used for sore eyes.
bladder, mis′ägini′wi.
blanket, wabo′ian.
bless us, shawai′niqtu′um.
blood, mäqki′.
blue, ke′shĭk; ke′sĭk; blue color, ke′sĭkhasi′uakŭŏ.
boat. *See* canoe.
body, me′iŏ^{v}.
bone, perforated, opi′wikan; a bone with a hole through which fibers are passed in making cord and thread.
book, ma′shena′qekan′.
born, to be, oqta′tisiĕ′ŭ^{v}; skita′; I am born, nike′anka.
bow, wŏp; wooden bow, mä′ätĭkwŏp.
bow (of boat), otshi′aninŏ′ko.
bow (of horn), we′win.
bowl, wop; onâgan; wooden bowl, mä′ätĭk onâgan, used in playing the game of âka′qsiwŏk.
bowl, wooden, ma′tĭkwop; from ma′tĭk, wood, and wop, bowl.
bowstring, mimä′tĭkwŏk; mima′ätĭkwok.
box, sugar, maq′kak′.
boy, pa′niq; o′päqni′sĕ.
brain, mimä′nitä.
brave, a, nä′nauwe′qta.
bread, päqki′shitan.
break up, to, pe′kŭskŏk, to break up, as the ice on a river.
breast, female, mi′nonâgan.

broth, wabu′.

brother, ni′mot (my brother); elder brother, nä′ĕnä—said by younger brother. Younger brother, naq′se; elder or younger brothers, ne′mâtŏk; eldest brother, matsheq′kewis; brothers, ni dish′eⁿnŏk.

brotherhood, wi′dishi′anŭn.

brother-in-law, ne′′tau; may be either sister's husband or wife's brother.

buckskin, abäq′soso′kum.

buckskin (tanned), pi′kŭihipâ′-sha.

bud, we′′etŏn.

buffalo, masko′tiapisäq′kiŭᵛ; i. e., prairie cattle.

bullet, haⁿni′.

bullrushes, nipi′oshkun.

bull snake, nâ′tâwĕ′.

butternut, tree, paka′nawe′; wood preferred in making dug-out canoes.

cake sugar, bakwa′tene′kan; maple sugar molded in the shape of small cakes; served to visitors and friends, and also deposited in grave-boxes of friends and relations as an offering.

calamus, weq′ke.

call, a, hŏho′.

canoe, me′tiko′nĕ; bark canoe, wi′kihosh; dugout canoe, mä′-tehosh.

cap for head, wi′ŏqkŭ′an.

carrier, naioq′tä.

catfish, wäseq′sĕ.

cattle, pisäq′kĭuᵛ.

cellar, ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭᵛ; ana′-maqki′uᵛ.

certainly, tani′nakua′na.

charm, otoq′kaniman.

cheek, umâ′nuĭ.

chest (breast), his or her chest, uqpâ′niŭᵛ.

Chicago. From a Menomini word, shikâ′ko or shikâ′go—skunk. In the Ottawa language, Shikâ′gŭnk has the suffix *unk* as a locative, and signifies the place of the skunk, or skunks. In Ojibwa the word is Shigâ′-gung, the g commonly replacing the k of the Menomini, to which is added the suffix *ung* as a locative, thus making it, as before, "the place of the skunk," or, as it is usually designated, "skunk village." By the Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, and Kikapu it is termed Shikâk′. A Potawatomi woman, Kizhko′kwe (Day Woman), says that her uncle Suknak (Blackbird) used to trade at the post where the city of Chicago now stands, and that one day he and others saw a skunk trying to cross the river by swimming, but as the animal reached the middle it sank and drowned. From this circumstance, says Kizhko′kwe, the Indians always spoke of this locality as Shikâk′, it being a point where many gathered at stated intervals to trade and to receive goods. Cadillac says Chicagou was a post in 1683-1695, and remarks: "Le mot signifie la *Rivière de l'ail*, à cause qu'elle en produit naturellement sans aucun soin une très-grande quantité. Il y a là le village des Miamis, qui sont des gens fort bien faits; ils sont bons guerriers et extrêmement alertes. Ce sont de vrais et véritables lévriers."

chief, okwe′mau; old chief, sheka′-tsho kwe′mau; war chief, nä′no-weq′tau.

chin, mitaq′piqkan; miqtaq′pegan.

city, mi′nikân′; in the city, mi′nikâ′ni.

claws, "oⁿsh′koⁿsh′;" the interpretation of the word Osh′kosh.

clear, wâka′mĭu.

cloud, â′naqkwŏt; *pl.*, â′naqkwo′-tan.

club, war, mitâ′gŏs.

clubbed, ke′papa′kamau′, i. e., clubbed with a stick, or with the fists.

coals, (live) watu′qsiŭ.

colleague, nikan′; *pl.*, nika′ni; term applied by medicine men to all others present within the ceremonial structure.

color, the terminal inseparable, ik, is employed when speaking of and designating colors; hasi′-nakŭŏ.

comb, pinäq′kŭan.

come, pi′ŏt; after they have come, kespi′äto.
coot, shike′mĕ; o′kawa′sĭkŭ.
copulate, os′kima′moshiwe′.
corn (grain), wâ′pemin; *pl.*, wâ′peminŏk.
corpse, kaiis′nĕbäk.
cough, ni′na′′nomi.
council, ki′kituan′; council house, ki′kitŭ′wikŏ′mĭk — wikŏ′mĭk, a house, from wig′iwam.
counters, stick; mä′ätĭq; used in gaming.
crane, otä′tshia.
create, to; e^{m}′tosheawŏk.
crooked, wâki^{v}′; crooked river, wâki^{v}′nin.
crow, kaka′kĕ.
crown (of head), uke′souno′mĕ.
cut, to; kes′kanan, askikesh′kisama′.
dance, ne′moak. This word is also applied to the Dreamer society, usually called "the dance." It is claimed by some backsliding medicine men that it is a new degree of the Mitä′wit given by the Great Being to replace the preceding four degrees.
daughter, mitân′; her daughter, otâ′nan.
dawn, wâban′; peswâ′ba.
day, ke′sikŏt; *pl.*, ke′sikotŭn; two days, niske′sikŏt.
daylight, pi′ta′nowĕ; approaching daylight, wâban′.
dead, nepua′; nibän′; he is dead, ni′bŭa or keshni′po; dressing the dead, inä′netshi′pai, a mitä′^{v} ceremony pertaining to the Ghost society, or preliminary to the Mitä′wit ritualistic observances.
death, nepäu′.
deceased, nibän′.
decoction, wabu′.
deep, temi′ŭ; deep, as a stream or pond.
deer, abä′shŭsh; opäshe′; opäq′sus; buckskin, apäq′so so′kum.
destroy, to, nä′natua, by depriving of life.
devil, ma′tshe hawai′tŏk, from ma′tshe, bad, and hawai′tŏk, god.
die, to, o′ski′nipa.
dish, onâ′qan; wop.
dish, medicine, mitäonâ′qan.
distant, wâ′sâ.
dive, to, kŏke′an.
do, to, ä′seata′a; they do, pĕqkiŭ′^{v}.
dog, onäm′.
dream, ĕnâ′baqtan; his dream, enâ′baqtam; my dream, nita′nâbaq′tan.
drink, I am drinking, or, I drink, ninäq′sa; I shall drink, ninâminäm′.
drum, täwäq′ikan.
drum, medicine, mitä′towaq′ka. Ottawa, abâ′ana′kĭk, both medicine and war drum; from abâ′an, a sacrifice or roast, and a′kĭk, a kettle.
drum, tambourine, sik′si′kwan, used by wâbe′no and by gamblers. Ottawa, tewe′′igan.
drumstick, tawaqka′kwanä′tĭk; from ta′waqikan or to′waqkwa, and nätĭk′ or äq′tĭk, i. e., drum, stick. Ottawa, tewe′egan′atik.
dry, to, pâ′siwŏk.
duck (old-squaw duck), os′se; wood-duck, su′baisĭok; *pl.*, su′baisĭokŏk.
duck-hawk, poka′qtshiki, "the hitter."
dugout (canoe), mä′tehosh.
dusk, näni′takina′kua.
dwarf, awai′tŏkpa′niq, from awaitŏk, small, and pa′niq, boy.
dye, amŏq′taqtĭk.
eagle, bald, pinä′shiu; pinä′ssi.
eagle, golden, kinĕ′ŭ^{v}. Coming to the eagle, kinĕ′ŭ^{v} wai′denât. Little-she-eagle, Ki′niki′sa. Eagle woman, Ki′niaqkĭ′ŭ.
eagle-leg (plant), pinä′ssi o′shet, a prairie plant, bearing yellow flowers, used as medicine.
eaglet, kĕne′shä; also ke′niaqk′isan, from kinĕ′ŭ^{v}, eagle, and ki′se, little.
ear, miqtâ′′wŏk; miq′tawŏk; *pl.*, miq′kawo′kun.
early, we′pŏts.
east, asmuq′kâhâ.
eat, mi′tisĭm; mi′tishĭm; mitiq′suŏn. I eat, or am eating, nimitiq′sĭm; minito′shin; thou eatest, kimitiq′sĭm; he eats, metshe′suŏq,

me′tshe′shŏ; we eat, kimi′tshiqsĭ; you eat, mitshiq′sikun; they eat, metshe′sŏwŏk.
eddy, wäwiaq′pitan.
eight, ssu′asĭk; eight times, ssu′asĭk ta’nano; eight hundred, ssu′asĭk ta’niwŏk; eight hundred and one, ssu′asĭk ta’niwŏk misik′ta niko′tine′.
eighteen, mita′ta ssu′asĭkhine′; i. e., ten and eight.
eighth, ssu′asĭk haia′nik.
eighty, ssu′asĭk mita′ta; eighty-one, ssu′asik mita′ta niko′tine′.
eleven, mita′ta niko′tine′; i. e., ten and one.
elk, omäs′kos.
elm, black, a′kemaq′tĭk.
enemy, mitshes′kiŭˇ; nitshi′kiŭᵛ.
enough, manät′.
evening, näq′ka.
every, tânině′ŭᵛ.
everybody, taqnä′no we′iak.
eye, miqke′sik; mishke′sĭk; *pl.*, miqke′sikan; mishke′sikan.
eyebrow, miq′kiqkwŭ′ŏn.
face, muqke′sik; mishke′sĭk.
fall (down), papeq′tsinan.
falling, babeq′tsin.
far, wâ′sâ.
father, noq′ně.
feast, kainoᵛ′; as applied to ceremonial of the Ghost society or observances of preliminary ceremony of the Mitä′wit.
fetish, otoq′kaniman.
few, mä′nawats.
fiber, (made of bark), na′shipu′tshikan.
fifteen, mita′ta ni′ananhi′ne, i. e., ten and five.
fifth, nĭ′nanaiâwik.
fifty, ni′anan mita′ta; fifty-one, ni′anan mita′ta niko′tine′.
finger, mi′ne’nenä′tshin; *pl.*, mi′ne’nenä′tshinan.
finger, first, mi′tânoq′ikan.
finger, little, mitäskuo′tsine.
finger nail, miskâs′.
fingers, unäq′keq′san, i. e., little hand; his or her fingers, unäq′keqsi′.
fir, wotâp′.
fire, esko′tä; *pl.*, esko′tän; also e′shkota, as in Ojibwa.
first, ai′awis; ai′awish.
fish, nomäsh′; fishes generically and generally, kaiä′nomek ko′sa.
fish-hawk, pe′niki′konau.
fisher, wu′tshik; wŭtsik′.
five, ni′anän; five times, ni′ana′nanŏ; five hundred, ni′ana′niwŏk; five hundred and one, ni′ananiwŏk misikta niko′tine′.
flat, it is, napa′kiken.
flour, päqkĭ′nishe′ĕkĕ′ŭᵛ, literally, pulverized like ashes; from päq′ki, ashes, and nishe′ĕkĕ′uᵛ, like, similar to; also paqki′sĭkan—wheat, bread.
flyer, oqpe′’taᵛ, one who is a member of the thunderers, i. e., hawks, eagles, etc.; *pl.*, oqpe′tawŏk.
flying, pă′kotĕ′ŭᵛ, e. g., spray—nipĕ′ŭᵛ pâ′kotĕŭᵛ, “water flying.” Flying-by, Päme′’net, a personal name.
foam, pi′’ita.
food, metshĭm′.
foot, miset′; my foot, ni′sitaᵛ.
footprint, misäq′pa.
forearm, left, mi′nä′maqtshian′.
forearm, right, mi′naba′kan.
forehead, miq′kä.
forenoon, mid, käna′maqtsĭŭ; snawaq′kĭk.
forty, ni′ᵛino mita′ta; forty-one, niᵛ′ino-mita′ta niko′tine′.
four, ni′ŭᵛ; niᵛ′; four times, ni′wino; four hundred, ni′wŏk; four hundred and one, ni′wŏk misĭk′ta niko′tine′.
fourteen, mita′ta ni′hine′, ten and four.
fourth, niwĭ′no.
fox, red, wa′kŏ.
French, Frenchman, Wä′mäqtiko′sĭŭᵛ, Wä′mäq′tikosĭ′ŭᵛ.
friend, me′mŏt; my friend, ne′’at; neât′.
frost, kŭniq′katan′; poniq′kotan.
froth, pe′ĕtĕŭᵛ.
fun, onä′nekŭot.
gag (retch), mamä′tshoqki (to be sick).
gall, miqkon′; we′sup.
game, âkaq′siwŏk, played with eight pieces of deer-horn, four of which are colored. They are

shaken in a wooden bowl, and the result decided according to the number of white and colored sides uppermost. Also called âkas'-sîânŏk.

garter-snake, ssa'sowi kino'pik; from ssa'sowi, olive colored, and kino'pik, snake.

German, Ane'mau; *pl.*, Ane'mauwŏk.

ghost, tshĭpai'; tshipe'; ghost feast, tshipe' kaino^{v}'.

giant, ke'nĕ; mä'näbai; *pl.*, mä'nabaiwok.

girl, kiqsĕ'se.

give, to, me'kĕm; to give to someone else, menän; I give, nimi'kim; give to me, nime'nekem.

go, I am going, nika'timâ'tshiam.

god, wai'ĕdok; Hawä'tŏk; Hawai'-etŏk, the God of the whites.

gold, osâwa ssu'nien from waisâ'-wik, yellow, and ssu'nien or shu'-nien, metal, money.

gone, they are gone (not alive), keihmâ'tshi'wŏk; after they have gone, kesma'tshiado'.

good, kishä'; ki'tshi (rarely used); wiski^{v}; good looking, ai'oněsh'i.

granddaughter, noq'sĕsĕ.

grandmother, noko'mis; noqko'-mis; also a term for the personification of the earth.

grandson, noq'sĕsĕ.

grass, ose'kan.

grasshopper, kaku'ĕne, kaku'e-nĕ'ŭ^{v}, "the jumper."

great, ki'sha; mäts; mä'ts; mä'-tshi; Great Mystery, Kishä' Ma'-nido.

green, ashke'paki^{v}; wisâ'waskĭk.

ground, ne'kau.

hail, mise'kaqnan; fine hail with snow, first of the season. Maq'-kŭŭmbabe'qtsin, i. e., falling ice.

hair, me'nĕ'; *pl.*, me'nĕ'nŭn.

half, â'pätâ.

half moon, e'sikan'ikiŭ^{v}.

halloo, hiho'; hŏho'.

hammer, pakag'tshikä'sä.

hand, u^{n}näq'; his or her hand, u^{n}näq'ki; right-hand, minä'.

handed, he struck it left, nama'qtŏk anaq'tam.

hare, wabŭs'.

hasten, kaq'tse'idan.

hasty, ne'qkoshi'anĕ'ŭ^{v}.

hat, wi'oqkŭ'an.

hawk, chicken, me'shinikä^{v}'ke.

hawk, duck, pokaq'tshiki, "the hitter."

hawk, fork-tail. *See* kite.

hawk, red-tail, maq'kwokâni; ma'qkuana'ni; *Buteo borealis.*

hawk, sharp-shin, kise'wato'-ssĕ.

hawk, sparrow, pĭpo'nä'nĕ^{v}.

hazel, kwapu'owĕ; o'kapu'owe.

he, ki.

head, mes; *pl.*, me'sun; his head, wes; man's head, inä'niŭ^{v}wes.

heart, mitä'.

heaven, ke'sekoq.

heel, miqka'an.

hemp, wild, shä'nap; used for making thread and cord.

here, io's.

heron, great, shak'shak'ĕu.

hide (of an animal), sho'kum; so'-kum.

hip, no'kan; my hip, ni'nokan; your hip, keno'kan.

his, we'nach; wi'naq; wĭnĕ'; ot before words beginning with a vowel or aspirate *h*; *o* before a word beginning with a consonant. It is his, wĭnĕ'otin.

hog, kokosh'.

honey, a'moso'poma.

horizon, aqku'apeqtâ'mä.

horn-bow, we'win.

horse, pa'siku'găsi.

house (wigwam;) wi'kiŏp; wikŏ'-mik; my house, ni^{n}'nänik; ni wig'iwam; ni wikŏ'mik.

hummingbird, na'natska, *Trochilus colubris.*

hundred, niku'tuwäk; hundred and one, niku'tuwäk misik'ta niko'tine'; one hundred and two, niku'tuwäk misik'ta ni'sshine'.

husband, minâ'pium.

I, ni^{n}'nä.

I am drinking, nimä'nim.

I am going, nika'dama'tshiâm; I am going tomorrow, nika'doinâ-tshiâm wâba'.

I caught him, nitä'pinau'.

I caught him by the throat, okoq'toka'ni nitä'pinau'.

I did drink, nikes'minäm.

I have gone, nikéshmâtshiam.

I shall drink, ninâ′minäm′.
I want to drink, nika′taminäm.
ice, mäqkŭ′ŏm; maqku′ŭm.
if, kis′pin.
in, inĕ″.
Indian, mamâ′tsĕĭta′; sometimes abbreviated to mamâ′tshim; mama′tshĕ′tau, literally "he is moving," or the "moving one;" *pl.*, mamatshe″tawŏk.
infant, ni′tshian.
infusion, wabu′.
iron, oqko′mon.
it, ki.
it is, hawe^{v}′.
it is high, ishpe′kan.
it is his, ĭno′otin.
it is mine, ni^{n}nä′nitin.
it is ours, nina″nitinina.
jack pine, u′kiqkaq′tĭk.
jawbone, mitaq′piqkan.
judgment, tepaq′kano käwin.
juggler, tshi′saqka; jugglery, tshi′saqkan.
juice, kwopŏ.
jumper, kaku′enĕŭ^{v}, one who jumps; the grasshopper.
Kaukau′na, a town in Wisconsin; from the Menomini "ogâq′kanĕ," signifying "the place of pike." The Indians formerly fished there for pike—okâ′wa.
Keshena, from Menomini Kĕshi″nĕ—"swift-flying." The name refers to the village located on the Menomini reservation, and is also the name of one of Shu′nien's brothers. Their father, Josette, was one time fasting, and during his period of visions he thought he saw the air filled with many eagles and hawks, representatives of the Thunder phratry, flying rapidly by. This circumstance caused him to give the name Kĕshi″ne to the next male infant born to him, which occurred very shortly thereafter.
kettle, aqkä′.
kidney, mito′nine′sĕ.
kill, to, oskinä″ni; nä′natua; killed, na^{n}″nau′, referring to many that may be killed, as fish, birds, etc.
kingfisher, okä′skimâmĭ″.
kite, fork-tail, sha′wana′ni.
knee, mikä′tĭk.
knife, drawing, wâgaq′koman.
knuckle, migäq′sikwon.
lake, nipe′se; nipe′shĕ.
large, mä′tshi; ma′tshi.
late, nowä′.
later, ne′awäq′kik.
laugh, aiä′nin; to laugh, aiä′ni; I laugh, ni′aiä′nim; they are laughing, aiä′niwŏk; the laugher, aiä′nu^{v}, i. e., the opossum.
lead (metal), misâ′ba.
leader, miq′kinĕ′nĭ.
leaf, ânipi′ŏqkan; *pl.*, ânipi′ŏqkanan.
leg, miqkât′; his or her leg; oqkât′.
leggings, skin, mitiq′san.
life, bama′desiwin; living people; bama′desitŭ′a.
lightning, unâ′tawa′pin.
like, hishe′ĕkĕ′ŭ^{v}, i. e., similar.
limb (of tree), ŏq′täqkwan.
little, awai′tŏk, keqsan′; peshe′.
live, to, a′sabema′tisitu′a; you live, ke′bama′tisĭm; you are still alive, mi′tshinĕ′ŭ^{v} ke′bama′tisĭm.
long (time), kinis′.
look for, to, na′taho′toa.
love-powder, tako′sawŏss.
low, hiqka′tĕ, when referring to anything being low, as low water.
lung, miqpâ′nŭn.
lye, päq′kewo′po. Made from wood ashes and used for softening ligneous fibers in making thread and cords.
lynx, kitâ′bâkŭs.
maid, old, mu′sâpi′aqkiŭ.
mallet (of wood), mäq′tĭkpaqaq′tshikan.
man, inä′nĭ; inä′nĭŭ^{v}; *pl.*, inä′nĭwŏk; medicine man, mitä′^{v}; also miq′kiuäniu^{v}.
man, old, kĕ′tshinä′nĭŭ^{v}, from ke′tshi, old, and inä′nĭŭ^{v}, man.
Mä′näbŭsh, a mythic personage, who received from Kishä′ Ma′nido the ritual of the Mitä′wit or Medicine society, and who in turn instructed mankind therein; the grandson of Noko′mis, the earth; a hero-god, who, later on, became involved in many amusing affairs with the evil

beings and the animals, but who ultimately removed to a distant place from which he watches the welfare of the human (Indian) race. The word is from mä′tshi, great, all powerful, and wabŭs′, hare; i. e., the Great Hare, not so in size, but in power. Ojibwa, Me′nabo′zho. Ottawa, Nä′näbozho, from nänau′, foolish or insignificant; as he became involved in many silly affairs and lost caste, though ultimately being transported to another and better camping ground.

Manitowoc, mä′näto′wŏk, "much game;" a town in eastern Wisconsin.

Manitou-wauk, "The home or place of the spirits."—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 290, 337.

many, mä′se; masĕ′.

maple, hard, sheshi′kimä—*Acer saccharinum*; the species used for sugar-making.

maple, soft, shipi′asho′pomäq′tiki, from shi′pia, river; sho′poma, sugar; and äq′tĭk, tree.

marten, wab′ashĭu; wâ′päq′sĕ.

master, our, täpä′nimenaq.

mat, of bark, âna′qkian.

mat, of rush, hanaq′kin.

medicine, maski′ki; mashkiqkiŭ^{v}; medicine man, mitä′^{v}; member of Medicine society, miq′kinäni.

medicine bag, peqtshĕnama′wan; peq′tihikŭna.

medicine lodge, mitä′wikŏmik; mitä′wikiŏp; mitä′wigiwam. The inclosure or structure within which the Medicine society meets for the observance of the rites of initiation.

medicine man, miq′kinäni; mitä′^{v}; tshi′saqka (juggler).

medicine post, mitä′waqtĭk; erected in medicine inclosure during ceremonies of initiation.

medicine society, the, Mitä′wit.

Menomini′, omä′′nominĕ′ŭ^{v}; *pl.*, omä′nominewŏk′. From mä′nomĕ, rice, and inänŭĭ^{v}, man.

mercy, shawä′shiqtshikan′.

mercy, on us, sawä′newe′aq.

meteor, tshiq′kwan; hanaq′papĕqtsĭ, *lit.*, a falling star.

midday, nĕ′awäqkĭk.

midnight, haiä′paqtaŭ tipäq′ka.

Milwaukee. Pronounced by the Indians Me-ne-aw′-kee; a rich or beautiful land.—Grignon Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337. The Menomini designation is Mänä′wŏt. Shu′nien was told by a Potawatomi Indian that the country in the vicinity was very beautiful, with a river running through it, where the Indians went to fish. The Potawatomi furthermore stated that although he himself had frequently gone there to fish, and although the water seemed favorable as a good place, he could never catch anything. For this reason the Menomini employ the word above given to express the idea that "there was nothing where there ought to have been something."

mine, ne′naq.

mink, saq′ke.

moccasin, maq′käsin; *pl.*, maq′käsinan. Ojibwa, mak′kĕzin.

money, shu′nien; su′′nien; ssu′nien.

month, ni′kŏt ke′so; i. e., one sun; tabaq′ ke′so; i. e., night sun.

moon, kas′hekoqkaŭ, i. e., "one-who-carries-light;" tepäke′so, *lit.*, last-night-sun; half-moon, e′sikan′ikĭŭ^{v}.

moose, mo^{n}′s.

morning, mip.

mortar, äshâ′kan.

mother, ki′o^{v}; my mother, ni′kĭo^{v}; his mother, o′kiun.

mouse, naniq′sĕ. Koq′kipikqki, a mythic animal that cut the sinew by which the sun had been made a prisoner.

mouth, midân′; miton′.

mud, asĕs′ki′.

muskrat, o'sass′; o'k′shŏsh.

my, nit, before words beginning with a vowel, and aspirate h; ni before a consonant.

myself, ni^{n}/nä.
myth, a/ten/qen.
narrative, a/tano/qen.
natural, inän/.
navel, mitä/; his navel, otä/.
neck, miqki/kan; miq/tigan.
necklace (shell), miqki/mŭn.
Negro, Äpä/sen Wä/meqtikosiŭ^{v}, i. e., black Frenchman.
nephew, nipui/nämä/, i. e., brother's son.
nettle, mashân/; a plant of the genus *Urtica*, the fiber of which is made into thread.
new, oske/, oshke/.
niece, nipui/nämä/, i. e., sister's daughter.
night, tipäq/; tobaq/; uni/tipaqkot; wani/tipäqka.
nine, sa/kä; nine times, sâ/käta/nano; nine hundred, sâ/käta'niwŏk; nine hundred and one, sâ/käta'niwŏk misik/ta niko/tine/.
nineteen, mita/ta saka/hine/, i. e., ten and nine.
ninety, sa/kä mita/ta, i. e., nine times ten; ninety-one, sa/kä mita/ta niko/tine/; ninety-nine, sa/kä mita/ta sa/kähine/.
ninth, sa/kähai/awik.
no, kan.
nobody, kan we/iak; *lit.*, not somebody.
none, kan.
noon, nĕ/awäq/kĭk.
north, atshike'sĭŭ^{v}; the north wind, atshi/kesiwä'enan, one of the deities.
nose, mitshi/os.
nostril, mitâ/nikum.
notch (in arrowshaft), anŏ/peqkan.
nothing, kan.
now, sa/ie; yoq/pe; nemak/.
oak, black, ane/pakaku/aqtĭk; the bark is crushed and boiled in water; the solution is employed to bathe sore eyes.
oats, pa/siku/gäsi meno/mä; literally horse rice.
observed, nâki/sĭt.
Oconto, "boat paddle;" a town in eastern Wisconsin.
old, kitshki/ŭ^{v}.
olive (color), ssa/sowi.
once, nekot/eno; in Menomini the suffix eno/ is employed to make multiplying numbers from the cardinals; as ssu/asik, eight; ssuasik/eno, eight times.
one, ni/kŏts; one hundred, niku/tuwŏk; one thousand, niku/tiqnŏk; also abbreviated into'nkut/wŏk.
opossum, aiä/nu^{v}; *lit.*, the laugher.
Osh/kosh, a city in eastern Wisconsin. The name is that of the late chief of the Menomini Indians, âss/kâss—"bear's claw"—whose second son, Niopet, is at present the head of that tribe as well as judge of the Indian court. See p. 46.
otter, mikek/.
our, nit; before words beginning with a vowel, or aspirate h; ni before a consonant.
ours, ne/nach.
ourselves, nïna/.
owl, great horned (*Bubo virginianus*), kŭku/kŭŭ/; saw-whet, toto/ba, dodo/ba.
paddle, pi; I paddle, nipi/hikem; you (thou) paddle, pi/hike/nŭn; he paddles, pi/hikem; we paddle, nipi/hike/minau^{v}; ye paddle, pi/hikekŭ/na; they paddle, pi/hikewŏk; we two paddle (dual), nishimenau/piheke^{v}; they two paddle (dual), nishiwŏk-pihike/wŏk.
paint, wäsi/huan.
panther, pise/ŭ^{v}; peshe/; pishe/ŭ^{v}.
paper, ma/shena/qekan.
partisan, miq/kinĕ/nĭ; mash/kinĕniŭ^{v}.
past, kesh; is a prefix to a phrase relating to a thing or act thus acted or occurred; he is dead, keshni/po; they have gone, keshmâtshiwŏk.
path, mi/qegân; mi/hikan.
Pee-wau-kee, pronounced, and should be spelled, Pee-wau-naw-kee: the flinty place—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337.
pelvis, oshi/kan.
penis, me/nŏk.
people, bama/teshituŏg.

pestle, äshâ′kanäq′tĭk, i. e., mortar stick, from äshâ′kan and äq′tĭk, stick.
phratry, wi′dishi′anŭn.
pigeon, wild, omi^{n}′ni^{v}.
pike, okâ′wa, a species of fish; ogâq′kanĕ, "the place of fish"; the name of a town in Wisconsin, Kaukau′na.
pine, äskä′.
pine squirrel, naku′ti; the archaic name is una′wanĭnk, and occurs in mythology.
pipe, uq′puokan, oqpu′akan; my pipe, nit oqpu′akan.
pipe (of stone), aqpu′akan.
pipe stem, aqpu′akan nâq′tĭk, i. e., pipe stick.
place, that, kĭyu′; at that place, tĕ'.
plenty, ma′nät.
porcupine, kitä′mi; kitä′mu.
pork, kokosh′.
post, medicine, mitä′waqtĭk; a post in the medicine lodge or inclosure, during ceremonies of initiation.
potato, oqpän′; *pl.*, oqpän′iŏk.
potato, swamp, wâboqpän′; a tuber found in wet places, used for food.
powder (love), tako′sawŏss.
prairie, masko′tia.
preserve (of fruit), piq′kiman.
previous to, kanau′mĕqtshĭŭ′.
printēr′, mase′naqnâtek.
prophet. *See* juggler.
pungent, we′sŏkan.
purple, piq′kimana′moqta′qtĭk; i. e., preserve dye, or the tint of preserved plums or cherries.
quiver, piq′tanwan.
rabbit, wabŭs′.
raccoon, ä′sepan.
rain, kime′wan.
rainbow, we′iwĭ′ke koq′se miq′egân; i. e., "old women's path."
raisin, sho′min.
rat, nani′sĕ.
rattle, ssisi′kwan. Ottawa, shishi′ogwan (of gourd); same name if used for the same purpose.
rattlesnake, hanu^{n}′ĕ; the variety found in the prairie-dog towns; sinâ′wäta, i. e., rattling-tail, *Crotalus horridus;* Missauga rattlesnake, nâ′tâwe′; rattlesnake skin medicine bag, inä′wetŏ′.
raven, inäq′tĕk. In Cree, "käkâkiw" is the crow.
reach, to, pi′etät; i. e., to reach or arrive at a certain place.
red, mâq′kĭk; mäq′kĭk; maq′kĭŭ^{v}. Cf. blood.
reeds, pe′wona′skin—aquatic plants.
resemble, to, hesh′ĕkĕ′ŭ^{v}.
rib, miq′pepa′kun.
ribs (of canoe), pekä′kanŏk.
rice, meno′mä; the wild rice *Zizania aquatica*, after which the tribe is named.
rice-beater, pawa′qikan; *pl.*, pawaq′ikanan; a stick for beating rice from the stalk.
right arm, mi′täni′niĕn.
right hand, minä′.
river, se′pĕ; si′pĕ; she′pĕ; shi′pĕ. Menomini river, Mi′nikâ′ni se′pe.
road, mi′qikan; on the other side of the road, a′sawiq′kana.
rock, ase′päq.
root (of tree), otsĭ′pĕ.
round, it is, wa′tane′ken.
run, to, kaq′tse'idan; I run, nikaq′tshikam.
rye, a′nemaupaq ki′sikan, i. e., "German bread."
saliva, säqkom′.
salt, she′weqtâ′ken; i. e., "sour and sweet"; she′weta′kan, string of salt crystals, she′weta′kani′ap; salted string for baiting traps, she′weta′kan kaq′kop.
sand, ne′kan; asĕs′ki.
sap, kwopŏ; sap of maple, sho′pomäkwo′po′, i. e., sugar sap.
saw, to, ä′ski′keshhipoto′.
saw-whet owl, toto′ba; dodo′ba.
scalp, mi′noq kwu′ŏn.
scared, sagi′si^{v}.
scrape, to, paskwo′hiki.
scraper, paskwo′hekan; made of wood, and used in dressing deer skin; pe′kwahe′kan.
search, to, na′taho′toa.
second, misi′kaia′wit.
seen, nâkisĭt.
seer. *See* juggler.
seven, noq′wikan; seven times,

noq′wikata′na′no; seven hundred, noq′wikan ta′′nīwŏk; seven hundred and one, noq′wikan ta′′nowok misi′kta niko′tine′.

seventeen, mita′ta noq′wikan-hine′; i. e., ten and seven.

seventh, noq′wikan hai′awīk.

seventy, noq′wikan mita′ta.

sew, to, me′sokua′san.

Shawano. Name of a town and lake in eastern Wisconsin. An old Indian named Sha′wano—"Southerner"—formerly dwelt on the shore of the lake, which was subsequently named after him.

She-boy-gan, a hollow bone.—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337.

shell, es′; *pl.*, e′sak; konä′pämik, the *Cypræa moneta*, used in the ceremonies of the "Grand Medicine society." Mi′gis of the Ojibwa and Ottawa.

shin, kiqkaq′kwun.

shoot, to, pĕmo′tsiken.

shore, tshik′tshitĕm.

shortly, nowe′na.

shoulder, mitâ′mimaq′kan.

silver, wai′âbis′kik ssu′nien; i. e., white metal or money.

similar, heshe′ĕkĕŭ^{v}; hishe′ĕkĕŭ^{v}.

sinews, otshi′tan; titan′; your sinews, kiti′tan.

sirup, she′wakamĭtä^{v}.

sister, elder, ni′me′, said by younger brother; sisters, nidishê^{n}′nŏk; elder or younger sisters, niko′shimaq′; younger sister, na′se′; my elder sister, nema; my eldest sister, mi′tshikiqkwe′wis.

six, nikutwa′sätä; six times, ni′kutwa′säta na′nŏ; six hundred, ni′kutw′asätä niwŏk; six hundred and one, ni′kutwasätä niwŏk′ misik′ta niko′tine′.

sixteen, mita′ta nikutwa′satähine′; i. e., ten and six.

sixth, niku′twas′ätä hai′awīk.

sixty, ni′kutw′asätä mi′tata; sixty-one, ni′kutwa′sätä mi′tata niko′tine′.

skin, kinok′; so′kum; antelope skin, omâ′skŭs so′kum.

skunk, shĭkâk; shikâ′ko; shikâ′-go; place of the skunk, shikâ′-gŭnk. Ottawa, shi′kâgo; Cree, shikâk, sikâk; locative, sikâkôk.

sky, ke′sĭk; ke′shĭk. I see the sky, ke′sĭk inâ′men.

slave, mamâ′ka^{v}.

sleep, nebân′.

slip, to, he or she slipped, osha′-shishin′; they slipped, osha′shi-shi′nŏk.

slipped, we, ki′tosha′shishine′.

small, peshĕ′; âwai′tŏk.

smoke, na′etä.

snake, kino′pik; kine′bik.

snake, grass, ose′kan kino′pik, small green snake found in grassy places.

snake, water, ne′pish kino′pik.

snow, kon.

snowshoe, a′kamok; snowshoe tree, a′kema′qtĭk, name for black elm.

snuff, pe′tskikŏmâ′kan.

society, medicine, Mitä′wit.

soil, ne′kan.

some, anä′; hâ′ne.

somebody, we′iak.

son, kīs; my son, nikis; thy son, ki kis′, your sons, kikiso′wawŏk′; his or her son, oki′′san.

soon, sŏ′kana′′nĭŭ^{v}; as soon as, or as soon as, kaiyes′.

soot, wepenâ′âtä.

sour, she′wequĕn.

south, sâwa′no; ssâ′wâno; shâ′-wâno. *See* Shawano.

south wind, sa′wâna′nan.

sparrow-hawk, pĭpo′nä′nĕ^{v}; ke′-shawa′toshe.

speak, ki′kitwŏn.

spear (war), mitâ′niqtĭ, mitau′-niqti.

spears (fish), hani′tiyŏu.

spirit (of dead), mitä′tsĭŏk′; the "shade, or shadow," of the dead, which is supposed to hover about his home for four days.

spirits, kawä′tokan, i. e., supernatural beings.

spittle, säqkom′.

sport, onä′nekŭot.

spot, that, kiyu′.

spray, nipeŭ^{v} pâkotĕ′ŭ^{v}, i. e., "flying water."

spring (season), sayi′kwakĭn.
squirrel, unâ′waninᵏ.
squirrel, gray, tamo′ⁿ.
squirrel, pine, una′waninᵏ′.
stabbed. He or she was stabbed, kes′poshi′pahau.
stand, ne′puam; I stand, nine′-puam; thou art standing, kine′-puam; he or she is standing, nepueᵛ; it is standing, ne′puwe′-makŏt; we are standing, nine′-puam′inau; ye are standing, kine′puwe′mu; they are standing, nepuwe′mŏk.
star, anaq′, haⁿnaq′; *pl.*, anaq′-kŏk, hana′qkŏk.
startled, to be, sagi′siᵛ.
stern, of boat, oti′ⁿopi′ane.
stick, me′tĭk, äq′tĭk.
stick, singing, pa′kahe′kanak.
stomach, mimä″anŏt.
stone, a″asĕn, ase′päq.
story, a′tano′qen.
straight, mian′.
strike, to, askipaqti′; struck it left handed, namaq′tŏkanaq′-tam.
string, kaq′kŏp.
string, salted, she′weta′kan kaq′-kop; used for bating rabbit and other traps.
stump, otsi′pĕ.
sturgeon, namä′iᵛ; nomä′eu; to kill sturgeon, nami′ŏqka.
Sturgeon bay, Noma′wiqkito.
suck, sucking, sho′poqta.
sudatory, pe′mikamĭk.
sufficient, ma′nät.
sugar, sho′pomä; maple sugar, inä′nsho′poma, i. e., natural sugar.
sugar, granular, na′kawa′he-kataᵛ.
summer, neⁿpeno′ä.
sun, ke′so; ge′so; ke″so.
sunfish, naku′ti; keta′kibihot, i. e., "the striped one;" the archaic name. Ottawa, keta′kibi-hit.
sunrise, maioq′kaqa; moq′kaha, i. e., "digging something out of the ground."
sunset, naiĭk′; nĭk.
surprise, sagi′siᵛ.
surprised, geo″netshiᵛ; to be surprised, kes″netshi′ᵛ.
swamp, moskĭk′.
sweat-bath, pe′mĭn; Ojibwa, mido′dowiwin.
sweat-lodge, pe′mikamĭk; Ottawa, mädo′osân.
sweet, se′wan; she′wan.
sweet-flag, weq′ke.
swim, to ŏnä′nin.
talisman, otoq′kaniman.
talk, ki′kitwŏn.
tamarack, mo′nipiono′we.
tambourine-drum, täwä′qi-kan, used for social dancing.
tan, to, pi′kuaha.
tasting, sho′poqta.
tattoo marks, tä′tshikaqun′.
tea, infusion, wabu′.
ten, mita′ta, ten times, mita′ta′-nano.
tenth mita′ta hai′awĭk.
terrible-looking, Aqki′nakŏ-shĕ′; a personal name.
that, tä; tĕ″; enĕ′.
that is, hawe′ᵛ.
theirs, we′nach; ot, before words beginning with a vowel or aspirate h; o before a word beginning with a consonant; winŭ″ä ati′nuwaŭ, it is theirs.
them, akim′; wi′nua.
then, enĕ′; inĕ″.
there, tĕ″; asha′wĭk.
these, akum′—animate pronoun.
they, akim′; ki′ŭᵛ; wi′nua.
thick, it is, keqpâ′kan.
thigh, miqtshi′ikwŏn.
thin, it is, pepâ′kan.
thine, ke′nach.
third, aqgots′.
thirteen, mita′ta na″nihine′; i. e., ten and one.
thirty, na″nino mita′ta; i. e., thrice ten; thirty-one, na″nino mita′ta niko′tine′.
this, iom; yom; applied to inanimate things, ehaiyom′.
those, anino′; aki′ko.
thousand, niku′tiqnŏk; sometimes abbreviated, in conversation, to 'nku′twok.
thread, kaq′pape′shi; made either of hemp, nettle, or cotton.
three, na″nĭ.
three hundred, na″niwŏk; three hundred and one, na″niwŏk misik′ta niko′tine′.

threshing-stick, pawa′qikanäq′tĭk, for threshing rice from the hull or husk.
thrice, na″ninŏ.
throat, mikoqtägan; mikoq′takan.
throat, by the, oko′qtoka′ni.
thrust, to (with a pole or spear), posi′pahatu′a.
thumb, nikä′atshine.
thunder, inä′mäqkĭ′ŭ^{v}; *pl.*, inä′mäqki′wŏk, i. e., the flying gods; Little Thunder (personal name), Inä′maqki′sa.
ticklish; na″tshiso′, ticklish; he or she is ticklish, kina″tshito; tickle him, (imper.) kina″tshishĭn.
time, pĕ.
tobacco, nä″nimau.
today, yŏq′peos ke′sikoq; yumke′sikŏt.
toe, kiset; big toe, mats′ki′set; *pl.*, mise′tesan; little toe, kiseteq′se; *pl.*, kiseteqsan.
toe nail, miskâs′; kis′kâsh.
told, he has told, keswe′qtamŏ′wau.
tomorrow, wâba′; wâboq′.
tomorrow, day after, koqke′wâba′.
tongue, mitä′nuni^{v}; my tongue, nitä′nuni′a^{v}.
tooth, me′äbĭt; me′pit; *pl.*, mepitan; me′bit; your tooth, ke′bit; my tooth, ni′bit; his or her tooth, ne′bĭt.
tortoise, maqkä′no′; miqkä′no.
town, mini′kân.
trail, mi′qikä′sä.
transparent, wâka′mĭu.
trap, ta″nuna′gan; stick trap, or one for small animals, me′tĭk ta″nu′nagan′; rabbit trap, wabŭs′ ta″nu′nagan′.
tree, äq′tĭk, mä′tik; *pl.*, mä′tikŏk.
trunk, of tree, mise′waiqtĭk.
tumble, to, papeq′tsinan.
turkey, masse′nä.
turkey buzzard, opash′koshi.
turtle, maqkä′no, miqkä′no.
twelve, mita′ta ni′shine; i. e., ten and two.
twenty, ni′sinomita′ta; i. e., twice ten; twenty-one, ni′sino mita′ta niko′tine′.
twice, ni′sinŏ.
twig, me′tĭk; äq′tĭk.
twine, pi′minaq kwan; made of nettle, basswood bark, or such as is purchased.
twist, pi′minaq′kim; I twist, nipi′minaqkim; thou twisteth, pi′minaq′kinun; he twists, pi′minaq″kŏ; we twist, ki′piminaq′ki; ye or you twist, pi′minaq′kowŏk; they twist, pi′minaq′kowŏk; we two twist (dual), ki′nishipi′mi′naq′kiya; they two twist (dual), ni′shitŭa′piminaq′kitŭa.
two, nis; nish; two hundred, ni′suwŏk; two hundred and one, ni′suwŏk misi′kta niko′tine′.
uncle, 'ndâ′.
underground spirits, ânâ′maqkĭ′ŭ. The opponents of the Thunderers, and of all that is good.
up, to go, ke′nuna′ha, referring to up stream.
urine, shikin′.
us, nina″.
veins, kikäse′nan.
village, mi′nikân′; in the village, mi′nikâ′ni.
vomit, me′minem; I vomit, nime′minem.
vulva, mika′san; her vulva, oka′sanan′.
walk to, pemo′^{n}non; we are walking, nipa^{n}′moq ne′menan; he or she is walking, pimoq′nĕ.
war club, mitâgŏs; mitau′gŏs.
warrior, nä′nauwe′qta.
warspear, mitâ′niqtĭ; mitau′niqti.
water, nipe′ŭ^{v}; ne′pish.
Wau-ke-sha—pronounced by the Ojibwa, Waw-goosh-sha: the little fox.—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337.
Wau-pe-te-see-pe—the Indian word is Wee-be-te-see-pee: Tooth river.—Grignon, Seventy-two Years' Recol. of Wis. in Rep. and Col. Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, III, 1857, 337.
Wausau. An Ojibwa word pertaining to a town. The story told by the Menomini is that an Ojibwa was one time walking

by a hunter's cabin, in the direction of the place where this town has since been built, and as the hunter asked the Indian where he was going, he replied, "wâ'sâ, wâ'sâ,—far, far," meaning to a great distance.

wax, amo'pĕme.

we, ki'nua (sometimes used); nina'.

we two, (dual form), na^{n}ish'; we two are walking, na'ish ni'kipa^{n}-moqna'ŭ'.

weasel, sĕ'ko; sheko'.

west, as'nik.

whale, mä'shĕnomäk; a mythic water monster, erroneously termed a whale.

what, wa; wä'ki.

wheat, paqki'sĭkan; mishaq'kiminag'oshĕ'ŭ^{v}.

when, ta''apĕ.

when are you coming again? ta''ape misik' api'ĭan.

when are you going? awisi'an.

where, tano''ka; ta''nâga.

where are you going? ha'nŏke'-sian.

where were you born? ta'nokaiis' oqta'tisi'an.

white, wabi'skĭŭ^{v} wâbish'kĭŭ^{v}; "natural color," waia'biskik; generic, indicated by inseparable particle ik.

white man, moq'kuman.

who, howä'nĕ.

whoop, hŏho'.

whose is it?, owä'otin.

widower, se'kâĭ.

wife, nĕ'u^{v}.

willow, dwarf, kenu'shi shike'-puĭ.

wind, no'ten; *pl.* no'tenän; no we'nan; south wind, sha'wâ'na'-nan; north wind, Atshi'kesiwä'e-nan, one of the deities.

winter, pono'ĕ; pe'pon.

wolf, mâq'wa'io; moqwai'o. Wolf river, Mâqwai'o oshi'piomĕ, "wolf, his river."

woman, mita'mu; mitä'mu.

woman, old, ne'ŏwikä.

wood, mäq'sewan; äq'tĭk, ma'tĭk.

woodcock, bäboq'kewĕŭ; a mythic personage.

work, to, ä'seäta'a.

ye, kinu''ä.

year, bĕbo'na; *pl.* bĕbo'nan, pe'-pon.

yellow, waioâ'wik; osha'win.

yes, e^{n}.

yesterday, onâ'ko.

yesterday, day before, koq ke' wanâkŏ^{v}.

yoke, neck, nai'omâgan; used in carrying buckets of water, maple sap—when sugar making—and other articles.

you, ki'nua; kina'; kinĕ'.

young, oskĕ', oshkĕ'.

yours, ki'naq; ke'nach; it is yours, kinĕ'kitin.

yourselves, kinu''ä.

youth, o'päqnisĕ.

THE CORONADO EXPEDITION, 1540–1542

BY

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

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THE CORONADO EXPEDITION, 1540-1542

By George Parker Winship

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following historical introduction, with the accompanying translations, is the result of work in the Seminary of American History at Harvard University. Undertaken as a bit of undergraduate study, it has gradually assumed a form which has been considered worthy of publication, chiefly because of the suggestions and assistance which have been given with most generous readiness by all from whom I have had occasion to ask help or advice. To Dr Justin Winsor; to Professor Henry W. Haynes, who opened the way for students of the early Spanish history of the North American southwest; to Dr J. Walter Fewkes, who has freely offered me the many results of his long-continued and minute investigations at Tusayan and Zuñi; and to the careful oversight and aid of Mr F. W. Hodge and the other members of the Bureau of Ethnology, much of the value of this work is due. Mr Augustus Hemenway has kindly permitted the use of the maps and documents deposited in the archives of the Hemenway Southwestern Archeological Expedition by Mr Adolph F. Bandelier. My indebtedness to the researches and writings of Mr Bandelier is evident throughout. Señor Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta—whose death, in November, 1894, removed the master student of the documentary history of Mexico—most courteously gave me all the information at his command, and with his own hand copied the *Relación postrera de Sívola*, which is now for the first time printed. The Spanish text of Castañeda's narrative, the presentation of which for the first time in its original language affords the best reason for the present publication, has been copied and printed with the consent of the trustees of the Lenox Library in New York, in whose custody is the original manuscript. I am under many obligations to their librarian, Mr Wilberforce Eames, who has always been ready to assist me by whatever means were within his power.

The subject of this research was suggested by Professor Channing of Harvard. If my work has resulted in some contribution to the literature of the history of the Spanish conquest of America, it is because of his constant guidance and inspiration, and his persistent refusal to

consent to any abandoning of the work before the results had been expressed in a manner worthy of the university.

Before the completion of the arrangements by which this essay becomes a part of the annual report of the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, it had been accepted for publication by the Department of History of Harvard University.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP
Assistant in American History
in Harvard University.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,
February, 1895.

ITINERARY OF THE CORONADO EXPEDITIONS, 1527–1547

1527

June 17 — Narvaez sails from Spain to explore the mainland north of the Gulf of Mexico.

1528

April 15 — Narvaez lands in Florida.

Sept. 22 — The failure of the Narvaez expedition is assured.

1535

Cortes makes a settlement in Lower California.

Mendoza comes to Mexico as viceroy of New Spain.

1536

April — Cabeza de Vaca and three other survivors of the Narvaez expedition arrive in New Spain.

The Licenciate de la Torre takes the residencia of Nuño de Guzman, who is imprisoned until June 30, 1538.

1537

Franciscan friars labor among the Indian tribes living north of New Spain.

Coronado subdues the revolted miners of Amatepeque.

The proposed expedition under Dorantes comes to naught.

April 20 — De Soto receives a grant of the mainland of Florida.

1538

September — It is rumored that Coronado has been nominated governor of New Galicia.

1539

Pedro de Alvarado returns from Spain to the New World.

March 7 — Friar Marcos de Niza, accompanied by the negro Estevan, starts from Culiacan to find the Seven Cities.

April 18 — The appointment of Coronado as governor of New Galicia is confirmed.

May — De Soto sails from Habana.

May 9 — Friar Marcos enters the wilderness of Arizona.

May 21 — Friar Marcos learns of the death of Estevan.

May 25 — De Soto lands on the coast of Florida.

July 8 — Ulloa sails from Acapulco nearly to the head of the Gulf of California in command of a fleet furnished by Cortes.

August — Friar Marcos returns from the north and certifies to the truth

Sept. 2 — of his report before Mendoza and Coronado.

October — The news of Niza's discoveries spreads through New Spain.

November Mendoza begins to prepare for an expedition to conquer the Seven Cities of Cibola.
Melchior Diaz is sent to verify the reports of Friar Marcos.
De Soto finds the remains of the camp of Narvaez at Bahia de los Cavallos.

Nov. 12 Witnesses in Habana describe the effect of the friar's reports.

1540

Jan. 1 Mendoza celebrates the new year at Pasquaro.

Jan. 9 Coronado at Guadalajara.

Feb. 5 Cortes stops at Habana on his way to Spain.

February The members of the Cibola expedition assemble at Compostela, where the viceroy finds them on his arrival.

Feb. 22 Review of the army on Sunday.

Feb. 23 The army, under the command of Francisco Vazquez Coronado, starts for Cibola (not on February 1).

Feb. 26 Mendoza returns to Compostela, having left the army two days before, and examines witnesses to discover how many citizens of New Spain have accompanied Coronado. He writes a letter to King Charles V, which has been lost.

March The army is delayed by the cattle in crossing the rivers.
The death of the army master, Samaniego, at Chiametla.
Return of Melchior Diaz and Juan de Saldivar from Chichilticalli.

March 3 Beginning of litigation in Spain over the right to explore and conquer the Cibola country.

March 28 Reception to the army at Culiacan, on Easter day.

April The army is entertained by the citizens of Culiacan.
Mendoza receives the report of Melchior Diaz' exploration, perhaps at Jacona.
Coronado writes to Mendoza, giving an account of what has already happened, and of the arrangements which he has made for the rest of the journey. This letter has been lost.

April 17 Mendoza writes to the Emperor Charles V.

April 22 Coronado departs from Culiacan with about seventy-five horsemen and a few footmen.

April
May Coronado passes through Petatlan, Cinaloa, Los Cedros, Yaquemi, and other places mentioned by Jaramillo.

May 9 Alarcon sails from Acapulco to cooperate with Coronado.
The army starts from Culiacan and marches toward the Corazones or Hearts valley.

May 26 Coronado leaves the valley of Corazones. He proceeds to Chichilticalli, passing Senora or Sonora and Ispa, and thence crosses the Arizona wilderness, fording many rivers.

June The army builds the town of San Hieronimo in Corazones valley.

July 7 Coronado reaches Cibola and captures the first city, the pueblo of Hawikuh, which he calls Granada.

July 11 The Indians retire to their stronghold on Thunder mountain.

July 15 Pedro de Tovar goes to Tusayan or Moki, returning within thirty days.

July 19 Coronado goes to Thunder mountain and returns the same day.

Aug. 3 Coronado writes to Mendoza. He sends Juan Gallego to Mexico, and Melchior Diaz to Corazones with orders for the army. Friar Marcos accompanies them.

Aug. 25 (?) Lopez de Cardenas starts to find the canyons of Colorado river, and is gone about eighty days.

Aug. 26 Alarcon enters the mouth of Colorado river.

Aug. 29 Hernando de Alvarado goes eastward to Tiguex, on the Rio Grande, and to the buffalo plains.

Pedro de Alvarado arrives in New Spain.

Sept. 7 Hernando de Alvarado reaches Tiguex.

Diaz and Gallego reach Corazones about the middle of September, and the army starts for Cibola.

Coronado visits Tutahaco.

September to January The army reaches Cibola, and goes thence to Tiguex for its winter quarters. The natives in the Rio Grande pueblos revolt and are subjugated. The Turk tells the Spaniards about Quivira.

October Diaz starts from Corazones before the end of September, with twenty-five men, and explores the country along the Gulf of California, going beyond Colorado river.

Diego de Alcaraz is left in command of the town of San Hieronimo.

Nov. 29 Mendoza and Pedro de Alvarado sign an agreement in regard to common explorations and conquests.

1541

Jan. 8 Diaz dies on the return from the mouth of the Colorado, and his companions return to Corazones valley.

March Alcaraz, during the spring, moves the village of San Hieronimo from Corazones valley to the valley of Suya river.

April 20 Beginning of the Mixton war in New Galicia.

Coronado writes a letter to the King from Tiguex, which has been lost.

Tovar and perhaps Gallego return to Mexico

April 23 Coronado starts with all his force from Tiguex to cross the buffalo plains to Quivira.

May The army is divided somewhere on the great plains, perhaps on Canadian river. The main body returns to Tiguex, arriving there by the middle or last of June.

De Soto crosses the Mississippi.

June — Coronado, with thirty horsemen, rides north to Quivira, where he arrives forty-two (?) days later.

June 24 — Pedro de Alvarado is killed at Nochistlan, in New Galicia.

August — Coronado spends about twenty-five days in the country of Quivira, leaving "the middle or last of August."

Sept. 28 — The Indians in New Galicia attack the town of Guadalajara, but are repulsed.

Oct. 2 — Coronado returns from Quivira to Tiguex and writes a letter to the King.

November — Cardenas starts to return to Mexico with some other invalids from the army. He finds the village of Suya in ruins and hastily returns to Tiguex.

December — Coronado falls from his horse and is seriously injured.

The Mixton peñol is surrendered by the revolted Indians during holiday week.

1542

Coronado and his soldiers determine to return to New Spain. They start in the spring, and reach Mexico probably late in the autumn. The general makes his report to the viceroy, who receives him coldly. Coronado not long after resigns his position as governor of New Galicia and retires to his estates.

April 17 — De Soto reaches the mouth of Red river, where he dies, May 21.

June 27 — Cabrillo starts on his voyage up the California coast. He dies in January, 1543, and the vessels return to New Spain by April, 1544.

Nov. 1 — Villalobos starts across the Pacific. His fleet meets with many misfortunes and losses. The survivors, five years or more later, return to Spain.

Nov. 25 — Friar Juan de la Cruz is killed at Tiguex, where he remained when the army departed for New Spain. Friar Luis also remained in the new country, at Cicuye, and Friar Juan de Padilla, at Quivira, where he is killed. The companions of Friar Juan de Padilla make their way back to Mexico, arriving before 1552.

1544

Nov. 30 — Promulgation of the New Laws for the Indies.

Sebastian Cabot publishes his map of the New World.

1547

Mendoza, before he leaves New Spain to become viceroy of Peru, answers the charges preferred against him by the officials appointed to investigate his administration.

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT. PL. XXXVIII.

THE NEW SPAIN AND NEW MEXICO COUNTRY.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Causes of the Coronado Expedition, 1528–1539

ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA

The American Indians are always on the move. Tribes shift the location of their homes from season to season and from year to year, while individuals wander at will, hunting, trading or gossiping. This is very largely true today, and when the Europeans first came in contact with the American aborigines, it was a characteristic feature of Indian life. The Shawnees, for example, have drifted from Georgia to the great lakes, and part of the way back, during the period since their peregrinations can first be traced. Traders from tribe to tribe, in the days when European commercial ideas were unknown in North America, carried bits of copper dug from the mines in which the aboriginal implements are still found, on the shores of Lake Superior, to the Atlantic coast on the one side and to the Rocky mountains on the other. The Indian gossips of central Mexico, in 1535, described to the Spaniards the villages of New Mexico and Arizona, with their many-storied houses of stone and adobe. The Spanish colonists were always eager to learn about unexplored regions lying outside the limits of the white settlements, and their Indian neighbors and servants in the valley of Mexico told them many tales of the people who lived beyond the mountains which hemmed in New Spain on the north. One of these stories may be found in another part of this memoir, where it is preserved in the narrative of Pedro Castañeda, the historian of the Coronado expedition. Castañeda's hearsay report of the Indian story, which was related by an adventurous trader who had penetrated the country far to the north, compares not unfavorably with the somewhat similar stories which Marco Polo told to entertain his Venetian friends.[1] But whatever may have been known before, the information which led to the expedition of Friar Marcos de Niza and to that of Francisco Vazquez Coronado was brought to New Spain late in the spring of 1536 by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca.

In 1520, before Cortes, the conqueror of Motecuhzoma, had made his peace with the Emperor Charles V and with the authorities at Cuba, Panfilo de Narvaez was dispatched to the Mexican mainland, at the

[1]The Indian's story is in the first chapter of Castañeda's Narrative. Some additional information is given in Bandelier's Contributions to the History of the Southwest, the first chapter of which is entitled "Sketch of the knowledge which the Spaniards in Mexico possessed of the countries north of the province of New Galicia previous to the return of Cabeza de Vaca." For bibliographic references to this and other works referred to throughout this memoir, see the list at the end of the paper.

head of a considerable force. He was sent to subdue and supersede the conqueror of Mexico, but when they met, Cortes quickly proved that he was a better general than his opponent, and a skillful politician as well. Narvaez was deserted by his soldiers and became a prisoner in the City of Mexico, where he was detained during the two years which followed. Cortes was at the height of his power, and Narvaez must have felt a longing to rival the successes of the conqueror, who had won the wealth of the Mexican empire. After Cortes resumed his dutiful obedience to the Spanish crown, friends at home obtained a royal order which effected the release of Narvaez, who returned to Spain at the earliest opportunity. Almost as soon as he had established himself anew in the favor of the court, he petitioned the King for a license which should permit him to conduct explorations in the New World. After some delay, the desired patent was granted. It authorized Narvaez to explore, conquer, and colonize the country between Florida and the Rio de Palmas, a grant comprising all that portion of North America bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, which is now included within the limits of the United States. Preparations were at once begun for the complete organization of an expedition suitable to the extent of this territory and to the power and dignity of its governor.

On June 17, 1527, Narvaez, governor of Florida, Rio de Palmas and Espiritu Santo—the Rio Grande and the Mississippi on our modern maps—sailed from Spain. He went first to Cuba, where he refitted his fleet and replaced one vessel which had been lost in a hurricane during the voyage. When everything was ready to start for the unexplored mainland, he ordered the pilots to conduct his fleet to the western limits of his jurisdiction—our Texas. They landed him, April 15, 1528, on the coast of the present Florida, at a bay which the Spaniards called Bahia de la Cruz, and which the map of Sebastian Cabot enables us to identify with Apalache bay. The pilots knew that a storm had driven them out of their course toward the east, but they could not calculate on the strong current of the gulf stream. They assured the commander that he was not far from the Rio de Palmas, the desired destination, and so he landed his force of 50 horses and 300 men—just half the number of the soldiers, mechanics, laborers, and priests who had started with him from Spain ten months before. He sent one of his vessels back to Cuba for recruits, and ordered the remaining three to sail along the coast toward the west and to wait for the army at the fine harbor of Panuco, which was reported to be near the mouth of Palmas river. The fate of these vessels is not known.

Narvaez, having completed these arrangements, made ready to lead his army overland to Panuco. The march began April 19. For a while, the Spaniards took a northerly direction, and then they turned toward the west. Progress was slow, for the men knew nothing of the country, and the forests and morasses presented many difficulties to the soldiers

unused to woodcraft. Little help could be procured from the Indians, who soon became openly hostile wherever the Spaniards encountered them. Food grew scarce, and no persuasion could induce the natives to reveal hidden stores of corn, or of gold. On May 15, tired and discouraged, the Spaniards reached a large river with a strong current flowing toward the south. They rested here, while Cabeza de Vaca, the royal treasurer accompanying the expedition, took a small party of soldiers and followed the banks of the river down to the sea. The fleet was not waiting for them at the mouth of this stream, nor could anything be learned of the fine harbor for which they were searching. Disappointed anew by the report which Cabeza de Vaca made on his return to the main camp, the Spanish soldiers crossed the river and continued their march toward the west. They plodded on and on, and after awhile turned southward, to follow down the course of another large river which blocked their westward march. On the last day of July they reached a bay of considerable size, at the mouth of the river. They named this Bahia de los Cavallos, perhaps, as has been surmised, because it was here that they killed the last of their horses for food. The Spaniards, long before this, had become thoroughly disheartened. Neither food nor gold could be found. The capital cities, toward which the Indian captives had directed the wandering strangers, when reached, were mere groups of huts, situated in some cases on mounds of earth. Not a sign of anything which would reward their search, and hardly a thing to eat, had been discovered during the months of toilsome marching. The Spaniards determined to leave the country. They constructed forges in their camp near the seashore, and hammered their spurs, stirrups, and other iron implements of warfare into nails and saws and axes, with which to build the boats necessary for their escape from the country. Ropes were made of the tails and manes of the horses, whose hides, pieced out with the shirts of the men, were fashioned into sails. By September 22, five boats were ready, each large enough to hold between 45 and 50 men. In these the soldiers embarked. Scarcely a man among them knew anything of navigation, and they certainly knew nothing about the navigation of this coast. They steered westward, keeping near the land, and stopping occasionally for fresh water. Sometimes they obtained a little food.

Toward the end of October they came to the mouth of a large river which poured forth so strong a current that it drove the boats out to sea. Two, those which contained Narvaez and the friars, were lost. The men in the other three boats were driven ashore by a storm, somewhere on the coast of western Louisiana or eastern Texas.[1] This was

[1] The most important source of information regarding the expedition of Narvaez is the Relation written by Cabeza de Vaca. This is best consulted in Buckingham Smith's translation. Mr Smith includes in his volume everything which he could find to supplement the main narration. The best study of the route followed by the survivors of the expedition, after they landed in Texas, is that of Bandelier in the second chapter of his Contributions to the History of the Southwest. In this essay Bandelier has brought together all the documentary evidence, and he writes with the knowledge obtained by traveling through the different portions of the country which Cabeza de Vaca must have

in the winter of 1528–29. Toward the end of April, 1536, Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, Andres Dorantes, and a negro named Estevan, met some Spanish slave catchers near the Rio de Petatlan, in Sinaloa, west of the mountains which border the Gulf of California. These four men, with a single exception,[1] were the only survivors of the three hundred who had entered the continent with Narvaez eight years before.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions stayed in Mexico for several months, as the guests of the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza. At first, it was probably the intention of the three Spaniards to return to Spain, in order to claim the due reward for their manifold sufferings. Mendoza says, in a letter dated December 10, 1537,[2] that he purchased the negro Estevan from Dorantes, so that there might be someone left in New Spain who could guide an expedition back into the countries about which the wanderers had heard. An earlier letter from the viceroy, dated February 11, 1537, commends Cabeza de Vaca and *Francisco* Dorantes—he must have meant Andres, and perhaps wrote it so in his original manuscript—as deserving the favor of the Empress. Maldonado is not mentioned in this letter, and no trace of him has been found after the arrival of the four survivors in Mexico. All that we know about him is that his home was in Salamanca.[3]

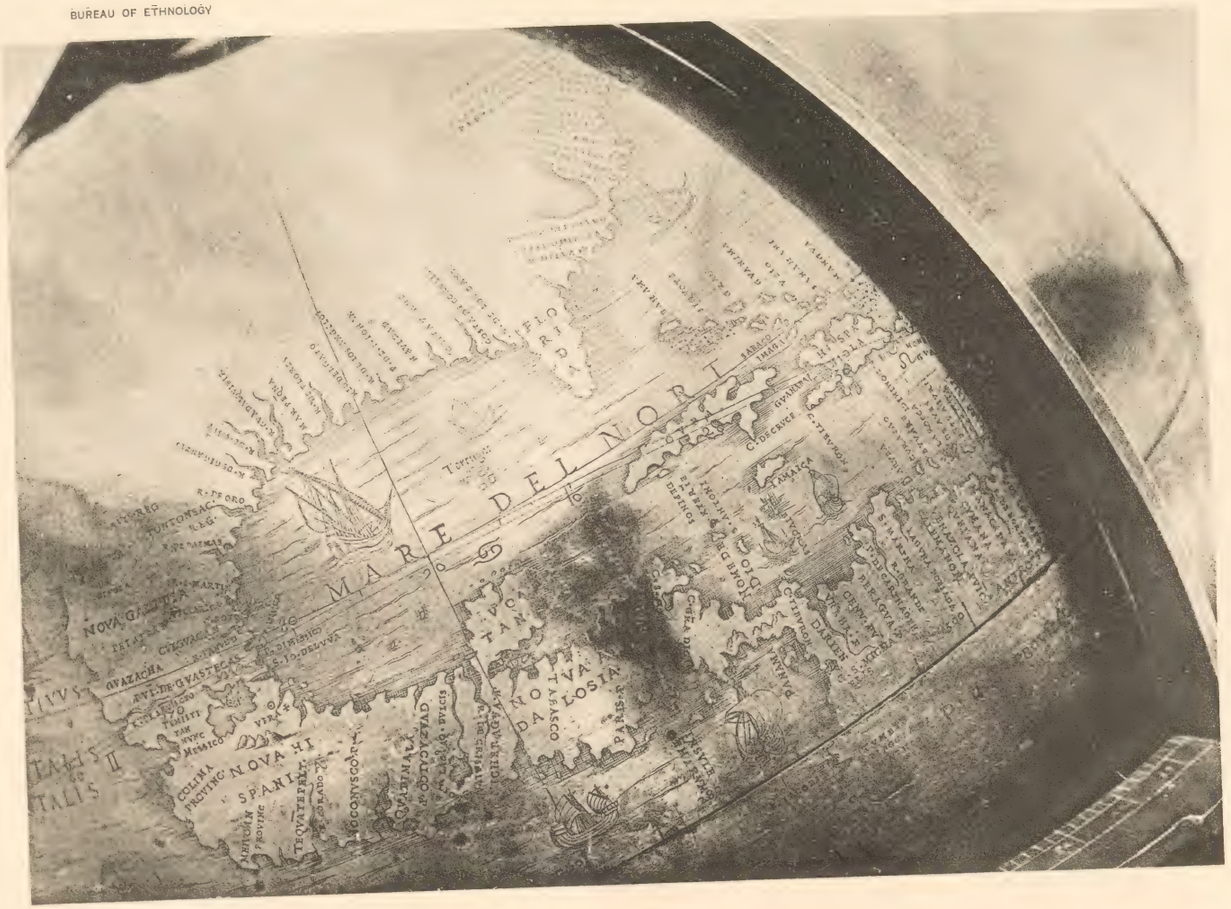
Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes started from Vera Cruz for Spain in October, 1536, but their vessel was stranded before it got out of the harbor. This accident obliged them to postpone their departure until the following spring, when Cabeza de Vaca returned home alone. He told the story of his wanderings to the court and the King, and was rewarded, by 1540, with an appointment as adelantado, giving him the command over the recently occupied regions about the Rio de la Plata. The position was one for which he was unfitted, and his subordinates

traversed. Dr J. G. Shea, in his chapter in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. ii, p. 286, disagrees in some points with Mr Bandelier's interpretation of the route of Cabeza de Vaca west of Texas, and also with Mr Smith's identifications of the different points in the march of the main army before it embarked from the Bahia de los Cavallos. Other interesting conjectures are given in H. H. Bancroft's North Mexican States, vol. i, p. 63, and map at p. 67.

[1] Buckingham Smith collected in his Letter of Hernando de Soto, pp. 57–61, and in his Narrative of the Career of Hernando de Soto (see index), all that is known in regard to Ortiz, one of the soldiers of Narvaez, who was found among the Indians by De Soto in 1540.

[2] Mendoza to Charles V, 10 Diciembre, 1537. Cabeza de Vaca y Dorantes, . . . despues de haber llegado aquí, determinaron de irse en España, y viendo que si V. M. era servido de enviar aquella tierra alguna gente para saber de cierto lo que era, no quedaba persona que pudiese ir con ella ni dar ninguna razon, compré á Dorantes para este efecto un negro que vino de allá y se halló con ellos en todo, que se llama Estéban, por ser persona de razon. Despues sucedió, como el navio en que Dorantes iba se volvió al puerto, y sabido esto, yo le escribí á la Vera-Cruz, rogándole que viniese aquí; y como llegó á esta ciudad, yo le hablé diciéndole que hubiese por bien de volver á esta tierra con algunos religiosos y gente de caballo, que yo le daria á calalla, y saber de cierto lo que en ella habia. Y él vista mi voluntad, y el servicio que yo le puse delantre que hacia con ello á Dios y á V. M., me respondió que holgaba dello, y así estoy determinado de envialle allá con la gente de caballo y religiosos que digo. Pienso que ha de redundar dello gran servicio á Dios y á V. M.—From the text printed in Pacheco y Cardenas, Docs. de Indias, ii, 206.

[3] Some recent writers have been misled by a chance comma inserted by the copyist or printer in one of the old narratives, which divides the name of Maldonado—Alonso del Castillo, Maldonado—making it appear as if there were five instead of four survivors of the Narvaez expedition who made their way to Mexico.


MARE DEL NORTE
NOVA GALLICIA
NOVA HISPANIA
TERRA FIRMA
TERRA DE LABRADOR
TERRA DE CORTE REAL
TERRA DE BACALLAOS
TERRA DE NORUMBEGA
TERRA FLORIDA
TERRA DE BACCHUS
TERRA DE NORUMBEGA
TERRA DE LABRADOR
TERRA DE CORTE REAL
TERRA DE BACALLAOS

sent him back to Spain. The complaints against him were investigated by the Council for the Indies, but the judgment, if any was given, has never been published. He certainly was not punished, and soon settled down in Seville, where he was still living, apparently, twenty years later.[1]

While Dorantes was stopping at Vera Cruz during the winter of 1536–37, he received a letter from Mendoza, asking him to return to the City of Mexico. After several interviews, the viceroy induced Dorantes to remain in New Spain, agreeing to provide him with a party of horsemen and friars, in order to explore more thoroughly the country through which he had wandered. Mendoza explains the details of his plans in the letter written in December, 1537, and declares that he expected many advantages would be derived from this expedition which would redound to the glory of God and to the profit of His Majesty the King. The viceroy was prepared to expend a large sum—3,500 or 4,000 pesos—to insure a successful undertaking, but he promised to raise the whole amount, without taking a single maravedi from the royal treasury, by means of a more careful collection of dues, and especially by enforcing the payment of overdue sums, the collection of which hitherto had been considered impossible. This reform in the collection of rents and other royal exactions and the careful attention to all the details of the fiscal administration were among the most valuable of the many services rendered by Mendoza as viceroy. The expedition under Dorantes never started, though why nothing came of all the preparations, wrote Mendoza in his next letter to the King, "I never could find out."[2]

The three Spaniards wrote several narratives of their experiences on the expedition of Narvaez, and of their adventurous journey from the gulf coast of Texas to the Pacific coast of Mexico.[3] These travelers, who had lived a savage life for so long that they could wear no clothes, and were unable to sleep except upon the bare ground, had a strange tale to tell. The story of their eight years of wandering must have been often repeated—of their slavery, their buffalo-hunting expeditions, of the escape from their Indian masters, and their career as traders and as medicine men. These were wonderful and strange expe-

[1] Besides the general historians, we have Cabeza de Vaca's own account of his career in Paraguay in his Comentarios, reprinted in Vedia, Historiadores Primitivos, vol. i. Ternaux translated this narrative into French for his Voyages, part vi.

[2] The Spanish text of this letter has not been seen since Ramusio used it in making the translation for his Viaggi, vol. iii, fol. 355, ed. 1556. There is no date to the letter as Ramusio gives it. Ternaux-Compans translated it from Ramusio for his Cibola volume (Voyages, vol. ix, p. 287). It is usually cited from Ternaux's title as the "Première lettre de Mendoza." I quote from the French text the portion of the letter which explains my narrative: ". . . Andrès Dorantès, un de ceux qui firent partie de l'armée de Pamphilo Narvaez, vint près de moi. J'eus de fréquents entretiens avec lui; je pensai qu'il pouvait rendre un grand service à votre majesté; si je l'expédiais avec quarante ou cinquante chevaux et tous les objets nécessaires pour découvrir ce pays. Je dépensai beaucoup d'argent pour l'expédition, mais je ne sais pas comment il se fit que l'affaire n'eut pas de suite. De tous les préparatifs que j'avais faits, il ne me resta qu'un nègre qui est venu avec Dorantès, quelques esclaves que j'avais achetés, et des Indiens, naturels de ce pays, que j'avais fait rassembler."

[3] Two of these are extant—the Relacion of Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo's version of an account signed by the three Spaniards and sent to the Real Audiencia at Santo Domingo, in his Historia General de las Indias, lib. xxxv, vol. iii, p. 582, ed. 1853.

riences, but the story contained little to arouse the eager interest of the colonists in New Spain, whose minds had been stirred by the accounts which came from Peru telling of the untold wealth of the Incas. A few things, however, had been seen and heard by the wanderers which suggested the possibility of lands worth conquering. "A copper hawks-bell, thick and large, figured with a face," had been given to Cabeza de Vaca, soon after he started on his journey toward Mexico. The natives who gave this to him said that they had received it from other Indians, "who had brought it from the north, where there was much copper, which was highly esteemed." After the travelers had crossed the Rio Grande, they showed this bell to some other Indians, who said that "there were many plates of this same metal buried in the ground in the place whence it had come, and that it was a thing which they esteemed highly, and that there were fixed habitations where it came from."[1] This was all the treasure which Cabeza de Vaca could say that he had seen. He had heard, however, of a better region than any he saw, for the Indians told him "that there are pearls and great riches on the coast of the South sea (the Pacific), and all the best and most opulent countries are near there." We may be sure that none of this was omitted whenever he told the Spanish colonists the story of the years of his residence in Texas and of the months of his journey across northern Mexico.[2]

THE GOVERNORS OF NEW SPAIN, 1530–1537

Don Antonio de Mendoza, "the good viceroy," had been at the head of the government of New Spain for two years when Cabeza de Vaca arrived in Mexico. The effects of his careful and intelligent administration were already beginning to appear in the increasing prosperity of the province and the improved condition of the colonists and of their lands. The authority of the viceroy was ample and extensive, although he was limited to some extent by the audiencia, the members of which had administered the government of the province since the retirement of Cortes. The viceroy was the president of this court, which had resumed more strictly judicial functions after his arrival, and he was officially advised by his instructions from the King to consult with his fellow members on all matters of importance.

Nuño de Guzman departed for New Spain in 1528, and became the head of the first audiencia. Within a year he had made himself so deservedly unpopular that when he heard that Cortes was coming back to Mexico from Spain, with the new title of marquis and fresh grants of power from the King, he thought it best to get out of the way of his rival. Without relinquishing the title to his position in the capital

[1] See Buckingham Smith's translation of Cabeza de Vaca's Narrative, p. 150.

[2] The effect of the stories told by Cabeza de Vaca, and later by Friar Marcos, is considered in a paper printed in the Proceedings of the American Historical Association at Washington, 1894, "Why Coronado went to New Mexico in 1540."

city, Guzman collected a considerable force and marched away toward the west and north, determined to win honor and security by new conquests. He explored and subdued the country for a considerable distance along the eastern shores of the Gulf of California, but he could find nothing there to rival the Mexico of Motecuhzoma. Meanwhile reports reached Charles V of the manner in which Guzman had been treating the Indians and the Spanish settlers, and so, March 17, 1536,[1] the King appointed the Licentiate Diego Perez de la Torre to take the residencia[2] of Guzman. At the same time Torre was commissioned to replace Guzman as governor of New Galicia, as this northwestern province had been named. The latter had already determined to return to Spain, leaving Don Christobal de Oñate, a model executive and administrative official, in charge of his province. Guzman almost succeeded in escaping, but his judge, who had landed at Vera Cruz by the end of 1536, met him at the viceroy's palace in Mexico city, and secured his arrest before he could depart. After his trial he was detained in Mexico until June 30, 1538, when he was enabled to leave New Spain by an order which directed him to surrender his person to the officers of the Casa de Contratacion,[3] at Seville. Guzman lost no time in going to Spain, where he spent the next four years in urging his claims to a right to participate in the northern conquests.

Torre, the licentiate, had barely begun to reform the abuses of Guzman's government when he was killed in a conflict with some revolted Indian tribes. Oñate again took charge of affairs until Mendoza appointed Luis Galindo chief justice for New Galicia. This was merely a temporary appointment, however, until a new governor could be selected. The viceroy's nomination for the position was confirmed by the King, in a cedula dated April 18, 1539, which commissioned Francisco Vazquez Coronado as governor.[4]

Cortes had been engaged, ever since his return from Spain, in fitting out expeditions which came to nothing,[5] but by which he hoped to accomplish his schemes for completing the exploration of the South sea. His leisure was more than occupied by his efforts to outwit the agents of the viceroy and the audiencia, who had received orders from the King to investigate the extent and condition of the estates held by Cortes. In the spring of 1535, Cortes established a colony on the opposite coast of California, the supposed Island of the Marquis, at Santa

[1] The best sources for these proceedings is in Mota Padilla's Historia de la Nueva Galicia (ed. Icazbalceta, pp. 104–109). A more available account in English is in H. H. Bancroft's Mexico, vol. ii, p. 457.

[2] An official investigation into the administration of an official who is about to be relieved of his duties.

[3] The best account, in English, of the Casa de Contratacion is given by Professor Bernard Moses, of Berkeley, California, in the volume of papers read before the American Historical Association at its 1894 meeting.

[4] See Fragmentos de una Historia de la Nueva Galicia, by Father Tello (Icazbalceta, Documentos de Mexico, vol. ii, p. 369).

[5] Mendoza, in the "première lettre," gives a brief sketch of the efforts which Cortes had been making, and then adds: "Il ne put donc jamais en faire la conquête; il semblait même que Dieu voulût miraculeusement l'en éloigner." Ternaux, Cibola volume, p. 287.

Cruz,[1] near the modern La Paz. Storms and shipwreck, hunger and surfeiting, reduced the numbers and the enthusiasm of the men whom he had conducted thither, and when his vessels returned from the mainland with the news that Mendoza had arrived in Mexico, and bringing letters from his wife urging him to return at once, Cortes went back to Mexico. A few months later he recalled the settlers whom he had left at Santa Cruz, in accordance, it may be, with the command or advice of Mendoza.[2] When the stories of Cabeza de Vaca suggested the possibility of making desirable conquests toward the north, Cortes possessed a better outfit for undertaking this work than any of the others who were likely to be rivals for the privilege of exploring and occupying that region.

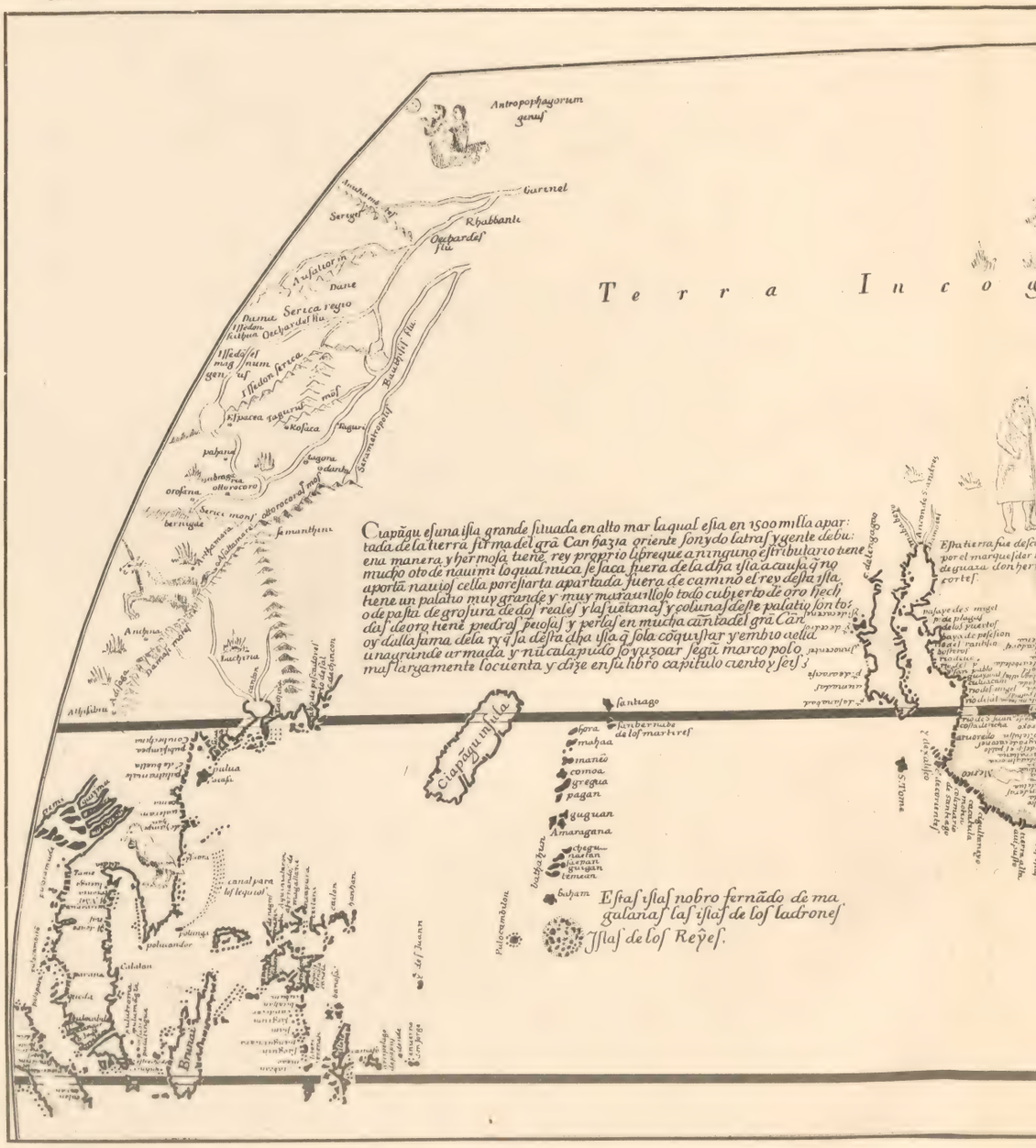
Pedro de Alvarado was the least known of these rival claimants. He had been a lieutenant of Cortes until he secured an independent command in Guatemala, Yucatan and Honduras, where he subdued the natives, but discovered nothing except that there was nowhere in these regions any store of gold or treasures. Abandoning this field, he tried to win a share in the conquests of Pizarro and Almagro. He approached Peru from the north, and conducted his army across the mountains. This march, one of the most disastrous in colonial history, so completely destroyed the efficiency of his force that the conquerors of Peru easily compelled him to sell them what was left of his expedition. They paid a considerable sum, weighed out in bars of silver which he found, after his return to Panama, to be made of lead with a silver veneering.[3] Alvarado was ready to abandon the work of conquering America, and had forwarded a petition to the King, asking that he might be allowed to return to Spain, when Mendoza, or the audiencia which was controlled by the enemies of Alvarado, furthered his desires by ordering him to go to the mother country and present himself before the throne. This was in 1536. While at court Alvarado must have met Cabeza de Vaca. He changed his plans for making a voyage to the South seas, and secured from the King, whose favor he had easily regained, a commission which allowed him to build a fleet in Central America and explore the South sea—the Pacific—toward the west or the north. He returned to America early in 1539, bringing with him everything needed in the equipment of a large fleet.

Mendoza, meanwhile, 1536–1539, had been making plans and preparations. He had not come to the New World as an adventurer, and he lacked the spirit of eager, reckless, hopeful expectation of wealth and fame, which accomplished so much for the geographical unfolding of the two Americas. Mendoza appears to have arranged his plans as carefully as if he had been about to engage in some intrigue at court. He rec-

[1] On the maps it is usually designated as S. †.

[2] The details of this episode are given in the relations and petitions of Cortes. H. H. Bancroft tells the story in his North Mexican States, vol. i, p. 77. The Cortes map of 1536 is reproduced, from a tracing, in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. ii, p. 442.

[3] This is the story which Garcilaso de la Vega tells in his Commentales Reales, pt. II, lib. ii.



Cipãgu es una isla grande situada en alto mar la qual esta en 1500 millas apartada de la tierra firma del grã Can hazia oriente son y dolatras y gente debuena manera y hermosa tiene rey propio libre que a ninguno es tributario tiene mucho oro de nauimi lo qual nunca se saca fuera de la dha isla a causa q no aporta nauios cella porestar apartada fuera de camino el rey desta isla tiene un palatio muy grande y muy marauilloso todo cubierto de oro hech o de pasta de grosura de dos reales y las ventanas y columnas deste palatio son todas de oro tiene piedras preciosas y perlas en mucha cãtidad grã Cãd oy dulla fama dela rryq sa desta dha isla q sola cõquistar y embio della una grande armada y nũca la pudo soyuzoar segũ marco polo mas largamente locuenta y dize en su libro capitulo ciento y sess.

SEBASTIAN CABOT'S MAP OF

After Kretschmer

S MAP OF 1544

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ognized his rivals and their strength. Nuño de Guzman was in disgrace and awaiting a trial, but he was at the court, where he could urge his claims persistently in person. Cortes was active, but he was where Mendoza could watch everything that he tried to do. He might succeed in anticipating the viceroy's plans, but his sea ventures heretofore had all been failures. So long as he kept to the water there seemed to be little danger. Mendoza's chief concern appears to have been to make sure that his rivals should have no chance of uniting their claims against him. Representing the Crown and its interests, he felt sure of everything else. The viceroy had no ambition to take the field in person as an explorer, and he selected Alvarado as the most available leader for the expedition which he had in mind, probably about the time that the latter came back to the New World. He wrote to Alvarado, suggesting an arrangement between them, and after due consideration on both sides, terms and conditions mutually satisfactory were agreed on. Mendoza succeeded in uniting Alvarado to his interests, and engaged that he should conduct an expedition into the country north of Mexico. This arrangement was completed, apparently, before the return of Friar Marcos from his reconnoissance, which added so largely to the probabilities of success.

THE RECONNOISSANCE OF FRIAR MARCOS DE NIZA

Mendoza did not confine himself to diplomatic measures for bringing about the exploration and conquest which he had in mind. In his undated "première lettre" the viceroy wrote that he was prepared to send Dorantes with forty or fifty horses and everything needed for an expedition into the interior; but nothing was done.

About this time, 1537–38, Friar Juan de la Asuncion seems to have visited the inland tribes north of the Spanish settlements. Mr Bandelier has presented all the evidence obtainable regarding the labors of this friar.[1] The most probable interpretation of the statements which refer to his wanderings is that Friar Juan went alone and without official assistance, and that he may have traveled as far north as the river Gila. The details of his journey are hopelessly confused. It is more than probable that there were a number of friars at work among the outlying Indian tribes, and there is no reason why one or more of them may not have wandered north for a considerable distance. During the same year the viceroy made an attempt, possibly in person, to penetrate into the country of Topira or Topia, in northwestern Durango,[2] but the mountains and the absence of provisions forced the party to return. It may be that this fruitless expedition was the same as that in which, according to Castañeda, Coronado took part, while Friar Marcos was on his way to Cibola. It is not unlikely, also,

[1] Contributions to the History of the Southwest, pp. 79–103.

[2] This region is identified by Bandelier in his Contributions, p. 104, note. The letter from which the details are obtained, written to accompany the report of Friar Marcos when this was transmitted to the King, is in Ramusio, and also in Ternaux, Cibola volume, p. 285.

that Friar Marcos may have made a preliminary trip toward the north, during the same year, although this is hardly more than a guess to explain statements, made by the old chroniclers, which we can not understand.

As yet nothing had been found to verify the reports brought by Cabeza de Vaca, which, by themselves, were hardly sufficient to justify the equipment of an expedition on a large scale. But Mendoza was bent on discovering what lay beyond the northern mountains. He still had the negro Estevan, whom he had purchased of Dorantes, besides a number of Indians who had followed Cabeza de Vaca to Mexico and had been trained there to serve as interpreters. The experience which the negro had gained during the years he lived among the savages made him invaluable as a guide. He was used to dealing with the Indians, knew something of their languages, and was practiced in the all-important sign manual.

Friar Marcos de Niza was selected as the leader of the little party which was to find out what the viceroy wanted to know. Aside from his reconnoitering trip to Cibola, very little is known about this friar. Born in Nice, then a part of Savoy, he was called by his contemporaries a Frenchman. He had been with Pizarro in Peru, and had witnessed the death of Atahualpa. Returning to Central America, very likely with Pedro de Alvarado, he had walked from there barefooted, as was his custom, up to Mexico. He seems to have been somewhere in the northwestern provinces of New Spain, when Cabeza de Vaca appeared there after his wanderings. A member of the Franciscan brotherhood, he had already attained to some standing in the order, for he signs his report or personal narration of his explorations, as vice-commissary of the Franciscans. The father provincial of the order, Friar Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo, on August 26, 1539,[1] certified to the high esteem in which Friar Marcos was held, and stated that he was skilled in cosmography and in the arts of the sea, as well as in theology.

This choice of a leader was beyond question an excellent one, and Mendoza had every reason to feel confidence in the success of his undertaking. The viceroy drew up a set of instructions for Friar Marcos, which directed that the Indians whom he met on the way should receive the best of treatment, and provided for the scientific observations which all Spanish explorers were expected to record. Letters were to be left wherever it seemed advisable, in order to communicate with a possible sea expedition, and information of the progress of the party was to be sent back to the viceroy at convenient intervals. These instructions are a model of careful and explicit directions, and show the characteristic interest taken by Mendoza in the details of everything with which he was concerned. They supply to some extent,

[1] This certification, with the report of Friar Marcos and other documents relating to him, is printed in the Pacheco y Cardenas Coleccion, vol. iii, pp. 325–351.

also, the loss of the similar instructions which Coronado must have received when he started on his journey in the following February.[1]

Friar Marcos, accompanied by a lay brother, Friar Onorato, according to Mendoza's "première lettre," left Culiacan on March 7, 1539. Coronado, now acting as governor of New Galicia, had escorted them as far as this town and had assured a quiet journey for a part of the way beyond by sending in advance six Indians, natives of this region, who had been "kept at Mexico to become proficient in the Spanish language and attached to the ways of the Christians."[2] The friars proceeded to Petatlan, where Friar Onorato fell sick, so that it was necessary to leave him behind. During the rest of the journey, Friar Marcos was the only white man in the party, which consisted of the negro Estevan, the Indian interpreters, and a large body of natives who followed him from the different villages near which he passed. The friar continued his journey to "Vacapa," which Mr Bandelier identifies with the Eudeve settlement of Matapa in central Sonora, where he arrived two days before Passion Sunday, which in 1539 fell on March 23.[3] At this place he waited until April 6, in order to send to the seacoast and summon some Indians, from whom he hoped to secure further information about the pearl islands of which Cabeza de Vaca had heard.

The negro Estevan had been ordered by the viceroy to obey Friar Marcos in everything, under pain of serious punishment. While the friar was waiting at Vacapa, he sent the negro toward the north, instructing him to proceed 50 or 60 leagues and see if he could find anything which might help them in their search. If he found any signs of a rich and populous country, it was agreed that he was not to advance farther, but should return to meet the friar, or else wait where he heard the good news, sending some Indian messengers back to the friar, with a white cross the size of the palm of his hand. If the news was very promising, the cross was to be twice this size, and if the country about which he heard promised to be larger and better than New Spain, a cross still larger than this was to be sent back. Castañeda preserves a story that Estevan was sent ahead, not only to explore and pacify the country, but also because he did not get on well with his superior, who objected to his eagerness in collecting the turquoises and other things which the natives prized and to the moral effect of his relations with the women who followed him from the tribes which they met on their way. Friar Marcos says nothing about this in his narrative, but he had different and much more important ends to accomplish by his report, compared with those of Castañeda, who may easily have gathered the gossip from some native.

[1] The instructions given to Friar Marcos have been translated by Bandelier in his Contributions, p. 109. The best account of Friar Marcos and his explorations is given in that volume.

[2] Herrera, Historia General, dec. VI, lib. VII, cap. VII.

[3] Bandelier, in his Contributions, p. 122, says this was "about the middle of April," but his chronology at this point must be at fault.

Estevan started on Passion Sunday, after dinner. Four days later messengers sent by him brought to the friar "a very large cross, as tall as a man." One of the Indians who had given the negro his information accompanied the messengers. This man said and affirmed, as the friar carefully recorded, "that there are seven very large cities in the first province, all under one lord, with large houses of stone and lime; the smallest one-story high, with a flat roof above, and others two and three stories high, and the house of the lord four stories high. They are all united under his rule. And on the portals of the principal houses there are many designs of turquoise stones, of which he says they have a great abundance. And the people in these cities are very well clothed. . . . Concerning other provinces farther on, he said that each one of them amounted to much more than these seven cities." All this which the Indian told Friar Marcos was true; and, what is more, the Spanish friar seems to have correctly understood what the Indian meant, except that the Indian idea of several villages having a common allied form of government was interpreted as meaning the rule of a single lord, who lived in what was to the Indians the chief, because the most populous, village. These villages of stone and lime—or rather of stone and rolls or balls of adobe laid in mud mortar and sometimes whitened with a wash of gypsum[1]—were very large and wondrous affairs when compared with the huts and shelters of the Seri and some of the Piman Indians of Sonora.[2] The priest can hardly be blamed for translating a house entrance into a doorway instead of picturing it as a bulkhead or as the hatchway of a ship. The Spaniards—those who had seen service in the Indies—had outgrown their earlier custom of reading into the Indian stories the ideas of government and of civilization to which they were accustomed in Europe. But Friar Marcos was at a disadvantage hardly less than that of the companions of Cortes, when they first heard of Moctecuhzoma, because his experience with the wealth of the New World had been in the realm of the Incas. He interpreted what he did not understand, of necessity, by what he had seen in Peru.

The story of this Indian did not convince the friar that what he heard about the grandeur of these seven cities was all true, and he decided not to believe anything until he had seen it for himself, or had at least received additional proof. The friar did not start immediately for the seven cities, as the negro had advised him to do, but waited until he could see the Indians who had been summoned from the seacoast. These told him about pearls, which were found near their homes. Some "painted" Indians, living to the eastward, having their faces, chests, and arms tattooed or decorated with pigments, who were perhaps the Pima or Sobaipuri Indians, also visited him while he was staying at Vacapa and gave him an extended account of the seven cities, very similar to that of the Indian sent by Estevan.

[1] See F. W. Hodge, "Aboriginal Use of Adobes," The Archæologist, Columbus, Ohio, August, 1895.
[2] These are described in the Castañeda narrative.

MAP OF THE WORLD BY PTOLEMY, 1548

Friar Marcos started on the second day following Pascua Florida, or Easter, which came on April 6, 1539. He expected to find Estevan waiting at the village where he had first heard about the cities. A second cross, as big as the first, had been received from the negro, and the messengers who brought this gave a fuller and much more specific account of the cities, agreeing in every respect with what had previously been related. When the friar reached the village where the negro had obtained the first information about the cities, he secured many new details. He was told that it was thirty days' journey from this village to the city of Cibola, which was the first of the seven. Not one person alone, but many, described the houses very particularly and showed him the way in which they were built, just as the messengers had done. Besides these seven cities, he learned that there were other kingdoms, called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. The linguistic students, and especially Mr Frank Hamilton Cushing, have identified the first of these with Matyata or Makyata, a cluster of pueblos about the salt lakes southeast of Zuñi, which were in ruins when Alvarado saw them in 1540, although they appeared to have been despoiled not very long before. Acus is the Acoma pueblo and Totonteac was in all probability the province of Tusayan, northwestward from Zuñi. The friar asked these people why they went so far away from their homes, and was told that they went to get turquoises and cow skins, besides other valuable things, of all of which he saw a considerable store in the village.

Friar Marcos tried to find out how these Indians bartered for the things they brought from the northern country, but all he could understand was that "with the sweat and service of their persons they went to the first city, which is called Cibola, and that they labored there by digging the earth and other services, and that for what they did they received turquoises and the skins of cows, such as those people had." We now know, whatever Friar Marcos may have thought, that they doubtless obtained their turquoises by digging them out of the rocky ground in which they are still found in New Mexico, and this may easily have seemed to them perspiring labor. It is not clear just how they obtained the buffalo skins, although it was doubtless by barter. The friar noticed fine turquoises suspended in the ears and noses of many of the people whom he saw,[1] and he was again informed that the principal doorways of Cibola were ceremonially ornamented with designs made of these stones. Mr Cushing has since learned, through tradition, that this was their custom. The dress of these people of Cibola, including the belts of turquoises about the waist, as it was described to the friar, seemed to him to resemble that of the Bohemians, or gypsies. The cow skins, some of which were given to him, were tanned and finished so well that he thought it was evident that they had been prepared by men who were skilled in this work.

[1] In lieu of turquoises the Pima and Maricopa today frequently wear small beaded rings pendent from the ears and septum.

At this point in his narrative Friar Marcos first uses the word *pueblo*, village, in referring to the seven cities, a point which would be of some interest if only we could be sure that the report was written from notes made as he went along. He certainly implies that he kept some such record when he speaks of taking down the statements of the Indian who first told him about the seven cities. It looks as if the additional details which he was obtaining gradually dimmed his vision of cities comparable to those into which he had seen Pizarro gather the golden ransom of Atahualpa.

Friar Marcos had not heard from Estevan since leaving Vacapa, but the natives told him that the negro was advancing toward Cibola, and that he had been gone four or five days. The friar started at once to follow the negro, who had proceeded up Sonora valley, as Mr Bandelier traces the route. Estevan had planted several large crosses along the way, and soon began to send messengers to the friar, urging the latter to hasten, and promising to wait for him at the edge of the wilderness which lay between them and the country of Cibola. The friar followed as fast as he could, although constantly hindered by the natives, who were always ready to verify the stories he had already heard concerning Cibola. They pressed him to accept their offers of turquoises and of cow skins in spite of his persistent refusals. At one village, the lord of the place and his two brothers greeted the friar, having collars of turquoises about their necks, while the rest of the people were all *encaconados*, as they called it, with turquoises, which hung from their ears and noses. Here they supplied their visitor with deer, rabbits, and quail, besides a great abundance of corn and piñon seed. They also continued to offer him turquoises, skins, fine gourds, and other things which they valued. The Sobaipuri Indians, who were a branch of the Papago, among whom the friar was now traveling, according to Bandelier, seemed to be as well acquainted with Cibola as the natives of New Spain were with Mexico, or those of Peru with Cuzco. They had visited the place many times, and whatever they possessed which was made with any skill or neatness had been brought, so they told him, from that country.

Soon after he encountered these people, the friar met a native of Cibola. He was a well-favored man, rather old, and appeared to be much more intelligent than the natives of this valley or those of any of the districts through which the friar had passed in the course of his march. This man reported that the lord of Cibola lived and had his seat of government in one of the seven cities called Ahacus, and that he appointed men in the other cities who ruled for him. Ahacus is readily identified with Hawikuh, one of the present ruins near K'iap-kwainakwin, or Ojo Caliente, about 15 miles southwest of Zuñi. On questioning this man closely, the friar learned that Cibola—by which, as Bandelier and Cushing maintain, the Indian meant the whole range occupied by the Zuñi people—was a large city, in which a great many

people dwelt and which had streets and open squares or plazas. In some parts of it there were very large houses, which were ten stories high, and the leading men met together in these on certain days of the year. Possibly this is one of the rare references in the accounts of these early visits to Zuñi, to the ceremonials of the Pueblo Indians, which have been studied and described with so much care by later visitors, notably by Mrs M. C. Stevenson and by Dr J. Walter Fewkes of the Hemenway Southwestern Archeological Expedition.

This native of Cibola verified all the reports which the friar had already heard. Marata, he said, had been greatly reduced by the lord of Cibola during recent wars. Totonteac was a much larger and richer place, while Acus was an independent kingdom and province. The strange thing about all these reports is not that they are true, and that we can identify them by what is now known concerning these Indians, but the hard thing to understand is how the Spanish friar could have comprehended so well what the natives must have tried to tell him. When one considers the difficulties of language, with all its technicalities, and of radically different conceptions of every phase of life and of thought, the result must be an increased confidence in the common sense and the inherent intelligence of mankind.

On his way up this valley of Sonora, Friar Marcos heard that the seacoast turned toward the west. Realizing the importance of this point, he says that he "went in search of it and saw clearly that it turns to the west in 35 degrees." He was at the time between 31 and 31½ degrees north, just opposite the head of the Gulf of California. If Bandelier's identification of the friar's route is accepted—and it has a great deal more in its favor than any other that can be proposed with any due regard to the topography of the country—Friar Marcos was then near the head of San Pedro valley, distant 200 miles in a direct line from the coast, across a rough and barren country. Although the Franciscan superior testified to Marcos' proficiency in the arts of the sea, the friar's calculation was 3½ degrees out of the way, at a latitude where the usual error in the contemporary accounts of expeditions is on the average a degree and a half. The direction of the coast line does change almost due west of where the friar then was, and he may have gone to some point among the mountains from which he could satisfy himself that the report of the Indians was reliable. There is a week or ten days, during this part of the journey, for which his narrative gives no specific reckoning. He traveled rather slowly at times, making frequent stops, so that the side trip is not necessary to fill this gap. The point is a curious one; but, in the absence of any details, it is hardly likely that the friar did more than secure from other Indians stories confirming what he had already been told.

Friar Marcos soon reached the borders of the wilderness—the country in and about the present White Mountain Apache reservation in Arizona. He entered this region on May 9, and twelve days later a young man

who had been with Estevan, the son of one of the Indian chiefs accompanying the friar, met him and told the story of the negro's death. Estevan had hastened to reach Cibola before the friar, and just prior to arriving at the first city he had sent a notice of his approach to the chief of the place. As evidence of his position or authority, he sent a gourd, to which were attached a few strings of rattles and two plumes, one of which was white and the other red.

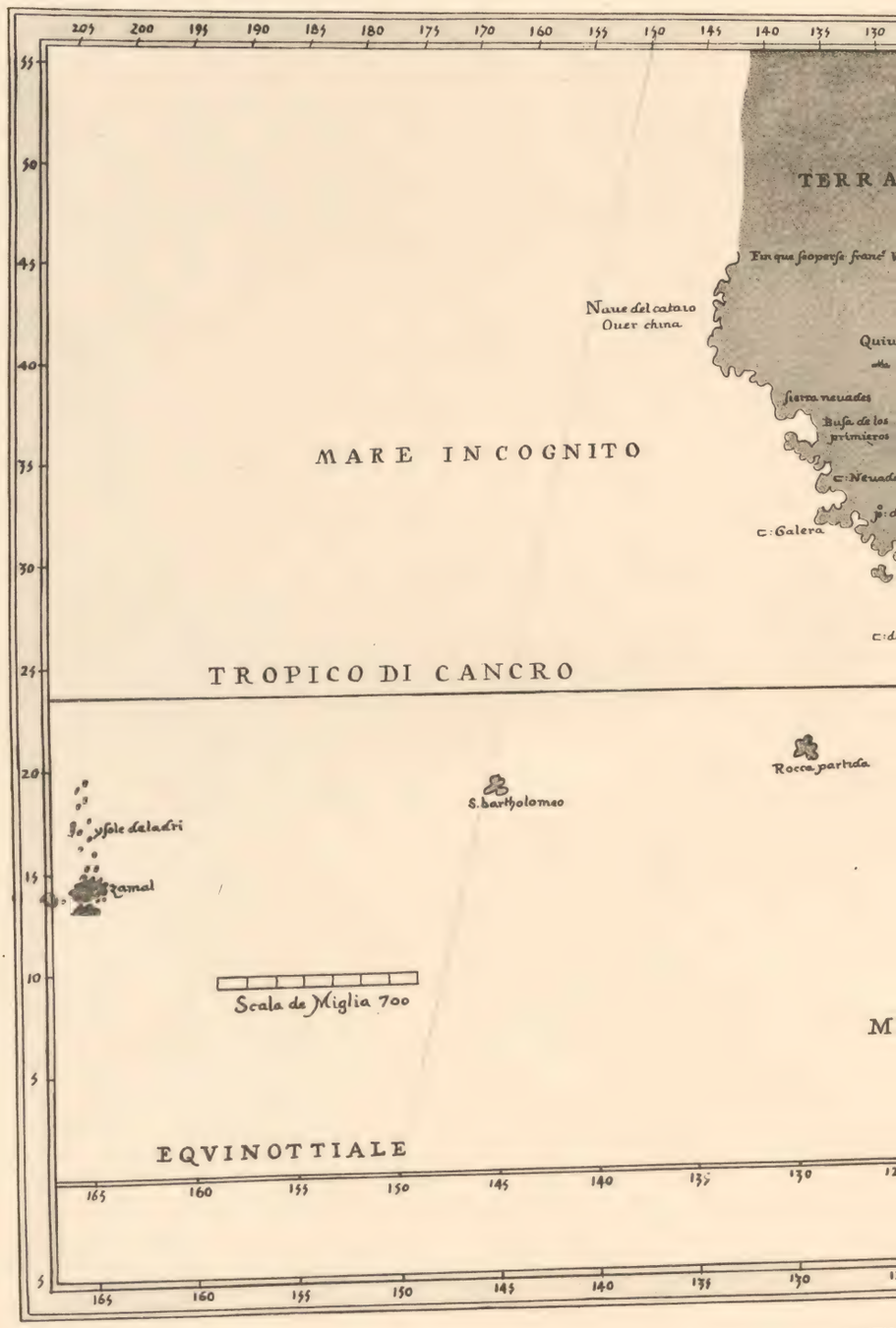
While Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were traveling through Texas, the natives had flocked to see these strange white men and soon began to worship them, pressing about them for even a touch of their garments, from which the Indians trusted to receive some healing power. While taking advantage of the prestige which was thus obtained, Cabeza de Vaca says that he secured some gourds or rattles, which were greatly reverenced among these Indians and which never failed to produce a most respectful behavior whenever they were exhibited. It was also among these southern plains Indians that Cabeza de Vaca heard of the permanent settlements toward the north. Castañeda says that some of these plains Indians came each year to Cibola to pass the winter under the shelter of the adobe villages, but that they were distrusted and feared so much that they were not admitted into the villages unless unarmed, and under no conditions were they allowed to spend the night within the flat-roof houses. The connection between these Indian rattles and the gourd which Estevan prized so highly can not be proven, but it is not unlikely that the negro announced his arrival to the Cibola chiefs by sending them an important part of the paraphernalia of a medicine man of a tribe with which they were at enmity.

There are several versions of the story of Estevan's death, besides the one given in Friar Marcos' narrative, which were derived from the natives of Cibola. Castañeda, who lived among these people for a while the next year, states that the Indians kept the negro a prisoner for three days, "questioning him," before they killed him. He adds that Estevan had demanded from the Indians treasures and women, and this agrees with the legends still current among these people.[1] When Alarcon ascended Colorado river a year later, and tried to obtain news of Coronado, with whom he was endeavoring to cooperate, he heard of Estevan, who was described as a black man with a beard, wearing things that sounded, rattles, bells, and plumes, on his feet and arms—the regular outfit of a southwestern medicine man.[2] Friar Marcos was told that when the messengers bearing the gourd showed it to the chief of the Cibola village, he threw it on to the ground and told the messengers that when their people reached the village they would find out what sort of men lived there, and that instead of entering the place they would all be killed. Estevan was not at all daunted when this answer was reported to him, saying that everything would be right

[1] Bandelier, Contributions, pp. 154, 155.

[2] There is an admirable and extended account, with many illustrations, of the Apache medicine men, by Captain John G. Bourke, in the ninth report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY



BATTIS

BATTISTA AGNESE'S NEW SPAIN, SIXTEENTH CENTURY

After Kretschmer

when he reached the village in person. He proceeded thither at once, but instead of being admitted, he was placed under guard in a house near by.[1] All the turquoises and other gifts which he had received from the Indians during his journey were taken from him, and he was confined with the people who accompanied him, over night, without receiving anything to eat or drink. The next morning Estevan tried to run away, but was overtaken and killed. The fugitives who brought this news to Friar Marcos said that most of their companions also had been killed. The Indians who had followed the friar forthwith began to mourn for three hundred of their relations and friends, who had perished, they declared, as a result of their confidence in his forerunner. This number was undoubtedly an exaggeration. Castañeda heard that the natives of Cibola kept a few lads from among those who were with the negro, "and sent back all the rest, numbering about sixty." The story of Estevan's death is reputed to have been preserved among the legends of the Indians of Zuñi. According to this tradition, the village at which the "Black Mexican" was killed was K'iakima, a village now in ruins, situated on a bluff at the southwestern angle of Thunder mountain mesa; but this is totally at variance with the historical evidence, which seems to point quite conclusively to Hawikuh, the first village encountered from the southwest, as the scene of Estevan's death.[2] One of the Indian stories of Estevan's death is that their wise men took the negro out of the pueblo during the night, and "gave him a powerful kick, which sped him through the air back to the south, whence he came!"

The killing of Estevan made it impossible for Friar Marcos, alone and unprepared for fighting, to enter the Cibola region. The first reports of the disaster, as is usually the custom, told of the death of all who accompanied the negro, and in consequence there was much wailing among the Indians who had followed the friar. They threatened to desert him, but he pacified them by opening his bundles and distributing the trinkets brought from Mexico. While they were enjoying these, he withdrew a couple of stone-throws for an hour and a half to pray. Meanwhile, the Indians began again to think of their lost friends, and decided to kill the friar, as the indirect cause of the catastrophe. But when he returned from his devotions, reinvigorated, and learned of their determination, he diverted their thoughts by producing some of the things which had been kept back from the first distribution of the contents of his packs. He expounded to them the folly of killing him, since this would do him no hurt because he was a Christian and so would go at once to his home in the sky, while other Christians would come in search of him and kill all of them, in spite of his own desires to prevent, if possible, any such revenge. "With many other words" he

[1] This is precisely the method pursued by the Zuñis today against any Mexicans who may be found in their vicinity during the performance of an outdoor ceremonial.

[2] This question has been fully discussed by F. W. Hodge. See "The First Discovered City of Cibola," American Anthropologist, Washington, April, 1895.

succeeded at last in quieting them and in persuading two of the chief Indians to go with him to a point where he could obtain a view of the "city of Cibola." He proceeded to a small hill, from which he saw that it was situated on a plain on the slope of a round height. "It has a very fine appearance for a village," he writes, "the best that I have seen in these parts. The houses, as the Indians had told me, are all of stone, built in stories, and with flat roofs. Judging by what I could see from the height where I placed myself to observe it, the settlement is larger than the city of Mexico. . . . It appears to me that this land is the best and largest of all those that have been discovered."

"With far more fright than food," the friar says he retraced his way toward New Spain, by hasty marches. During his journey to Cibola, he had heard of a large and level valley among the mountains, distant four or five days from the route which he followed, where he was told that there were many very large settlements in which the people wore clothes made of cotton. He showed his informants some metals which he had, in order to find out what there was in that region, and they picked out the gold, saying that the people in the valley had vessels made of this material and some round things which they hung from their ears and noses. They also had some little shovels of this same metal, with which they scraped themselves to get rid of their sweat. On his way back, although he had not recovered from his fright, the friar determined to see this valley. He did not dare to venture into it, because, as he says, he thought that those who should go to settle and rule the country of the seven cities could enter it more safely than he. He did not wish to risk his own life, lest he should be prevented from making the report of what he had already seen. He went as far as the entrance to the valley and saw seven good-looking settlements at a distance, in a very attractive country, from which arose a great deal of smoke. He understood from the Indians that there was much gold in the valley, and that the natives used it for vessels and ornaments, repeating in his narrative the reports which he had heard on his outward journey.

The friar then hastened down the coast to Culiacan, where he hoped, but failed, to find Coronado, the governor of the province. He went on to Compostela, where Coronado was staying. Here he wrote his report, and sent the announcement of his safe return to the viceroy. A similar notification to the provincial of his order contained a request for instructions as to what he should do next. He was still in Compostela on September 2, and as Mendoza and Coronado also were there, he took occasion to certify under oath before them to the truth of all that he had written in the report of his expedition to Cibola.

THE EFFECT OF FRIAR MARCOS' REPORT

In his official report it is evident that Friar Marcos distinguished with care between what he had himself seen and what the Indians had told him. But Cortes began the practice of attacking the veracity and

good faith of the friar, Castañeda continued it, and scarcely a writer on these events failed to follow their guidance until Mr Bandelier undertook to examine the facts of the case, and applied the rules of ordinary fairness to his historical judgment. This vigorous defender of the friar has successfully maintained his strenuous contention that Marcos neither lied nor exaggerated, even when he said that the Cibola pueblo appeared to him to be larger than the City of Mexico. All the witnesses agree that these light stone and adobe villages impress one who first sees them from a distance as being much larger than they really are. Mexico in 1539, on the other hand, was neither imposing nor populous. The great communal houses, the "palace of Montezuma," had been destroyed during or soon after the siege of 1521. The pueblo of Hawikuh, the one which the friar doubtless saw, contained about 200 houses, or between 700 and 1,000 inhabitants. There is something naïve in Mr Bandelier's comparison of this with Robert Tomson's report that the City of Mexico, in 1556, contained 1,500 Spanish households.[1] He ought to have added, what we may be quite sure was true, that the population of Mexico probably doubled in the fifteen years preceding Tomson's visit, a fact which makes Niza's comparison even more reasonable.[2]

The credit and esteem in which the friar was held by the viceroy, Mendoza, is as convincing proof of his integrity as that derived from a close scrutiny of the text of his narrative. Mendoza's testimony was given in a letter which he sent to the King in Spain, inclosing the report written by Friar Marcos, the "première lettre" which Ternaux translated from Ramusio. This letter spoke in laudatory terms of the friar, and of course is not wholly unbiased evidence. It is at least sufficient to counterbalance the hostile declarations of Cortes and Castañeda, both of whom had far less creditable reasons for traducing the friar than Mendoza had for praising him. "These friars," wrote Mendoza of Marcos and Onorato, "had lived for some time in the neighboring countries; they were used to hard labors, experienced in the ways of the Indies, conscientious, and of good habits." It is possible that Mendoza felt less confidence than is here expressed, for before he organized the Coronado expedition, late in the fall of this year 1539, he ordered Melchior Diaz to go and see if what he could discover agreed with the account which Friar Marcos gave.[3]

However careful the friar may have been, he presented to the viceroy a report in which gold and precious stones abounded, and which stopped just within sight of the goal—the Seven Cities of Nuño de Guzman and of the Indian traders and story tellers. Friar Marcos had

[1] Tomson's exceedingly interesting narrative of his experiences in Mexico is printed in Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 447, ed. 1600.

[2] Compare the ground plan of Hawikuh, by Victor Mindeleff, in the eighth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pl. XLVI, with the map of the city of Mexico (1550?), by Alonzo de Santa Cruz, pl. XLIII of this paper.

[3] Diaz started November 17, 1539. The report of his trip is given in Mendoza's letter of April 17, 1540, in Pacheco y Cardenas, ii, p. 356, and translated herein.

something to tell which interested his readers vastly more than the painful, wonderful story of Cabeza de Vaca. The very fact that he took it for granted, as he says in his report, that they would go to populate and rule over this land of the Seven Cities, with its doorways studded with turquoises, was enough to insure interest. He must, indeed, have been a popular preacher, and when the position of father provincial to the Franciscans became vacant, just now, brother Marcos, already high in the order and with all the fresh prestige of his latest achievements, was evidently the subject for promotion. Castañeda, who is not the safest authority for events preceding the expedition, says that the promotion was arranged by the viceroy. This may have been so. His other statement is probable enough, that, as a result of the promotion, the pulpits of the order were filled with accounts of such marvels and wonders that large numbers were eager to join in the conquest of this new land. Whatever Friar Marcos may have sacrificed to careful truth was atoned for, we may be sure, by the zealous, loyal brethren of blessed Saint Francis.

Don Joan Suarez de Peralta was born, as Señor Zaragoza shows in his admirable edition of the Tratado del Descubrimiento de las Yndias y su Conquista, in Mexico between 1535 and 1540, and probably nearer the first of these five years. In the Tratado, Suarez de Peralta gives a most interesting description of the effect produced in Mexico by the departure and the return of the Coronado expedition. He can hardly have had very vivid personal recollections of the excitement produced by the reports of Friar Marcos, yet his account is so clear and circumstantial that it evidently must be the narrative of an eyewitness, though recorded, it may be, at secondhand. He tells us that "the country was so stirred up by the news which the friar had brought from the Seven Cities that nothing else was thought about. For he said that the city of Cibola was big enough to contain two Sevilles and over, and the other places were not much smaller; and that the houses were very fine edifices, four stories high; and in the country there are many of what they call wild cows, and sheep and goats and rich treasures. He exaggerated things so much, that everybody was for going there and leaving Mexico depopulated. . . . . The news from the Seven Cities inspired so eager a desire in every one that not only did the viceroy and the marquis (Cortes) make ready to start for there, but the whole country wanted to follow them so much that they traded for the licenses which permitted them to go as soldiers, and people sold these as a favor, and whoever obtained one of these thought that it was as good as a title of nobility at the least. For the friar who had come from there exaggerated and said that it was the best place in the world; the people in that country very prosperous, and all the Indians wearing clothes and the possessors of much cattle; the mountains like those of Spain, and the climate the same. For wood, they burnt very large walnut trees, which bear quantities of

THE CITY OF ME

TY OF MEXICO ABOUT 1550, BY ALONZO DE SANTA CRUZ

walnuts better than those of Spain. They have many mountain grapes, which are very good eating, chestnuts, and filberts. According to the way he painted it, this should have been the terrestrial paradise. For game, there were partridges, geese, cranes, and all the other winged creatures—it was marvelous what was there." And then Suarez adds, writing half a century later, "He told the truth in all this, because there are mountains in that country, as he said, and herds, especially of cows. . . . . There are grapes and game, without doubt, and a climate like that of Spain."[1]

Second-hand evidence, recorded fifty years after the occurrence, is far from conclusive. Fortunately, we are able to supplement it by legal testimony, taken down and recorded under oath, with all the formalities of the old Spanish law customs. When the news of Friar Marcos' journey reached Spain there was much rivalry among those who claimed the privilege of completing the discovery. Much evidence was presented and frequent pleas were entered by all the men who had an active part and leadership in the conquest of the northern portion of the New World. In the course of the litigation the representative of the adelantado Hernando de Soto, presented some testimony which had been given in the town of San Cristobal de la Habana de la Isla Fernandina—Habana and Cuba—dated November 12, 1539. There were seven witnesses, from a ship which had been obliged to put into this port in order to procure water and other supplies, and also because some persons aboard had become very sick. Each witness declared that a month or more before—Friar Marcos arrived back in Mexico before the end of August, 1539—he had heard, and that this was common talk in Mexico, Vera Cruz, and in Puebla de los Angeles, that a Franciscan friar named Fray Marcos, who had recently come from the inland regions, said that he had discovered a very rich and very populous country 400 or 500 leagues north of Mexico. "He said that the country is rich in gold, silver and other treasures, and that it contains very large villages; that the houses are built of stone, and terraced like those of Mexico, and that they are high and imposing. The people, so he said, are shrewd, and do not marry more than one wife at a time, and they wear coarse woolen cloth and ride on some animals," the name of which the witness did not know. Another testified that the common report was that this country "was very rich and populous and had great walled cities, and that the lords of the cities were called kings, and that the people were very shrewd and use the Mexican language." But the witness to whose deposition we are most indebted was Andrés Garcia. This man declared that he had a son-in-law who was a barber, who had shaved the friar after he came back from the new country. The son-in-law had told the witness that the friar, while being

[1] The Spanish text from which I have translated may be found on pages 144 and 148 of Zaragoza's edition of Suarez de Peralta's Tratado. This edition is of the greatest usefulness to every student of early Mexican history.

shaved, had talked about the country which he had discovered beyond the mountains. "After crossing the mountains, the friar said there was a river, and that many settlements were there, in cities and towns, and that the cities were surrounded by walls, with their gates guarded, and were very wealthy, having silversmiths, and that the women wore strings of gold beads and the men girdles of gold and white woolen dresses; and that they had sheep and cows and partridges and slaughterhouses and iron forges."[1]

Friar Marcos undoubtedly never willfully told an untruth about the country of Cibola, even in a barber's chair. But there seems to be little chance for doubting that the reports which he brought to New Spain were the cause of much talk as well as many sermons, which gave rise to a considerable amount of excitement among the settlers, whose old-world notions had been upset by the reputed glory of the Montezumas and the wealth of the Incas. Very many, though perhaps not all, of the colonists were stirred with an eager desire to participate in the rich harvest awaiting the conquerors of these new

[1]The depositions as printed in the Pacheco y Cardenas Docs. de Indias, vol. xv., pp. 392–398, are as follows: Pedro Nuñez, testigo rescebido en la dicha razon, juró segun derecho, é dijo: . . . que estando en la ciudad de México, puede haber tres meses [the evidence being taken November 12, 1539], poco mas ó menos, oyó decir este testigo públicamente, que habia venido un fraile Francisco, que se dice Fray Marcos, que venia la tierra adentro, é que decia el dicho fraile que se habia descobierto una tierra muy rica é muy poblada; é que habia cuatrocientas leguas dende México allá; é que dice que han de ir allá por cerca del rio de Palmas; . . .

García Navarro, . . . oyó decir publicamente, puede haber un mes ó mes y medio [and so all the remaining witnesses] que habia venido un fraile, nuevamente, de una tierra, nuevamente descobierta, que dicen ques quinientas leguas de México, en la tierra de la Florida, que dicen ques hácia la parte del Norte de la dicha tierra; la cual diz, que es tierra rica de oro é plata é otros resgates, é grandes pueblos; que las casas son de piedra é terrados á la manera de México, é que tienen peso é medida, é gente de razon, é que no casan mas de una vez, é que visten albornoces, é que andan cabalgando en unos animales, que no sabe cómo se llaman, ...

Francisco Serrano, . . . el fraile venia por tierra, por la via de Xalisco; é ques muy rica é muy poblada é grandes ciudades cercadas; é que los señores dellas, se nombran Reyes; é que las casas son sobradas, é ques gente de mucha razon; que la lengua es mexicana, . . .

Pero Sanchez, tinturero . . . una tierra nueva muy rica é muy poblada de ciudades é villas; . . . por la via de Xalisco . . . hácia en medio de la tierra. . . .

Francisco de Leyva . . . en la Vera-Cruz, oyó decir que habia venido un fraile de una tierra nueva muy rica é muy poblada de ciudades é villas, é ques á la banda del Sur, . . . Otrosí, dixo: que es verdad que no embargante que no toca en este puerto, dejaba de seguir su viaje; pero que entró en este puerto por necesidad que llevaba de agua é otros bastimentos é de ciertas personas que venian muy enfermos.

Hernando de Sotomayor . . . questando en la Puebla de los Angeles . . . públicamente se decia . . . é que las casas son de piedras sobradadas, é las ciudades cercadas, é gente de razon; . . . é questa dicha tierra es la parte donde vino Dorantes é Cabeza de Vaca, los cuales escaparon de la armada de Narvaez; é que sabe é vido este testigo, que fué mandado al maestre por mandado del Virey é con su mandamiento, que no tocase en parte ninguna, salvo que fuese derechamente á España, con la dicha nao, é quel secretario del Virey hizo un requirimiento al dicho maestre, viniendo por la mar, que no tocase en este puerto ni en otra parte destas islas. . . . [This statement appears in each deposition.]

Andrés Garcia, dixo: . . . questando en la ciudad de México, un Francisco de Billegas le dió cartas para dar en esta villa, para dar al Adelantado D. Hernando de Soto, é si no lo hallase, que las llevase á España é las diese al hacedor suyo; é queste testigo tiene un yerno barbero que afeitaba al fraile que vino de la dicha tierra; é quel dicho su yerno, le dixo este testigo, questando afeitando al dicho fraile, le dixo como antes que llegasen á la dicha tierra estaba una sierra, é que pasando la dicha sierra estaba un rio, é que habia muchas poblazones de ciudades é villas, é que las ciudades son cercadas é guardadas á las puertas, é muy ricas; é que habia plateros; é que las mugeres traian sartas de oro é los hombres cintos de oro, é que habia albarnios é obejas é vacas é perdices é carnicerias é herreria, é peso é medida; é que un Bocanegra, dixo á este testigo que se quedare, que se habia descobierto un nuevo mundo. . . .

lands. Friar Marcos was not a liar, but it is impossible to ignore the charges against him quite as easily as Mr Bandelier has done.

Pedro Castañeda makes some very damaging statements, which are not conclusive proof of the facts. Like the statements of Suarez de Peralta, they represent the popular estimation of the father provincial, and they repeat the stories which passed current regarding him, when the later explorations had destroyed the vision that had been raised by the reports of the friar's exploration. The accusations made by Cortes deserve more careful consideration. Cortes returned to Spain about the time that the preparations for the Coronado expedition were definitely begun. Soon after his arrival at court, June 25, 1540,[1] he addressed a formal memorial to the King, setting forth in detail the ill treatment which he had received from Mendoza. In this he declared that after the viceroy had ordered him to withdraw his men from their station on the coast of the mainland toward the north—where they were engaged in making ready for extended inland explorations—he had a talk with Friar Marcos. "And I gave him," says Cortes, "an account of this said country and of its discovery, because I had determined to send him in my ships to follow up the said northern coast and conquer that country, because he seemed to understand something about matters of navigation. The said friar communicated this to the said viceroy, and he says that, with his permission, he went by land in search of the same coast and country as that which I had discovered, and which it was and is my right to conquer. And since his return, the said friar has published the statement that he came within sight of the said country, which I deny that he has either seen or discovered; but instead, in all that the said friar reports that he has seen, he only repeats the account I had given him regarding the information which I obtained from the Indians of the said country of Santa Cruz, because everything which the said friar says that he discovered is just the same as what these said Indians had told me: and in enlarging upon this and in pretending to report what he neither saw nor learned, the said Friar Marcos does nothing new, because he has done this many other times, and this was his regular habit, as is notorious in the provinces of Peru and Guatemala; and sufficient evidence regarding this will be given to the court whenever it is necessary."[2]

This is a serious charge, but so far as is known it was never substantiated. Cortes was anxious to enforce his point, and he was not always scrupulous in regard to the exact truth. The important point is that such charges were made by a man who was in the position to learn all

[1] The document, as printed in Doc. Inéd. Hist. España, vol. iv, pp. 209-217, is not dated. The date given in the text is taken from the heading or title to the petition, which, if not the original, has at least the authority of Señor Navarrete, the editor of this Coleccion when the earlier volumes were printed. This memorial appears, from the contents, to have been one of the documents submitted in the litigation then going on between the rival claimants for the privilege of exploring the country discovered by Friar Marcos, although the document is not printed with the other papers in the case.

[2] Documentos Inéditos Hist. España, vol. iv, p. 211: Memorial que dió el Marqués del Valle en Madrid á 25 de Junio de 1540. . . . "Al tiempo que yo vine de la dicha tierra el dicho Fray Marcos

the facts, and that the accusations were made before anyone knew how little basis there was for the stories which were the cause of the whole trouble. Without trying to clear the character of Cortes, it is possible to suggest the answer to the most evident reply to his accusations—that he never published the stories which he says he received from the Indians. Cortes certainly did persist in his endeavors to explore the country lying about the head of the Gulf of California. If he ever heard from the Indians anything concerning the Cibola region—which is doubtful, partly because Cortes himself complains that if Mendoza had not interfered with the efficiency of his expeditions, he would have secured this information—it would still have been the best policy for Cortes to keep the knowledge to himself, so that possible rivals might remain ignorant of it until he had perfected his own plans. It may be questioned how long such secrecy would have been possible, but we know how successfully the Spanish authorities managed to keep from the rest of the world the correct and complete cartographical information as to what was being accomplished in the New World, throughout the period of exploration and conquest.

The truce—it can hardly be called a friendship—between Mendoza and Cortes, which prevailed during the first years of the viceroy's administration, could not last long. Mendoza, as soon as he was fairly settled in his position in New Spain,[1] asked the King for a license to make explorations. Cortes still looked on every rival in the work of extending this portion of the Spanish world as an interloper, even though he must have recognized that his prestige at the court and in the New World was rapidly lessening. The distrust with which each of the two regarded the other increased the trouble which was inevitable so soon as the viceroy, urged on by the audiencia, undertook to execute the royal orders which instructed him to investigate the extent of the estates held by Cortes, and to enumerate the Indians held to service by the conqueror. Bad feeling was inevitable, and the squabbles over forms of address and of precedence, which Suarez de Peralta records, were only a few of many things which reveal the relations of the two leading men in New Spain.

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habló conmigo . . . é yo le dí noticia de esta dicha tierra y descubrimiento de ella, porque tenia determinacion de enviarlo en mis navios en proseguimiento y conquista de la dicha costa y tierra, porque parescia que se le entendia algo de cosas de navegacion: el cual dicho fraile lo comunicó con el dicho visorey, y con su licencia diz que fué por tierra en demanda de la misma costa y tierra que yo habia descubierto, y que era y es de mi conquista; y despues que volvió el dicho fraile ha publicado que diz que llegó á vista de la dicha tierra; lo cual yo niego haber él visto ni descubierto, antes lo que el dicho fraile refiere haber visto, lo ha dicho y dice por sola la relacion que yo le habia hecho de la noticia que tenia de los indios de la dicha tierra de Santa Cruz que yo truje, porque todo lo que el dicho fraile se dice que refiere, es lo mismo que los dichos indios á mí me dijeron; y en haberse en esto adelantado el dicho Fray Marcos fingiendo y refiriendo lo que no sabe ni vió, no hizo cosa nueva, porque otras muchas veces lo ha hecho y lo tiene por costumbre como es notorio en las provincias del Perú y Guatemala, y se dará de ello informacion bastante luego en esta corte, siendo necesario."

[1]The request occurs in the earliest letters from the viceroy, and is repeated in that of December 10, 1537. This privilege was withdrawn from all governors in the colonies by one of the New Laws of 1543. (Icazbalceta, Col. Hist. Mexico, ii, 204.) The ill success of Coronado's efforts did not weaken Mendoza's desire to enlarge his territory, for he begs his agent in Spain, Juan de Aguilar, to secure for him a fresh grant of the privilege in a later letter. (Pacheco y Cardenas, Doc. de Indias, vol. iii, p. 506; B. Smith, Florida, p. 7.)

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

ZALTIERI'S KARTE, 1566

We can not be certain what the plans of Cortes were, nor can we tell just how much he did to carry his schemes into execution, during the years from 1537 to 1540. Shortly after the men whom Cortes had established at Santa Cruz were recalled, a decree was issued, in the name of the audiencia, to forbid the sending of any expedition for exploration or conquest from New Spain. Cortes declared that he had at this time, September, 1538, nine good ships already built. He was naturally unwilling to give up all hope of deriving any benefit from his previous undertakings, as would be inevitable if Mendoza should succeed in his projects for taking advantage of whatever good things could be found toward the north. The danger must have seemed clear so soon as he learned of the departure of Friar Marcos and the negro on their journey toward the Seven Cities. There is no means of knowing whether Cortes had learned of the actual discovery of Cibola, when he suddenly ordered Francisco de Ulloa to take three vessels and sail up the coast toward the head of the Gulf of California. The friar may have sent Indian messengers to the viceroy so soon as he heard the native reports about the seven cities of Cibola, and it is possible that the news of his approaching return may have reached New Spain before the departure of Ulloa, which took place July 8, 1539, from Acapulco.[1] It seems clear that this action was unexpected, and that it was a successful anticipation of preventive measures. In the statement of his grievances, Cortes declares that Mendoza not only threw every possible obstacle in his way, seizing six or seven vessels which failed to get away with Ulloa, but that even after Ulloa had gone, the viceroy sent a strong force up the coast to prevent the ships from entering any of the ports. When stress of weather forced one of the ships to put into Guatulco, the pilot and sailors were imprisoned and the viceroy persistently refused to return the ship to its owner. About the same time, a messenger who had been sent to Cortes from Santiago in Colima was seized and tortured, in the hope of procuring from him information about the plans of Cortes.[2]

After Friar Marcos came back from the north and filled the people in New Spain with the desire of going to this new country, Cortes realized that he could do nothing, even in the city which he had won for his King and for Europe, to prevent the expedition which Mendoza was already organizing. Early in 1540—we know only that he was on his way when he wrote to Oviedo from Habana[3] on February 5—the conqueror of Motecuhzoma's empire left Mexico for the last time, and went to see what he could gain by a personal application at the court of His Majesty the Emperor, Charles V.

[1] Ulloa's Relation is translated from Ramusio in Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 397, ed. 1600.

[2] Memorial que dió al Rey el Marques del Valle, en Madrid, 25 de junio, 1540: Printed in Doc. Inéd. España, vol. iv, p. 209. Compare with this account that in H. H. Bancroft's Mexico, vol. ii, p. 425. Mr Bancroft is always a strong advocate of the cause of Cortes.

[3] Oviedo, Historia General, vol. iv, p. 19.

Mendoza had guarded against rival expeditions from his own territory, and so soon as he knew that Friar Marcos had succeeded in his quest, he took precautions to prevent the news of the discovery from reaching other portions of the New World. His chief fear, probably, was lest De Soto, who had recently received a license to explore the country between the Rio de las Palmas, in the present Texas, and Florida,[1] might direct his expedition toward the western limits of his territory, if he should learn of the rich prospects there. Although Mendoza probably did not know it, De Soto had sailed from Habana in May, 1539, and in July, sending back his largest ships, he began the long march through the everglades of Florida, which was to end in the Mississippi. Mendoza, with all the formality of the viceregal authority, ordered that no vessel sailing from New Spain should touch at any port in the New World on its way back to the home peninsula, and this notice was duly served on all departing shipmasters by the secretaries of the viceroy. By the middle of November, however, despite all this care, a ship from Vera Cruz sailed into the harbor of Habana. The master declared, on his oath, that he had been forced to put in there, because sickness had broken out aboard his vessel soon after the departure from New Spain and because he had discovered that his stock of provisions and water was insufficient for the voyage across the Atlantic. Curiously enough, one of the crew, possibly one of those who had been seized with the sickness, had in his possession some letters which he had been asked to deliver to Hernando De Soto, in Habana. Apparently the agent or friend of De Soto living in Mexico, one Francisco de Billegas, did not know that the adelantado had left Cuba, although he had arranged to have the letters carried to Spain and given to the representative of the adelantado there if De Soto was not found at Habana. De Soto had taken care that his interests should be watched and protected, in Spain as well as in the New World, when he started on his search for the land of wealth north of the Gulf of Mexico, the search on which Ayllon and Narvaez had failed so sadly.

It was the regular practice of all the governors and successful explorers in the colonies of the empire to maintain representatives in Spain who should look after their interests at court and before the administrative bureaus. When the news of Friar Marcos' discovery reached Europe, accompanied by reports of the preparations which Mendoza was making for an expedition to take possession of the new territory, protests and counterclaims were immediately presented in behalf of all those who could claim any right to participate in this new field of conquest. The first formal statements were filed with the Council for the Indies, March 3, 1540, and on June 10, 1541, the factor or representative of Cortes, whose petition is first among the papers relating to the case, asked for an extension of six days. This ends the

[1] The capitulacion or agreement with De Soto is printed in Pacheco y Cardenas, Doc. de Indias, vol. xv, pp. 354–363.

documents concerning the litigation, so far as they have been printed.[1] Petitions, testimony, narratives of explorations and discoveries, acts taking possession of new lands, notifications and decisions, appeals and countercharges, were filed and referred, each claimant watching his rivals so closely and objecting to their claims so strenuously that the fiscal, Villalobos, in his report on the case, May 25, 1540, gives as one of the most conclusive reasons in favor of the advice which he offers to the Council, that each of the parties has clearly proved that none of the others have any right to claim a share in the newly discovered region by virtue of any grants, licenses, or achievements whatsoever.

Of the various claimants, the representative of the adelantado Hernando De Soto offered perhaps the best argument. The territory granted to De Soto extended on the west to the Rio de las Palmas, and this grant was the same as that previously made to Narvaez. The discovery had grown out of the expedition of Narvaez, to whose rights De Soto had succeeded, through the reports which Cabeza de Vaca carried to New Spain. The newly discovered region was evidently inland, and this fact disposed of the two prominent rivals, Cortes and Alvarado. The adelantado had expended large sums in preparing for this undertaking—a claim advanced with equal vigor by all the parties, and usually supported by specific accounts, which unfortunately are not printed—and it was only right that he should be given every opportunity to reap the full advantage from these outlays. Most important of all was the fact that De Soto was already in the country north of the gulf, in command of a large and well equipped force, and presumably on his way toward the region about which they were disputing. Because De Soto was there, urged his representative with strong and persistent emphasis, all other exploring expeditions ought to be kept away. It was clearly probable that great and notorious scandals would ensue unless this was guarded against, just as had happened in Peru. If this precaution was not taken, and two expeditions representing conflicting interests should be allowed to come together in the country beyond the reach of the royal restraint, many lives would inevitably be lost and great damage be done to the Spaniards, and to the souls of the Indians as well, while the enlargement of the royal patrimony would be hindered.[2]

Cortes reached Spain some time in April, 1540,[3] and was able to direct his case in person for much of the time. He urged the priority of his

[1] These documents fill 108 pages in volume xv of the Pacheco y Cardenas Documentos de Indias. At least one other document presented in the case, the Capitulacion . . . que hizo Ayllon, is printed elsewhere in the same Coleccion. This, also, does not include the two long memorials which Cortes succeeded in presenting to the King in person.

[2] This much feared conjunction came very near to being realized. A comparison of the various plottings of the routes De Soto and Coronado may have followed and of their respective itineraries shows that the two parties could not have been far apart in the present Oklahoma or Indian territory, or perhaps north of that region. This evidence is confirmed by the story of the Indian woman, related by Castañeda. Dr J. G. Shea, in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, vol. ii, p. 292, states that Coronado heard of his countryman De Soto, and sent a letter to him. This is almost certainly a mistake, which probably originated in a misinterpretation of a statement made by Jaramillo.

[3] See his Carta in Doc. Inéd. España, vol. civ, p. 491.

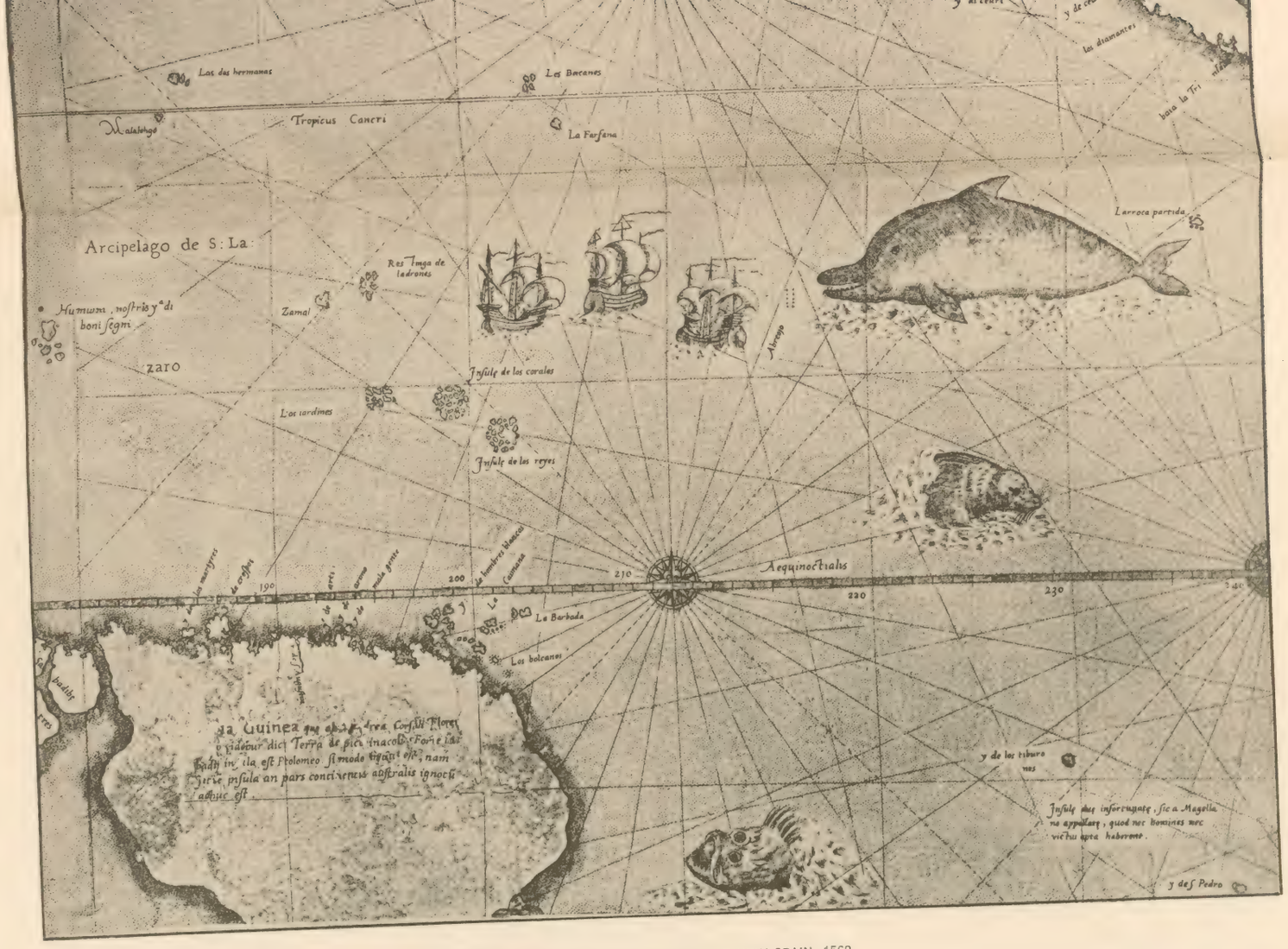
claims under the royal license, dating from 1529.[1] He told of his many efforts to enlarge the Spanish domain, undertaken at great expense, personal sacrifice and danger, and resulting in the loss of relations and friends. From all of this, as he carefully pointed out, neither His Majesty nor himself had received any proper benefit, though this was not the result of any fault or lack of diligence on his part, as he hastened to explain, but had been caused by the persistent and ill-concealed hostility of the audiencia and the viceroy in New Spain, "concerning all of which His Majesty must have been kept heretofore in ignorance."

Nuño de Guzman presented his case in person, though perhaps this was not so much because it was more effective as because his resources must have been limited and his time little occupied. He was able, indeed, to make out a very good argument, assuming his right to the governorship of New Galicia, a province which had been greatly enlarged by his conquests. These conquests were toward the north, and he had taken possession of all the land in that direction in behalf of His Catholic Majesty. He would have extended the Spanish territory much farther in the same direction, if only his zealous efforts had not been abruptly cut short by his persecutors, through whose malicious efforts he was even yet nominally under arrest. Nor was this all, for all future expeditions into the new region must go across the territory which was rightfully his, and they could only succeed by the assistance and resources which would be drawn from his country. Thus he was the possessor of the key to all that lay beyond.

The commission or license which Pedro de Alvarado took with him from Spain the year before these proceedings opened, granted him permission to explore toward the west and the north—the latter provision probably inserted as a result of the reports which Cabeza de Vaca brought to Spain. Alvarado had prepared an expedition at great expense, and since the new region lay within his grant, his advocate pleaded, it would evidently pertain to him to conquer it. Moreover, he was in very high favor at court, as is shown by the ease with which he regained his position, in spite of the attack by the Mexican audiencia, and also by the ease with which he obtained the papal permission allowing him to marry the sister of his former wife. But Alvarado figures only slightly in the litigation, and he may have appeared as a party in order to maintain an opposition, rather than with any hope or intention of establishing the justice of his claims. Everything seems to add to the probability of the theory that Mendoza effected an alliance with him very early. It is possible that the negotiations may have begun before Alvarado left Spain, although there is no certainty about anything which preceded the written articles of agreement. Some of the contemporary historians appear to have been ignorant even of these.

[1] The Título, etc, dated 6 Julio, 1529, is in Pacheco y Cardenas, Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos de Indias, vol. iv, pp. 572–574.

Satyrorum insuiæ
Tuchano
Quiuira regnum
Quiuira
Sierra nevada
Tolm
regnum
Axa fluuius
Chucho
Axa
Cicuic
Tiguex
Tontonteac regnum
Tontonteac
Tontonteas flu.
p° de sarbiñas
cosso blanca
baia de los fuegos
cauon s Miguel
C de cruz
Cabo engaño
Cazones insula
y de cedri
y de cedros
los diamantes
Granora



MERCATOR'S NORTHWESTERN PART OF NEW SPAIN, 1569

The Council for the Indies referred the whole matter of the petitions and accompanying evidence to the fiscal, the licentiate Villalobos, April 21, 1540. He made a report, which virtually decided the case, May 25. The parties were given an opportunity of replying to this, and they continued to present evidence and petitions and countercharges for a year longer. The final decision, if any was made, has not been printed, so far as I know, but the Council could hardly have done anything beyond formally indorsing the report of Villalobos. The duty of the fiscal was plain, and his report advises His Majesty not to grant any of the things asked for by the petitioners. He states that this discovery ought to be made by and in behalf of His Majesty, since the region was not included in any previous grant. Although the Crown had forbidden any further unlicensed explorations, this would not prevent expeditions being undertaken on the part of the Crown, which is always at liberty to explore at will. In effect, of course, the report sanctioned the exploration by Mendoza, who represented the royal interests and power. An objection was at once entered in behalf of De Soto, using the very good argument that Mendoza's expedition would be sent out either at the expense of the Crown or of his private fortune. If the former, it was claimed that as the explorer would have the glory in any event, the Crown ought to save the expense by allowing De Soto, who had already undertaken the same thing at his own cost, to make these discoveries, which he promised should redound to as great an extent to the glory and advantage of the Emperor. If Mendoza was undertaking this at his own expense, it was evident that he would desire to recover his outlay. Here he was merely on the same footing as De Soto, who was prepared to make a better offer to his Royal Master than Mendoza could possibly afford. In either case there was the danger of scandal and disaster, in case the two expeditions should be allowed to come together beyond the range of the royal oversight. No answer to this appeal is recorded, and the parties continued to argue down their opponents' cases, while the viceroy in New Spain started the expedition which, under the command of Francisco Vazquez Coronado, discovered the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, the Grand canyon of the Colorado, and the bison of the great plains.

The Expedition to New Mexico and the Great Plains

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EXPEDITION

Two classes of colonists are essential to the security and the permanent prosperity of every newly opened country. In New Spain in the sixteenth century these two classes, sharply divided and almost antagonistic—the established settlers and the free soldiers of fortune—were both of considerable importance. Cortes, so soon as he had conquered the country, recognized the need of providing for its settlement by a stable population. In the petitions and memorials which he wrote in

1539 and 1540 he continually reiterates the declaration of the pains and losses sustained on account of his efforts to bring colonists from Spain to populate the New World. Whether he accomplished all that these memorials claim is doubtful, for there are comparatively few references to this class of immigrants during the years when Cortes was in a position to accomplish his designs. Mendoza declared that the increase of the European population in New Spain came largely after his own arrival there, in 1535, and this was probably true. The "good viceroy" unquestionably did more than anyone else to place the province on a permanent basis.[1]

Mendoza supervised with great care the assignment of land to the newcomers, and provided tools and stock for those who had not the means of equipping their farms. As a royal decree forbade the granting of land to unmarried men, besides directing an increase of royal favor and additional grants proportionate to the increase of children, the viceroy frequently advanced the money which enabled men who were desirous of settling down to get married. When he came from Spain in 1535, he brought with him a number of eligible spinsters, and it is quite probable that, after these had found husbands, he maintained the supply of maids suitable to become the wives of those colonists who wished to experience the royal bounty and favor. Alvarado engaged in a similar undertaking when he came out to Guatemala in 1539, but with less success than we may safely hope rewarded the thoughtfulness of Mendoza.[2] A royal order in 1538 had decreed that all who held encomiendas should marry within three years, if not already possessed of a wife, or else forfeit their estates to married men. Some of the bachelor landholders protested against the enforcement of this order in Guatemala, because eligible white women could not be found nearer than Mexico. To remove this objection, Alvarado brought twenty maidens from Spain. Soon after their arrival, a reception was held, at which they were given a chance to see their prospective husbands. During the evening, one of the girls declared to her companions that she never could marry one of these "old fellows, . . . who were cut up as if they had just escaped from the infernal regions, . . . for some of them are lame, some have only one hand, others have no ears or only one eye, and some of them have lost half their faces. The best of them have one or two scars across their foreheads."

[1] Fragmento Visita: Mendoza, Icazbalceta's Mexico, vol. ii, p. 90, § 86. "Porque antes que el dicho visorey viniese . . . habia muy poca gente y los corregimientos bastaban para proveellos y sustentallos, y como despues de la venida del dicho visorey creció la gente y se aumentó, y de cada dia vienen gentes pobres á quien se ha de proveer de comer, con la dicha baja y vacaciones se han proveido y remediado, y sin ella hubieran padecido y padecieran gran necesidad, y no se poblara tanto la tierra, y dello se dió noticia á S. M. y lo aprobó y se tuvo por servido en ello. § 194 (p. 117): Despues que el dicho visorey vino á esta Nueva España, continamente ha acogido en su casa á caballeros y otras personas que vienen necesitados de España y de otras partes, dándoles de comer y vestir, caballos y armas con que sirvan á S. M." . . .

[2] Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales, part II, cap. i, lib. ii, p. 58 (ed. 1722), tells the story of Alvarado's experiment. The picture of the life and character of the Spanish conquerors of America, in the eyes of a girl fresh from Europe, is so vivid and suggestive that its omission would be unjustifiable.

The story is that one of the "old fellows" overheard this outburst, reported it to his friends, and promptly went off and married the daughter of a powerful cacique.

Besides assisting his colonists to get wives, Mendoza did a great deal to foster the agricultural interests of the province. He continued the importation of cattle, which Cortes had begun, and also procured horses and sheep from Spain. He writes in one of his letters of the especial satisfaction that he felt because of the rapid increase of his merino sheep, in spite of the depredations of the natives and of wild animals. The chief concern of the officials of the audiencia had been the gold mines, which yielded a considerable revenue in certain districts; but Mendoza, without neglecting these, proved how large and reliable was the additional revenue which could be derived from other sources. The viceroy's success in developing the province can not be shown more clearly than by repeating the description of New Spain in 1555, written by Robert Tomson, an English merchant engaged in the Spanish trade. In the course of a business tour Tomson visited the City of Mexico. His commercial friends in the city entertained him most hospitably, and did their best to make his visit pleasant. He refused, however, to heed their warnings, and his indiscreet freedom of speech finally compelled the officials of the Inquisition to imprison him, thus adding considerably to the length of his residence in the city. After he returned home, he wrote a narrative of his tour, in which he says of New Spain:

"As for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailes, Guiñy-cockes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a slaue can carry away from the Butchers, for fiue Tomynes, that is, fiue Royals of plate, which is iust two shillings and sixe pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. . . . [The country] doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. . . . Also there are many goodly fruits, whereof we haue none such, as Plantanos, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great store of blacke cheries, and other wholsome fruites. . . . Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe. . . . Balme, Salsaperilla, cana fistula, suger, oxe hides, and many other good and seruiceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations."[1]

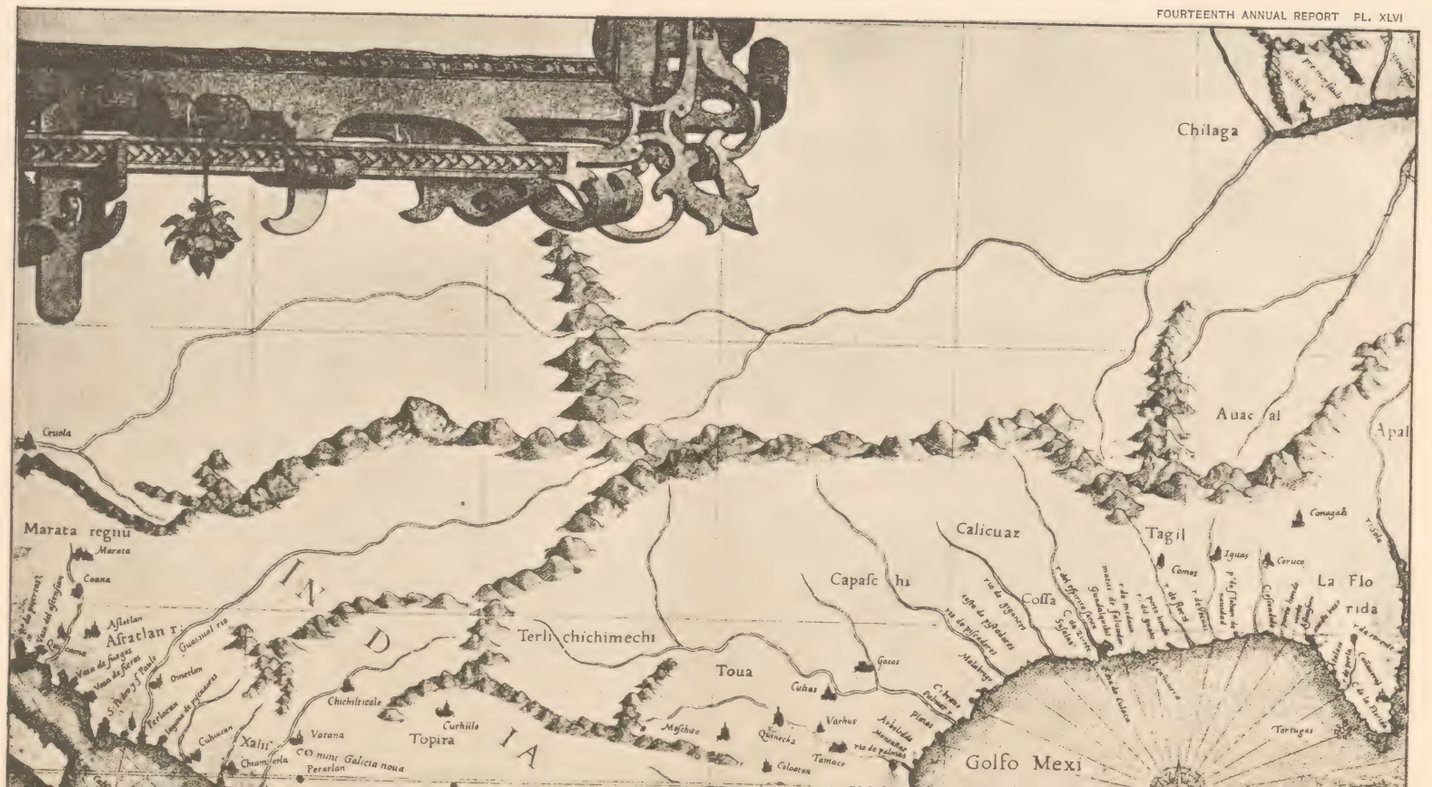
The other class among the colonists of New Spain in the second quarter of the sixteenth century "floated like cork on the water" on those who had established their homes in the New World.[2] The men

[1] Tomson's whole narrative, in Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. iii, p. 447 (ed. 1600), is well worth reading. Considerable additional information in regard to the internal condition of New Spain, at a little later date, may be found in the "Discourses" which follow Tomson's Narrative, in the same volume of Hakluyt.

[2] The proof text for this quotation, as for many of the following statements which are taken from Mota Padilla's Historia de la Nueva Galicia, may be found in footnotes to the passages which they illustrate in the translation of Castañeda's narrative. I hope this arrangement will prove most convenient for those who study the documents included in this memoir. I shall not attempt in the introductory narrative to make any further references showing my indebtedness to Mota Padilla's invaluable work.

who made it possible to live in security on the farms and ranches of the province had rendered many and indispensable services, and there was much that they might still do to enlarge its boundaries and make the security more certain. They were, nevertheless, a serious hindrance to the prosperity of the settlements. For the most part they were young men of all sorts and degrees. Among them were many sons of Spanish noblemen, like Mendoza the viceroy, whose brother had just succeeded his father as Marquis de Mondejar. Very much of the extension of the Spanish world by discovery and conquest was due to the sons of men of rank, who had, perhaps generally, begun to sow their wild oats in Spain and were sent across the Atlantic in order to keep them out of mischief at home, or to atone, it may be, for mischief already done. In action, these young caballeros were most efficient. By personal valor and ability, they held the positions of leadership everywhere, among men who followed whom and when they chose, and always chose the man who led them most successfully. When inactive, these same cavaliers were a most trying annoyance to any community in which they happened to be. Armed with royal letters and comprehensive introductions, they had to be entertained, at heavy charges. Masters of their own movements, they came as they liked, and very often did not go away. Lovers of excitement, they secured it regardless of other men's wives or property.

There had been few attractions to draw these adventurers away from Mexico, the metropolis of the mainland, for some time previous to 1539. Peru still offered excitement for those who had nothing to gain or lose, but the purely personal struggle going on there between Pizarro and Almagro could not arouse the energies of those who were in search of glory as well as of employment. A considerable part of the rabble which followed Nuño de Guzman during the conquest of New Galicia went to Peru after their chief had been superseded by the Licentiate de la Torre, so that one town is said to have disappeared entirely from this cause; but among these there were few men of good birth and spirit. Mendoza had been able, at first, to accommodate and employ those who accompanied him from Spain, like Vazquez Coronado, "being chiefly young gentlemen." But every vessel coming from home brought some companion or friend of those who were already in New Spain, and after Cabeza de Vaca carried the reports of his discoveries to the Spanish court, an increasing number came each season to join the already burdensome body of useless members of the viceregal household. The viceroy recognized the necessity of relieving the community of this burden very soon after he had established himself in Mexico, and he was continually on the watch for some suitable means of freeing himself from these guests. By 1539 the problem of looking after these young gentlemen—whose number is determined quite accurately by the two hundred and fifty or three hundred "gentlemen on horseback" who left New Spain with Coronado in the


Chilaga
Auac al
Apal
Marata regnu
Marata
Coana
Asiatlan
Asiatlan T.
Guacaul rio
Omeclan
Terlacan
Cubacan
Xalis
Chamisela
Varana
Comunis Galicia noua
Petarlan
Chichiltecale
Curhiilo
Topira
Terlichichimechi
Toua
Capasc hi
Calicuar
Tagil
Comagali
Coruca
La Flo
rida
Golfo Mexi
Tortugas
Gacos
Cubas
Mexhuco
Quiuechu
Varhos
Tamaco
Celoacan
Pinos
INDIA

Hispania noua
Mechuacan
Tecoantepec
Topira
Golfo Mexicano
Yucatan
Tierra Firme
Santo Thomas
La Anublada
Chinao
S. Michel
Tula
Acapulco
Tehuantepec
Camola
Nicaragua
Nicoya
Quicori
Naco
Chiru
Leon
Nita
Veraca
Nicoia
Sobaco
Nata
Quicora
Mapelo
Puebla
Guatemala
Chiapa
Tabasco
Tlaxcala
Mexico
Tezcuco
Zempoallan
Almeria
Armiao
Campeche
Champoton
Tortugas
Caxinas nus
Trugillo
Maxamalco
Tuxpa
Vitzilla
Mechuacan
Acapulco
Tecoantepec
Camola
Nicaragua
Golfo de Nicoya
Golfo de Panama
Golfo de Nata
Golfo de Quicora
Golfo de Mapelo
Golfo de Nicoia
Golfo de Chiapa
Golfo de Tabasco
Golfo de Campeche
Golfo de Almeria
Golfo de Tortugas
Golfo de Guatemala
Golfo de Tlaxcala
Golfo de Mexicano
Golfo de Yucatan
Golfo de Tierra Firme
Golfo de Santo Thomas
Golfo de La Anublada
Golfo de Chinao
Golfo de S. Michel
Golfo de Tula
Golfo de Acapulco
Golfo de Tehuantepec
Golfo de Camola
Golfo de Nicaragua
Golfo de Quicori
Golfo de Naco
Golfo de Chiru
Golfo de Leon
Golfo de Nita
Golfo de Veraca
Golfo de Nicoia
Golfo de Sobaco
Golfo de Nata
Golfo de Quicora
Golfo de Mapelo
Golfo de Puebla
Golfo de Guatemala
Golfo de Chiapa
Golfo de Tabasco
Golfo de Tlaxcala
Golfo de Mexico
Golfo de Campeche
Golfo de Almeria
Golfo de Tortugas

spring of 1540—had become a serious one to the viceroy. The most desirable employment for all this idle energy would be, of course, the exploration and conquest of new country, or the opening of the border territory for permanent settlement. But no mere work for work's sake, no wild-goose chase, would do. These young gentlemen had many friends near to Charles V, who would have resented any abuse of privilege or of confidence. A suitable expedition could be undertaken only at considerable expense, and unless the cost could all be made good to the accountants in Spain, complaints were sure to be preferred against even the best of viceroys. So Mendoza entertained his guests as best he could, while they loafed about his court or visited his stock farms, and he anxiously watched the reports which came from the officials of the northwestern province of New Galicia and from the priests who were wandering and working among the outlying Indian tribes. When, late in the summer of 1539, Friar Marcos returned from the north, bringing the assurance that Cibola was a desirable field for conquest, the viceroy quickly improved the opportunity for which he had been waiting. Within a month and a half Mendoza had begun to organize the force which was to conquer this new country.

Compostela, on the Pacific coast, was announced as the place at which the force should assemble. The viceroy desired to have the army begin its march so soon as the roads were passable in the spring, and he wished also to relieve the Indians living in the districts between Mexico and the coast from as much as possible of the annoyance and loss which would be inevitable if the army started from Mexico and marched through this territory in a body. How much this forethought for the Indians was needed appears from Mendoza's reply to the accusations against him filed during the visita of 1547, which showed that all his care had not saved the Indians of Michoacan from needless injury at the hands of those who were on their way to join the gathering at Compostela. Incidentally, this arrangement also gave the capital city an earlier relief from its unwelcome guests.

Popular as was the expedition to the Seven Cities, there was a little opposition to the undertaking. When it became evident that a large force was about to leave the country, some of those who were to remain behind complained that all New Spain was being depopulated, and that no one would be left to defend the country in case of an Indian uprising. When Mendoza reached Compostela, by the middle of February, 1540, Coronado asked him to make an official investigation of these complaints. The formal request is dated February 21, and on the following day, Sunday, the viceroy held a grand review of the whole array, with everyone ready equipped for the march. As the men passed before the viceregal party the secretaries made an exact count and description of the force, but this document is not now known. Its loss is partly supplied by the sworn testimony of the officials who were best acquainted with the inhabitants of all parts of New Spain,

recorded a few days after the departure of the expedition. They declare that in the whole army there were only two or three men who had ever been settled residents in the country; that these few were men who had failed to make a living as settlers, and that, in short, the whole force was a good riddance.[1]

The men who assembled at Compostela to start for the Seven Cities numbered, Mendoza stated at the time of the visita in 1547, "about two hundred and fifty Spaniards on horseback, . . . and about three hundred Indians, a few more or less." Mota Padilla, who must have used documents of the very best authority, nearly all of which have since disappeared, gives the number of the force as "two hundred and sixty horsemen, . . seventy footmen, . . and more than a thousand friendly Indians and Indian servants." Herrera, who used official documents, says that there were one hundred and fifty horsemen and two hundred footmen. Mendoza's statement of the number of Indians may be explained, if we suppose him to have referred only to the friendly Indians who went on the expedition as native allies. His statement is made in the course of a defense of his administration, when he was naturally desirous of giving as small a number as possible. Castañeda says that there were three hundred horsemen, and this number occurs in other early narratives.

Mendoza spared neither pains nor expense to insure the success of the expedition. Arms, horses, and supplies were furnished in abundance; money was advanced from the royal chest to any who had debts to pay before they could depart, and provision was made for the support of those who were about to be left behind by fathers, brothers, or husbands. The equipment of the force was all that the viceroy could desire. Arms and military supplies had been among the things greatly needed in New Spain when Mendoza reported its condition in his first letters to the home government. In 1537 he repeated his request for these supplies with increased insistence. The subject is not again mentioned in his letters, and we may fairly suppose that he had received the weapons and munitions of war, fresh from the royal arsenals of Spain, with which he equipped the expedition on whose success he had staked so much. It was a splendid array as it passed in review before Mendoza and the officials who helped and watched him govern New Spain, on this Sunday in February, 1540. The young cavaliers curbed the picked horses from the large stock farms of the viceroy, each resplendent in long blankets flowing to the ground. Each rider held his lance erect, while his sword and other weapons hung in their proper places at his side. Some were arrayed in coats of mail, polished to shine like that of their general, whose gilded armor with its brilliant trappings was to bring him many hard blows a few months later. Others wore iron helmets or vizored headpieces of the tough bullhide for which the country

[1] The Testimonio contains so much that is of interest to the historical student that I have translated it in full herein.

has ever been famous. The footmen carried crossbows and harquebuses, while some of them were armed with sword and shield. Looking on at these white men with their weapons of European warfare was the crowd of native allies in their paint and holiday attire, armed with the club and the bow of an Indian warrior. When all these started off next morning, in duly ordered companies, with their banners flying, upward of a thousand servants and followers, black men and red men, went with them, leading the spare horses, driving the pack animals, bearing the extra baggage of their masters, or herding the large droves of "big and little cattle," of oxen and cows, sheep, and, maybe, swine,[1] which had been collected by the viceroy to assure fresh food for the army on its march. There were more than a thousand horses in the train of the force, besides the mules, loaded with camp supplies and provisions, and carrying half a dozen pieces of light artillery—the pedreros, or swivel guns of the period.

After the review, the army assembled before the viceroy, who addressed to them an exhortation befitting the occasion. Each man, whether captain or foot soldier, then swore obedience to his commander and officers, and promised to prove himself a loyal and faithful vassal to his Lord the King. During the preceding week the viceroy had divided the force into companies, and now he assigned to each its captain, as Castañeda relates, and announced the other officers of the army.

Francisco Vazquez Coronado—de Coronado it is sometimes written—was captain-general of the whole force. "Who he is, what he has already done, and his personal qualities and abilities, which may be made useful in the various affairs which arise in these parts of the Indies, I have already written to Your Majesty," writes Mendoza to the Emperor, in the letter of December 10, 1537. This previous letter is not known to exist, and there is very little to supply the place of its description of the character and antecedents of Vazquez Coronado. His home was in Salamanca,[2] and he came to America in the retinue of Mendoza in 1535. His relations with his patron, the viceroy, previous to the return of the expedition from Cibola, appear always to have been most cordial and intimate. In 1537 Coronado married Beatrice de Estrada, a cousin by blood, if gossip was true, of the Emperor, Charles V. Her father, Alonso, had been royal treasurer of New Spain. From his mother-in-law Coronado received as a marriage gift a considerable estate, "the half of Tlapa," which was confirmed to him by a royal grant. Cortez complained that the income from this estate was worth more than 3,000 ducados, and that it had been unduly and inconsiderately alienated from the Crown. Coronado obtained also the estate of one Juan de Búrgos, apparently one of those who forfeited

[1] Herrera, Historia General, dec. VI, lib. ix, cap. xi, vol. iii, p. 204 (ed. 1730), mentions pigs among the food supply of the army. For the above description, which is not so fanciful as it sounds, see notes from Mota Padilla, etc, accompanying the translation of Castañeda.

[2] Castañeda's statement is supported by Herrera, Historia General, dec. VI, lib. v, cap. ix, vol. iii, p. 121 (ed. 1730), and by Tello, in Icazbalceta's Mexico, vol. ii, p. 370.

their land because they persisted in the unmarried state. This arrangement likewise received the royal approval.[1] When, however, "the new laws and ordinances for the Indies" came out from Spain in 1544,[2] after Coronado's return from the northern expedition, one of the sections expressly ordered an investigation into the extent and value of the estates held by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, since it had been reported to the King that the number of Indians held to service on these estates was very excessive. Mendoza had to answer the same charge at his visita in 1547.

Mendoza sent Coronado, in 1537, to the mines at Amatepeque, where the negroes had revolted and "elected a king," and where they threatened to cause considerable trouble. The revolt was quelled, after some fighting, with the help of the Indians of the district. A couple of dozen of the rebels were hung and quartered at the mines or in the City of Mexico.[3]

In the following August, Coronado was legally recognized as a citizen of the City of Mexico, where he was one of three witnesses chosen to testify to the formal recognition by Cortes of the royal order which permitted De Soto to explore and conquer Florida.[4] A month later. September 7, 1538, the representative of De Soto, Alvaro de Sanjurjo, summoned Coronado himself to recognize and promise obedience to the same royal order, "as governor, as the said Sanjurjo declared him to be, of New Galicia." Coronado readily promised his loyal and respectful obedience to all of His Majesty's commands, but observed that this matter did not concern him at all, "since he was not governor, nor did he know that His Majesty desired to have him serve in such a position; and if His Majesty should desire his services in that position, he would obey and submit to the royal provision for him whenever he was called on, and would do what was most serviceable to the royal interests." He adds that he knows nothing about the government of Ayllon or that of Narvaez, which were mentioned in the license to De Soto. This part of his statement can hardly have been strictly true. The answer was not satisfactory to Sanjurjo, who replied that he had received information that Coronado was to be appointed governor of New Galicia. The latter stated that he had already given his answer, and thereupon Sanjurjo formally protested that the blame for any expenditures, damages, or scandals which might result from a failure to observe the royal order must be laid at the door of the one to whom they rightfully belonged, and that they would not result from any fault or omission on the part of De Soto. Sanjurjo may have received some hint or suggestion of the intention to appoint Coronado, but it is quite certain that no definite steps had yet been taken to supplant the licentiate, De la

[1] See the Fragmento de Visita, in Icazbalceta's Doc. Hist. Mexico, vol. ii, p. 95.

[2] The laws were signed at Valladolid, June 4 and June 26, 1543, and the copy printed in Icazbalceta's Doc. Hist. Mexico, vol. ii, p. 214, was promulgated in New Spain, March 13, 1544.

[3] See Mendoza's letter to the King, December 10, 1537.

[4] The proceso which was served on Cortes is in Pacheco y Cardenas, Doc. de Indias, vol. xv, p. 371.

Torre, as governor of New Galicia. Coronado's answer shows plainly that he intentionally refused to commit himself when so many things were uncertain, and when nothing was definitely known about the country of which Cabeza de Vaca had heard. Mendoza may have suggested his appointment at an earlier date, but the King apparently waited until he learned of De la Torre's untimely death before approving the selection. The confirmation was signed April 18, 1539, and at the same time Coronado was appointed to take the residencia of his predecessor. The King agreed to allow the new governor a salary of 1,000 ducats from the royal treasure chests and 1,500 more from the province, with the proviso that the royal revenues were not to be held responsible for this latter sum in case New Galicia proved too poor to yield so large an amount. Coronado probably went at once to his province when he received the notice of his nomination, for he was in Guadalajara on November 19, 1538, where he approved the selection of judges and magistrates for the ensuing year by the city of Compostela, which had held its election before his arrival. At the same time he appointed the judges for Guadalajara.

Coronado probably spent the winter of 1538–39 in New Galicia, arranging the administration and other affairs of his government. He entertained Friar Marcos, when the latter passed through his province in the spring of 1539, and accompanied the friar as far as Culiacan, the northernmost of the Spanish settlements. Here he provided the friar with Indians, provisions, and other things necessary for the journey to the Seven Cities. Later in the spring, the governor returned to Guadalajara, and devoted considerable attention to the improvement and extension of this city, so that it was able to claim and obtain from the King a coat of arms and the title of "city" during the following summer.[1] He was again here on January 9, 1540, when he promulgated the royal order, dated December 20, 1538, which decreed that inasmuch as it was reported that the cities in the Indies were not built with sufficient permanency, the houses being of wood and thatched with straw, so that fires and conflagrations were of frequent occurrence, therefore no settler should thereafter build a house of any material except stone, brick, or unbaked brick, and the houses should be built after the fashion of those in Spain, so that they might be permanent, and an adornment to the cities. Between these dates it is very likely that Coronado may have made some attempt to explore the mountainous regions north of the province, as Castañeda says, although his evidence is by no means conclusive.

About midsummer of 1539, Friar Marcos came back from Cibola. Coronado met him as he passed through New Galicia, and together they returned to Mexico to tell the viceroy what the friar had seen and heard. Coronado remained at the capital during the autumn and early

[1] The grant, dated at Madrid, November 8, 1539, is given in Tello's Fragmento (Icazbalceta's Doc. Hist. Mexico, vol. ii, p. 371).

winter, taking an active part in all the preparations for the expedition which he was to command. After the final review in Compostela, he was placed in command of the army, with the title of captain-general.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION

Monday, February 23, 1540, the army which was to conquer the Seven Cities of Cibola started on its northward march from Compostela.[1] For 80 leagues the march was along the "much-used roads" which followed the coast up to Culiacan.[2]

Everyone was eager to reach the wonderful regions which were to be their destination, but it was impossible to make rapid progress. The cattle could not be hurried, while the baggage animals and the carriers were so heavily laden with equipments and provisions that it was necessary to allow them to take their own time. Several days were lost at the Centizpac river, across which the cattle had to be trans-

[1]Before the end of the month Mendoza wrote a letter to the King, in which he gave a detailed account of the preparations he had made to insure the success of the expedition, and of the departure of the army. This letter is not known to exist.

[2]This march from Compostela to Culiacan, according to the letter which Coronado wrote from Granada-Zuñi on August 3, occupied eighty days. The same letter gives April 22 as the date when Coronado left Culiacan, after stopping for several days in that town, and this date is corroborated by another account, the Traslado de las Nuevas. April 22 is only sixty days after February 23, the date of the departure, which is fixed almost beyond question by the legal formalities of the Testimonio of February 21-26. We have only Ramusio's Italian text of Coronado's August 3 letter, so that it is easy to suspect that a slip on the part of the translator causes the trouble. But to complicate matters, eighty days previous to April 22 is about the 1st of February. Mota Padilla, who used material of great value in his Historia de la Nueva Galicia, says that the army marched from Compostela "el 1° de Febrero del año de 1540." Castañeda does not give much help, merely stating that the whole force was assembled at Compostela by "el dia de carnes tollendas," the carnival preceding Shrove tide, which in 1540 fell on February 10, Easter being March 28. Mendoza, who had spent the New Year's season at Pasquaro, the seat of the bishopric of Michoacan, did not hasten his journey across the country, and we know only that the whole force had assembled before he arrived at Compostela. At least a fortnight would have been necessary for completing the organization of the force, and for collecting and arranging all the supplies.

Another combination of dates makes it hard to decide how rapidly the army marched. Mendoza was at Compostela February 26. He presumably started on his return to Mexico very soon after that date. He went down the coast to Colima, where he was detained by an attack of fever for some days. Thence he proceeded to Jacona, where he wrote a letter to the King, April 17, 1540. March 20 Mendoza received the report of Melchior Diaz, who had spent the preceding winter in the country through which Friar Marcos had traveled, trying to verify the friar's report. Diaz, and Saldivar his lieutenant, on their return from the north, met the army at Chiametla as it was about to resume its march, after a few days' delay. Diaz stopped at Chiametla, while Saldivar carried the report to the viceroy, and he must have traveled very rapidly to deliver his packets on March 20, when Mendoza had left Colima, although he probably had not arrived at Jacona.

Everything points to the very slow progress of the force, hampered by the long baggage and provision trains. Castañeda says that they reached Culiacan just before Easter, March 28, less than thirty-five days after February 23. Here Coronado stopped for a fortnight's entertainment and rest, according to Castañeda, who was present. Mota Padilla says that the army stayed here a month, and this agrees with Castañeda's statement that the main body started a fortnight later than their general.

The attempt to arrange an itinerary of the expedition is perplexing, and has not been made easier by modern students. Professor Haynes, in his Early Explorations of New Mexico (Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, vol. ii, p. 481), following Bandelier's statement on page 26 of his Documentary History of Zuñi, says that the start from Compostela was made "in the last days of February, 1540." Mr Bandelier, however, who has given much more time to the study of everything connected with this expedition than has been possible for any other investigator, in his latest work—The Gilded Man, p. 164—adopts the date which is given by Mota Padilla. The best and the safest way out of this tangle in chronology is gained by accepting the three specific dates, February 23—or possibly 24—Easter, and April 22, disregarding every statement about the number of days intervening.

ported one at a time. At Chiametla there was another delay. Here the army camped in the remains of a village which Nuño de Guzman had established. The settlers had been driven away by a pestilence caught from the Indians, and by the fierce onslaught of the natives who came down upon them from the surrounding mountains. The food supply of Coronado's force was beginning to fail, and as the tribes hereabout were still in rebellion, it became necessary to send a force into the mountains to obtain provisions. The army master, Samaniego, who had been warden of one of the royal fortresses,[1] commanded the foraging party. The men found themselves buried in the thick underbrush as soon as they passed beyond the limits of the clearing. One of the soldiers inadvertently, but none the less in disregard of strict orders, became separated from the main party, and the Indians, who were nowhere to be seen, at once attacked him. In reply to his cries, the watchful commander hastened to his assistance. The Indians who had tried to seize him suddenly disappeared. When everything seemed to be safe, Samaniego raised his visor, and as he did so an arrow from among the bushes pierced his eye, passing through the skull. The death of Samaniego was a severe loss to the expedition. Brave and skillful, he was beloved by all who were with him or under him. He was buried in the little chapel of the deserted village. The army postponed its departure long enough to capture several natives of the district, whose bodies were left hanging on the trees in order to counteract the bad augury which followed from the loss of the first life.[2]

A much more serious presage was the arrival at Chiametla, as the army was preparing to leave, of Melchior Diaz and Juan de Saldivar, or Zaldivar, returning from their attempt to verify the stories told by Friar Marcos. Melchior Diaz went to New Galicia with Nuño de Guzman, and when Cabeza de Vaca appeared in that province, in May 1536, Diaz was in command of the outpost of Culiacan. He was still at Culiacan, in the autumn of 1539, when Mendoza directed him to take a mounted force and go into the country toward the north "to see if the account which Friar Marcos brought back agreed with what he could observe." He left Culiacan November 17, with fifteen horsemen, and traveled as far north as the wilderness beyond which Cibola was situated, following much the same route as the friar had taken, and questioning the Indians with great care. Many of the statements made by Friar Marcos were verified, and some new facts were obtained, but nowhere could he find any foundation for the tales of a wealthy and attractive country, except in the descriptions given by the Indians. The cold weather had begun to trouble his men seriously before he reached the limit of his explorations. He pushed on as far as Chichilticalli, however, but here the snows and fierce winds from across the

[1] Mota Padilla says, "warden of one of the royal storehouses in Mexico," which may refer to some other position held by Samaniego, or may have arisen from some confusion of names.

[2] This is taken from Mota Padilla's account of the incident, without any attempt to compare or to harmonize it with the story told by Castañeda. Mota Padilla's version seems much the more reasonable.

wilderness forced him to turn back. At Chiametla he encountered Coronado's force. He joined the army, sending his lieutenant, Saldivar, with three other horsemen, to carry his report to the viceroy. This was delivered to Mendoza on March 20, and is embodied in the letter to the King, dated April 17, 1540.

Coronado did not allow Diaz to announce the results of his reconnoissance to the soldiers, but the rumor quickly spread that the visions inspired by Friar Marcos had not been substantiated. Fortunately, the friar was himself in the camp. Although he was now the father provincial of the Franciscan order in New Spain, he had determined to accompany the expedition, in order to carry the gospel to the savages whose salvation had been made possible by his heroic journey of the preceding spring. The mutterings of suspicion and discontent among the men grew rapidly louder. Friar Marcos felt obliged to exhort them in a special sermon to keep up a good courage, and by his eloquence he succeeded in persuading them that all their labors would soon be well repaid.

From Chiametla the army resumed its march, procuring provisions from the Indians along the way. Mendoza stated, in 1547, that he took every precaution to prevent any injury or injustice being done to the Indians at the time of Coronado's departure, and that he stationed officials, especially appointed for this purpose, at convenient points on the road to Culiacan, who were ordered to procure the necessary provisions for the expedition. There are no means of telling how well this plan was carried into execution.

A day or two before Easter, March 28, 1540, the army approached Culiacan. The journey had occupied a little over a month, but when Coronado, from his lodging in the Cibola village of Granada, three months later, recalled the slow and tedious marches, the continual waiting for the lazy cattle and the heavily loaded baggage trains, and the repeated vexatious delays, we can hardly wonder that it seemed to him to have been a period of fourscore days' journey.

The town of San Miguel de Culiacan, in the spring of 1540, was one of the most prosperous in New Spain. Nuño de Guzman had founded the settlement some years before, and had placed Melchior Diaz in charge of it. The appointment was a most admirable one. Diaz was not of gentle birth, but he had established his right to a position of considerable power and responsibility by virtue of much natural ability. He was a hard worker and a skillful organizer and leader. He inspired confidence in his companions and followers, and always maintained the best of order and of diligence among those who were under his charge. Rarely does one meet with a man whose record for every position and every duty assigned to him shows such uniform and thorough efficiency. The settlement increased rapidly in size and in wealth, and when Coronado's force encamped in the surrounding fields, the citizens of the town insisted on entertaining in their own homes all of the gentlemen who

were with the expedition. The granaries of the place were filled with the surplus from the bountiful harvests of two preceding years, which sufficed to feed the whole army for three or four weeks, besides providing supplies sufficient for more than two months when the expedition resumed its march. These comfortable quarters and the abundant entertainment detained the general and his soldiers for some weeks.[1] This was the outpost of Spanish civilization, and Coronado made sure that his arrangements were as complete as possible, both for the army and for the administration of New Galicia during his absence.

The soldiers, and especially the gentlemen among them, had started from Compostela with an abundant supply of luxurious furnishings and extra equipment. Many of them were receiving their first rough lessons in the art of campaigning, and the experiences along the way before reaching Culiacan had already changed many of their notions of comfort and ease. When the preparations for leaving Culiacan began, the citizens of the town received from their guests much of the clothing and other surplus baggage, which was left behind in order that the expedition might advance more rapidly, or that the animals might be loaded with provisions. Aside from what was given to the people of the place, much of the heavier camp equipage, with some of the superfluous property of the soldiers, was put on board a ship, the *San Gabriel*, which was waiting in the harbor of Culiacan. An additional supply of corn and other provisions also was furnished for the vessel by the generous citizens.

THE EXPEDITION BY SEA UNDER ALARCON

A sea expedition, to cooperate with the land force, was a part of Mendoza's original plan. After the viceroy left Coronado, and probably while he was at Colima, on his way down the coast from Compostela, he completed the arrangements by appointing Hernando de Alarcon, his chamberlain according to Bernal Diaz, to command a fleet of two vessels. Alarcon was instructed to sail northward, following the coast as closely as possible. He was to keep near the army, and communicate with it at every opportunity, transporting the heavy baggage and holding himself ready at all times to render any assistance which Coronado might desire. Alarcon sailed May 9, 1540, probably from Acapulco.[2]

[1] A note, almost as complicated as that which concerns the date of the army's departure, might be written regarding the length of the stay at Culiacan. Those who are curious can find the facts in Coronado's letter from Granada, in Castañeda, and in the footnotes to the translation of the latter.

[2] The complete text of Alarcon's report was translated into Italian by Ramusio (vol. iii, fol. 363, ed. 1556), and the Spanish original is not known to exist. Herrera, however, gives an account which, from the close similarity to Ramusio's text and from the personality of the style, must have been copied from Alarcon's own narrative. The Ramusio text does not give the port of departure. Herrera says that the ships sailed from Acapulco. Castañeda implies that the start was made from La Natividad, but his information could hardly have been better than second hand. He may have known what the viceroy intended to do, when he bade the army farewell, two days north of Compostela. Alarcon reports that he put into the port of Santiago de Buena Esperanza, and as the only Santiago on the coast hereabout is south of La Natividad, which is on the coast of the district of Colima,

This port had been the seat of the shipbuilding operations of Cortes on the Pacific coast, and it is very probable that Alarcon's two ships were the same as those which the marquis claimed to have equipped for a projected expedition. Alarcon sailed north to Santiago, where he was obliged to stop, in order to refit his vessels and to replace some artillery and stores which had been thrown overboard from his companion ship during a storm. Thence he sailed to Aguaiauale, as Ramusio has it, the port of San Miguel de Culiacan. The army had already departed, and so Alarcon, after replenishing his store of provisions, added the *San Gabriel* to his fleet and continued his voyage. He followed the shore closely and explored many harbors "which the ships of the marquis had failed to observe," as he notes, but he nowhere succeeded in obtaining any news of the army of Coronado.

THE JOURNEY FROM CULIACAN TO CIBOLA

Melchior Diaz had met with so many difficulties in traveling through the country which the army was about to enter, on its march toward the Seven Cities, and the supply of food to be found there was everywhere so small, that Coronado decided to divide his force for this portion of the journey. He selected seventy-five or eighty horsemen, including his personal friends, and twenty-five or thirty foot soldiers. With these picked men, equipped for rapid marching, he hastened forward, clearing the way for the main body of the army, which was to follow more slowly, starting a fortnight after his own departure. With the footmen in the advance party were the four friars of the expedition, whose zealous eagerness to reach the unconverted natives of the Seven Cities was so great that they were willing to leave the main portion of the army without a spiritual guide. Fortunately for these followers, a broken leg compelled one of the brethren to remain behind. Coronado attempted to take some sheep with him, but these soon proved to be so great a hindrance that they were left at the river Yaquimi, in charge of four horsemen, who conducted them at a more moderate pace.

Leaving Culiacan on April 22, Coronado followed the coast, "bearing off to the left," as Mota Padilla says, by an extremely rough way, to the river Cinaloa. The configuration of the country made it necessary to follow up the valley of this stream until he could find a passage across the mountains to the course of the Yaquimi. He traveled alongside this stream for some distance, and then crossed to Sonora river.[1]

H. H. Bancroft (North Mexican States, vol. i, p. 90) says the fleet probably started from Acapulco. Bancroft does not mention Herrera, who is, I suppose, the conclusive authority. Gen. J. H. Simpson (Smithsonian Report for 1869, p. 315), accepted the start from La Natividad, and then identified this Santiago with the port of Compostela, which was well known under the name of Xalisco. The distance of Acapulco from Colima would explain the considerable lapse of time before Alarcon was ready to start.

[1] Coronado's description of this portion of the route in the letter of August 3 is abbreviated, he says, because it was accompanied by a map. As this is lost, I am following here, as I shall do throughout the Introduction, Bandelier's identification of the route in his Historical Introduction, p. 10, and in his Final Report, part II, pp. 407–409. The itinerary of Jaramillo, confused and perplexing as it is, is the chief guide for the earlier part of the route. There is no attempt in this introductory narrative to repeat the details of the journey, when these may be obtained, much more satisfactorily, from the translation of the contemporary narratives which form the main portion of this memoir.

The Sonora was followed nearly to its source before a pass was discovered. On the northern side of the mountains he found a stream—the Nexpa, he calls it—which may have been either the Santa Cruz or the San Pedro of modern maps. The party followed down this river valley until they reached the edge of the wilderness, where, as Friar Marcos had described it to them, they found Chichilticalli.[1]

Here the party camped for two days, which was as long as the general dared to delay, in order to rest the horses, who had begun to give out sometime before as a result of overloading, rough roads, and poor feed. The stock of provisions brought from Culiacan was already growing dangerously small, although the food supply had been eked out by the large cones or nuts of the pines of this country, which the soldiers found to be very good eating. The Indians who came to see him, told Coronado that the sea was ten days distant, and he expresses surprise, which Mr Bandelier has reëchoed, that Friar Marcos could have gone within sight of the sea from this part of the country.

Coronado entered the wilderness, the White Mountain Apache country of Arizona, on Saint John's eve, and in the quaint language of Hakluyt's translation of the general's letter, "to refresh our former trauailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worser way of mountaines and badde passages."[2] Coronado, following very nearly the line of the present road from Fort Apache to Gila river, proceeded until he came within sight of the first of the Seven Cities. The first few days of the march were very trying. The discouragement of the men increased with the difficulties of the way. The horses were tired, and the slow progress became slower, as horses and Indian carriers fell down and died. The corn was almost gone, and as a result of eating the fruits and herbs which they found along the way, a Spaniard and some of the servants were poisoned so badly that they died. The skull and horns of a great mountain goat, which were lying on the ground, filled the Europeans with wonder, but this was hardly a sign to inspire them with hopes of abundant food and gold. There were 30 leagues of this travailing before the party reached the borders of the inhabited country, where they found "fresh grass and many nutte and mulberrie trees."

The day following that on which they left the wilderness, the advance guard was met, in a peaceable manner, by four Indians. The Spaniards treated them most kindly, gave them beads and clothing, and "willed

[1] This "Red House," in the Nahuatl tongue, has been identified with the Casa Grande ruins in Arizona ever since the revival of interest in Coronado's journey, which followed the explorations in the southwestern portion of the United States during the second quarter of the present century. Bandelier's study of the descriptions given by those who saw the "Red House" in 1539 and 1540, however, shows conclusively that the conditions at Casa Grande do not meet the requirements for Chichilticalli. Bandelier objects to Casa Grande because it is white, although he admits that it may once have been covered with the reddish paint of the Indians. This would suit Mota Padilla's explanation that the place was named from a house there which was daubed over with colored earth—almagre, as the natives called it. This is the Indian term for red ocher. Bandelier thinks that Coronado reached the edge of the wilderness, the White Mountain Apache reservation in Arizona, by way of San Pedro river and Arivaypa creek. This requires the location of Chichilticalli somewhere in the vicinity of the present Fort Grant, Arizona.

[2] Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. iii, p. 375, ed. 1600.

them to return unto their city and bid them stay quiet in their houses fearing nothing." The general assured them that they need have no anxiety, because the newcomers had been sent by His Spanish Majesty, "to defend and ayde them."

THE CAPTURE OF THE SEVEN CITIES

The provisions brought from Culiacan or collected along the way were now exhausted, and as a sudden attack by the Indians, during the last night before their arrival at the cities, had assured the Spaniards of a hostile reception, it was necessary to proceed rapidly. The inhabitants of the first city had assembled in a great crowd, at some distance in front of the place, awaiting the approach of the strangers. While the army advanced, Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, who had been appointed to Samaniego's position as field-master, and Hernando Vermizzo, apparently one of the "good fellows" whose name Castañeda forgot, rode forward and summoned the Indians to surrender, in approved Castilian fashion, as His Majesty commanded always to be done. The natives had drawn some lines on the ground, doubtless similar to those which they still mark with sacred meal in their ceremonial dramatizations, and across these they refused to let the Spaniards pass, answering the summons with a shower of arrows. The soldiers begged for the command to attack, but Coronado restrained them as long as he could. When the influence of the friars was added to the pleas of the men—perhaps without waiting for the command or permission—the whole company uttered the Santiago, the sacred war cry of Saint James, against the infidels, and rushed upon the crowd of Indians, who turned and fled. Coronado quickly recalled his men from the pursuit, and ordered them to prepare for an assault on the city. The force was divided into attacking parties, which immediately advanced against the walls from all sides. The crossbowmen and harquebusiers, who were expected to drive the enemy back from the tops of the walls, were unable to accomplish anything, on account of their physical weakness and of accidents to their weapons. The natives showered arrows against the advancing foes, and as the Spaniards approached the walls, stones of all sizes were thrown upon them with skillful aim and practiced strength. The general, in his glittering armor, was the especial target of the defenders, and twice he was knocked to the ground by heavy rocks. His good headpiece and the devotion of his companions saved him from serious injury, although his bruises confined him to the camp for several days. The courage and military skill of the white men, weak and tired as they were, proved too much for the Indians, who deserted their homes after a fierce, but not protracted, resistance. Most of the Spaniards had received many hard knocks, and Aganiez Suarez—possibly another of the gentlemen forgotten by Castañeda—was severely wounded by arrows, as were also three foot soldiers.

The Indians had been driven from the main portion of the town, and with this success the Spaniards were satisfied. Food—"that which we

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needed a great deal more than gold or silver," writes one member of the victorious force—was found in the rooms already secured. The Spaniards fortified themselves, stationed guards, and rested. During the night, the Indians, who had retired to the wings of the main building after the conflict, packed up what goods they could, and left the Spaniards in undisputed possession of the whole place.

The mystery of the Seven Cities was revealed at last. The Spanish conquerors had reached their goal. July 7, 1540, white men for the first time entered one of the communal villages of stone and mud, inhabited by the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico.[1] Granada was the name which the Spaniards gave to the first village—the Indian Hawikuh—in honor of the viceroy to whose birthplace they say it bore a fancied resemblance. Here they found, besides plenty of corn, beans and fowls, better than those of New Spain, and salt, "the best and whitest I have seen in all my life," writes one of those who had helped to win the town. But even the abundance of food could not wholly satisfy the men whose toilsome march of more than four months had been lightened by dreams of a golden haven. Friar Marcos was there to see the realization of the visions which the zealous sermons of his brethren and the prolific ardor of rumor and of common talk had raised from his truthful report. One does not wonder that he eagerly accepted the earliest opportunity of returning to New Spain, to escape from the not merely muttered complaints and upbraidings, in expressing which the general was chief.[2]

THE EXPLORATION OF THE COUNTRY

THE SPANIARDS AT ZUÑI

Some of the inhabitants of Hawikuh-Granada returned to the village, bringing gifts, while Coronado was recovering from his wounds. The general faithfully exhorted them to become Christians and to submit themselves to the sovereign over-lordship of His Majesty the Spanish

[1] Hawikuh, near Ojo Caliente, was the first village captured by the Spaniards, as Bandelier has shown in his Contributions, p. 166, and Documentary History of Zuñi, p. 29. The definite location of this village is an important point, and the problem of its site was one over which a great deal of argument had been wasted before Mr Bandelier published the results of his critical study of the sources, which he was enabled to interpret by the aid of a careful exploration of the southwestern country, undertaken under the auspices of the Archæological Institute of America. It was under the impetus of the friendly guidance and careful scrutiny of results by Professor Henry W. Haynes and the other members of the Institute that Mr Bandelier has done his best work. It is unfortunate that he did not use the letter which Coronado wrote from Granada-Hawikuh, August 3, 1540, which is the only official account of the march from Culiacan to Zuñi. The fact that Bandelier's results stand the tests supplied by this letter is the best proof of the exactness and accuracy of his work. (This note was written before the appearance of Mr Bandelier's Gilded Man, in which he states that Kiakima, instead of Hawikuh, is the Granada of Coronado. Mr F. W. Hodge, in an exhaustive paper on The First Discovered City of Cibola (American Anthropologist, Washington, April, 1895), has proved conclusively that Mr Bandelier's earlier position was the correct one.)

[2] Marcos returned to Mexico with Juan de Gallego, who left Cibola-Zuñi soon after August 3. Bandelier, in his article on the friars, in the American Catholic Quarterly Review, vol. xv, p. 551, says that "the obvious reason" for Marcos's return "was the feeble health of the friar. Hardship and physical suffering had nearly paralyzed the body of the already aged man. He never recovered his vigor, and died at Mexico, after having in vain sought relief in the delightful climate of Jalapa, in the year 1558"—seventeen years later.

King. The interview failed to reassure the natives, for they packed all their provisions and property on the following day, and with their wives and children abandoned the villages in the valley and withdrew to their stronghold, the secure fastness on top of Taaiyalone or Thunder mountain.

As soon as he was able, Coronado visited the other villages of Cibola-Zuñi, observing the country carefully. He reassured the few Indians whom he found still living in the valley, and after some hesitation on their part succeeded in persuading the chiefs to come down from the mesa and talk with him. He urged them to return to their homes below, but without success. He was more fortunate in obtaining information regarding the surrounding country, which was of much use to him in directing further exploration. Then as now the rule held good that the Indians are much more likely to tell the truth when giving information about their neighbors than about themselves.

THE DISCOVERY OF TUSAYAN AND THE GRAND CANYON

A group of seven villages, similar to those at Cibola, was reported to be situated toward the west, "the chief of the towns whereof they have knowledge." Tucano was the name given to these, according to Ramusio's version of Coronado's letter, and it is not difficult to see in this name that of Tusayan, the Hopi or Moki settlements in northeastern Arizona.

As soon as everything was quiet in the Cibola country, about the middle of July, Don Pedro de Tovar was ordered to take a few horsemen and his company of footmen and visit this district. Don Pedro spent several days in the Tusayan villages, and after he had convinced the people of his peaceable designs, questioned them regarding the country farther west. Returning to the camp at Cibola within the thirty days to which his commission was limited, Tovar reported that the country contained nothing to attract the Spaniards. The houses, however, were better than those at Cibola. But he had heard stories of a mighty river and of giant peoples living toward the west, and so Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas was instructed to go and verify these reports. Cardenas started, perhaps on August 25. He had authority for eighty days, and within this term he succeeded in reaching the Grand canyon of Colorado river, which baffled his most agile companions in their efforts to descend to the water or to discover some means of crossing to the opposite side. He returned with only the story of this hopeless barrier to exploration westward.

THE RIO GRANDE AND THE GREAT PLAINS

The first expedition toward the east was sent out August 29 in charge of Don Hernando de Alvarado. Passing the rock of Acuco or Acoma—always a source of admiration—Alvarado reached the village and river of Tiguex—the Rio Grande—on September 7. Some time was spent in

visiting the villages situated along the stream. The headquarters of the party were at Tiguex, at or near the site of the present town of Bernalillo, and here a list was drawn up and sent to the general giving the names of eighty villages of which he had learned from the natives of this place. At the same time Alvarado reported that these villages were the best that had yet been found, and advised that the winter quarters for the whole force should be established in this district. He then proceeded to Cicuye or Pecos, the most eastern of the walled villages, and from there crossed the mountains to the buffalo plains. Finding a stream which flowed toward the southeast—the Canadian river, perhaps—he followed its course for a hundred leagues or more. Many of the "humpback oxen" were seen, of which some of the men may have remembered Cabeza de Vaca's description.

On his return, Alvarado found the army-master, Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, at Tiguex, arranging winter quarters sufficient to accommodate the whole force in this region.[1] Coronado, who had made a trip to examine the villages farther south, along the Rio Grande, soon joined his lieutenants, leaving only a small force at Cibola to maintain the post. The whole of the advance party was now in Tiguex, and orders had been left at Cibola for the main body to proceed to the eastern settlements so soon as they should arrive from Culiacan and Corazones.

THE MARCH OF THE ARMY FROM CULIACAN TO TIGUEX

The main portion of the army remained at Culiacan, under the command of Don Tristan de Arellano, when the general started for Cibola with his small party of companions. The soldiers completed the work of loading the *San Gabriel* with their surplus equipment and with provisions, and busied themselves about the town for a fortnight after the departure of their general. Some time between the first and middle of May, the army started to follow the route of the advance party. The whole force marched on foot, carrying their lances and other weapons, in order that the horses and other beasts, numbering more than six hundred, might all be loaded with provisions. It had taken Coronado and his party of horsemen, eager to push on toward their destination, more than a month to make the journey to Corazones or Hearts valley. We can only guess how much longer it took the slowly marching army to cover this first half of the distance to Cibola. The orders which the general had left with Arellano were that he should

[1] Alvarado's official report is probably the paper known as the Relacion de lo que. . . . Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla descubrieron en demanda de la mar del Sur, which is translated herein. The title, evidently the work of some later editor, is a misnomer so far as the Mar del Sur is concerned, for this—the Pacific ocean—was west, and Alvarado's explorations were toward the east. This short report is of considerable value, but it is known only through a copy, lacking the list of villages which should have accompanied it. Muñoz judged that it was a contemporary official copy, which did not commend itself to that great collector and student of Spanish Americana. There is nothing about the document to show the century or the region to which it relates, so that one of Hubert H. Bancroft's scribes was misled into making a short abstract of it for his Central America, vol. ii, p. 185, as giving an account of an otherwise unknown expedition starting from another Granada, on the northern shore of Lake Nicaragua.

take the army to this valley, where a good store of provisions had been found by Melchior Diaz, and there wait for further instructions. Coronado promised to send for his soldiers as soon as he was sure that there was a country of the Seven Cities for them to conquer and settle.

In the valley of Corazones, which had been given its name by Cabeza de Vaca because the natives at this place offered him the hearts of animals for food, Arellano kept the soldiers busy by building a town on Suya river, naming it San Hieronimo de los Corazones—Saint Jerome of the Hearts. A small force was sent down the river to the seacoast, under the command of Don Rodrigo Maldonado, in the hope of communicating with the ships of Alarcon. Maldonado found neither signs nor news of the fleet, but he discovered a tribe of Indian "giants," one of whom accompanied the party back to the camp, where the soldiers were filled with amazement at his size and strength.

Thus the time passed until early in September, when Melchior Diaz and Juan Gallego brought the expected orders from the general. Gallego, who carried the letter which Coronado had written from Granada-Hawikuh on August 3, with the map and the exhibits of the country which it mentions, continued on to Mexico. He was accompanied by Friar Marcos. Diaz had been directed to stay in the new town of San Hieronimo, to maintain this post and to open communication with the seacoast. He selected seventy or eighty men—those least fitted for the hardships and struggles of exploration and conquest—who remained to settle the new town and to make an expedition toward the coast. The remainder of the army prepared to rejoin their general at Cibola, and by the middle of September the start was made.

After a long, rough march, in which little occurred to break the daily monotony, the soldiers reached the pueblo settlements. The bad weather had already begun, but the men were eager to continue their journey in spite of the snow and the fierce, cold winds. After a short rest, the force proceeded to Tiguex, where comfortable quarters were awaiting them, and in these they quickly settled for the winter.

THE WINTER OF 1540-1541 ALONG THE RIO GRANDE

THE INDIAN REVOLT

The first winter spent by white men in the pueblos of New Mexico was a severe one. Fortunately for the strangers, however, they were comfortably domiciled in the best houses of the country, in which the owners had left a plentiful supply of food, and this was supplemented by the livestock brought from New Spain.

During the late autumn the Indians assumed a hostile attitude toward their visitors, and were reduced to peaceful inactivity only after a protracted struggle, which greatly aggravated the conquerors. The Spanish story of this revolt is clear—that the Indians suddenly surprised the Europeans by attacking the horses and mules of the army, killing or driving off a number of them, after which the natives col-

Polus 90 Arcticus
Circulus Arcticus
Tropicus Cancri
Circulus Aequinoctialis
AMERICA
MEXICANA
MAR DEL NORT
OCEANVS
Estrecho de Anian
Anian
Asia
Groenlandt
Islandt
Hesperides in
Afores Insulæ
al Flandricæ
Hispaniola
Cuba
Jamaica
Golfo Mexi
Tierra Firme
Nova Francia
Nova Hispania
Nova Albion
Terra Florida
Regnum Canadæ
Regnum Ellislandiæ
Terra Labrador
Terra Corterealis
Terra de Bacalaos
Terra Baccalaos
Terra Nova
Terra de Verrazano
Terra de Estevan Gomez
Terra de Cabot
Terra de Labrador
Terra de Corterealis
Terra de Bac

lected their fighting force into two of the strongest villages, from one of which they were able to defy the soldiers until thirst compelled them to abandon the stronghold. The defenders attempted to escape by stealth, but the sentries of the besieging force discovered them and aroused the camp. Many of the Indians were killed by the soldiers during the flight which followed, while others perished in the icy waters of the Rio Grande. During an attack on the second village, a few of the Spaniards who had succeeded in making their way to the highest portion of the buildings, escaped from their perilous position by inducing the native warriors to surrender. The Indians received an ample promise of protection and safety, but the captain of the attacking party was not informed of this, and in obedience to the general's orders that no prisoners should be taken, he directed that the captives should be burned as a warning to the neighboring tribes. This affair is a terrible blot on the record of the expedition and of those who composed it. In condemning it most severely, however, English readers should remember that they are only repeating the condemnations which were uttered by most of the men of rank who witnessed it, which were repeated in New Spain and in old Spain, and which greeted the commander when he led his expedition back to Mexico, to receive the cold welcome of the viceroy.

The Spaniards have told us only one side of the story of what was happening along the Rio Grande in the fall of 1540. The other side will probably never be heard, for it disappeared with the traditions of the Indian villagers. Without pretending to supply the loss, it is at least possible to suggest that the preparations by which the army-master procured the excellent accommodations for the force must have appeared very differently to the people in whose homes Cardenas housed the soldiers, and to those who passed the winter in these snug quarters. Castañeda preserved one or two interesting details which are as significant as is the striking fact that the peaceful natives who entertained Alvarado most freely in September were the leaders of the rebellion three months later.

As soon as Coronado's men had completed the reduction of the refractory natives, and the whole country had been overawed by the terrible punishment, the general undertook to reestablish peaceful relations and confident intercourse between his camp and the surrounding villages. The Indians seem to have been ready to meet him almost half-way, although it is hardly surprising to find traces of an underlying suspicion, and a readiness for treacherous retaliation.

THE STORIES ABOUT QUIVIRA

While this reconciliation was being effected, Coronado heard from one of the plains Indians,[1] held as a slave in the village of Cicuye

[1] Castañeda says that this Indian accompanied Alvarado on the first visit to the buffalo plains, and this may be true without disturbing the statement above.

or Pecos, the stories about Quivira, which were to add so much to the geographic extent of the expedition. When the Spaniards were about to kill this Indian—"The Turk," they called him[1]—he told them that his masters, the people of Cicuye, had induced him to lead the strangers away to the pathless plains, where water was scarce and corn was unknown, to perish there, or, if ever they should succeed in finding the way back to the village settlements, tired and weak, to fall an easy prey to their enemies.

This plan was shrewdly conceived, and it very nearly succeeded. There is little reason why we should doubt the truth of the confession, made when the Indian could scarcely have hoped to save his life, and it affords an easy explanation of the way in which the exaggerated stories of Quivira originated and expanded. The Turk may have accompanied Alvarado on the first visit to the great plains, and he doubtless told the white men about his distant home and the roving life on the prairies. It was later, when the Spaniards began to question him about nations and rulers, gold and treasures, that he received, perhaps from the Spaniards themselves, the hints which led him to tell them what they were rejoiced to hear, and to develop the fanciful pictures which appealed so forcibly to all the desires of his hearers. The Turk, we can not doubt, told the Spaniards many things which were not true. But in trying to trace these early dealings of Europeans with the American aborigines, we must never forget how much may be explained by the possibilities of misinterpretation on the part of the white men, who so often heard of what they wished to find, and who learned, very gradually and in the end imperfectly, to understand only a few of the native languages and dialects. And besides this, the record of their observations, on which the students of today have to depend, was made in a language which knew nothing of the things which it was trying to describe. Much of what the Turk said was very likely true the first time he said it, although the memories of home were heightened, no doubt, by absence and distance. Moreover, Castañeda, who is the chief source for the stories of gold and lordly kings which are said to have been told by the Turk, in all probability did not know anything more than the reports of what the Turk was telling to the superior officers, which were passed about among the common foot soldiers.[2] The present narrative has already shown the wonderful power of gossip, and when it is gossip recorded twenty years afterward, we may properly be cautious in believing it.

Coronado wrote to the King from Tiguex, on April 20, 1541, as he says in his next letter, that of October 20. The April letter, written just before the start for Quivira, must have contained a full and official account of all that had been learned in regard to the country toward

[1] He was called "The Turk" because the Spaniards thought that he looked like one. Bandelier, in American Catholic Quarterly Review, vol. xv, p. 555, thinks this was due to the manner in which he wore his hair, characteristic of certain branches of the Pawnee.

[2] This probability is greatly strengthened by Mota Padilla's statement in relation to the Turk and Quivira, quoted in connection with Castañeda's narrative.

the east, as well as more reliable details than we now possess, of what had happened during the preceding fall and winter. But this April letter, which was an acknowledgment and answer to one from Charles V, dated in Madrid, June 11, 1540, has not been found by modern students. When the reply was dispatched, the messenger—probably Juan Gallego, who had perhaps brought the Emperor's letter from Mexico—was accompanied by Pedro de Tovar, who was going back to Corazones valley for reinforcements. Many mishaps had befallen the town of San Hieronimo during the year, and when the messengers arrived there they found it half deserted. Leaving Don Pedro here, Gallego hastened to Mexico, where he raised a small body of recruits. He was leading these men, whose number had been increased by some stragglers and deserters from the original force whom he picked up at Culiacan, toward Cibola and Quivira, when he met the expedition returning to New Spain. It was during this, probably his fifth trip over the road from Mexico to our New Mexico, that he performed the deeds of valor which Castañeda so enthusiastically recounts at the very end of his book.

THE JOURNEY ACROSS THE BUFFALO PLAINS

April 23, 1541, Coronado left the Tiguex country and marched toward the northeast, to the plains where lay the rich land of Quivira. Every member of the army accompanied the general, for no one was willing to be left behind when such glorious prospects of fame and fortune lay before them. A few of the officers suggested the wisdom of verifying these Indian tales in some measure before setting the whole force in motion and abandoning their only sure base of supplies. It seems as if there must have been other reasons influencing Coronado beyond those revealed in Castañeda's narrative; but, if so, we do not know what they were. The fear lest he might fail to accomplish any of the things which had been hoped for, the absence of results on which to base a justification for all the expense and labor, the thought of what would await him if he should return empty handed, are perhaps enough to account for the determination to risk everything and to allow no possible lack of zeal or of strength to interfere with the realization of the hopes inspired by the stories of Quivira.

Guided by the Turk, the army proceeded to Cicuye, and in nine days more they reached the buffalo plains. Here began the long march which was to be without any guiding landmarks. Just where, or how, or how far the Spaniards went, I can not pretend to say. After a month and more of marching—very likely just thirty-five days—their patience became exhausted. A second native of the plains, who accompanied the Spaniards from the pueblo country, had declared from the first that the Turk was lying, but this had not made them trust the latter any less. When, however, the Indians whom they found living among the buffalo herds began to contradict the stories of their guide, suspicion was aroused. The Turk, after much persuasive cross-questioning,

was at last induced to confess that he had lied. Quivira, he still insisted, existed, though it was not as he had described it. From the natives of the plains they learned that there were no settlements toward the east, the direction in which they had been traveling, but that toward the north, another good month's journey distant, there were permanent settlements. The corn which the soldiers had brought from Tiguex was almost gone, while the horses were tired and weak from the constant marching and buffalo chasing, with only grass for food. It was clearly impossible for the whole force to attempt this further journey, with the uncertain prospect of finding native tribes like those they had already seen as the only incentive. The general held a council of his officers and friends, and decided to select 30 of the best equipped horsemen. who should go with him and attempt to verify the new information.

After Coronado had chosen his companions, the rest of the force was sent back to Tiguex, as Castañeda relates. The Indians whom they met on the plains furnished guides, who led the soldiers to the Pueblo settlements by a more direct route than that which the Turk had taken. But the marches were short and slow, so that it was the middle of July before they were again encamped alongside the Rio Grande. So far as is known, nothing of interest happened while they were waiting there for the return of the general.

Coronado and his companion horsemen followed the compass needle for forty-two days after leaving the main force, or, as he writes, "after traveling across these deserts for seventy-seven days in all," they reached the country of Quivira. Here he found some people who lived in permanent settlements and raised a little corn, but whose sustenance came mainly from the buffalo herds, which they hunted at regular seasons, instead of continuously as the plains Indians encountered previously had done.[1]

Twenty-five days were spent among the villages at Quivira, so that Jaramillo, one of the party, doubtless remembered correctly when he said that they were there after the middle of August.[2] There was

[1]The Spaniards had already observed two distinct branches of these pure nomads, whom they knew as Querechos and Teyas. Bandelier, in his Final Report, vol. i, p. 179, identified the Querechos with the Apaches of the plains, but later investigation by Mr James Mooney shows that Querecho is an old Comanche name of the Tonkawa of western central Texas (Hodge, Early Navajo and Apache, Am. Anthropologist, Washington, July, 1895, vol. iii, p. 235). I am unable to find any single tribal group among the Indians whom we know which can be identified with the Teyas, unless, as Mr Hodge has suggested, they may have been the Comanche, who roamed the plains from Yellowstone Park to Durango, Mexico.

[2]I am inclined, also, to believe Jaramillo's statement that the day's marches on the journey to Quivira were short ones. But when he writes that the journey occupied "more than thirty days, or almost thirty days' journey, although not long day's marches,"—seguimos nuestro viaje . . . más de treinta dias ú casi treinta dias de camino, aunque no de jornadas grandes—and again, that they decided to return "because it was already nearly the beginning of winter, . . . and lest the winter might prevent the return,"—nos paresció á todos, que pues que hera ya casi la boca del inbierno, porque si me acuerdo bien, jera media y más de Agosto, y por ser pocos para inbernar allí, . . . y porque el invierno no nos cerrase los caminos de nieves y rios que no nos dexesen pasar (Pacheco y Cardenas, Doc. de Indias, vol. xiv, pp. 312, 314)—we experience some of the difficulties which make it hard to analyse the captain's recollections critically and satisfactorily.

nothing here except a piece of copper hanging from the neck of a chief, and a piece of gold which one of the Spaniards was suspected of having given to the natives, which gave any promise of mineral wealth, and so Coronado determined to rejoin his main force. Although they had found no treasures, the explorers were fully aware of the agricultural advantages of this country, and of the possibilities for profitable farming, if only some market for the produce could be found.

Students of the Coronado expedition have very generally accepted the location of Quivira proposed by General Simpson, who put the northern point reached by Coronado somewhere in the eastern half of the border country of Kansas and Nebraska. If we take into account the expeditions which visited the outer limits of the Quivira settlements, this is not inconsistent with Bandelier's location of the main seat of these Indians "in northeastern Kansas, beyond the Arkansas river, and more than 100 miles northeast of Great Bend."[1]

It is impossible to ignore the question of the route taken by Coronado across the great plains, although the details chiefly concern local historians. The Spanish travelers spent the summer of 1541 on the prairies west of the Mississippi and south of the Missouri. They left descriptions of these plains, and of the people and animals inhabiting them, which are of as great interest and value as any which have since been written. Fortunately it is not of especial importance for us to know the exact section of the prairies to which various parts of the descriptions refer.

From Cicuye, the Pecos pueblo, Coronado marched northeast until he crossed Canadian river, probably a little to the east of the present river and settlement of Mora.[2] This was about the 1st of May, 1541. From this point General Simpson, whose intimate knowledge of the surface of the country thirty-five years ago makes his map of the route across the plains most valuable, carried the line of march nearly north, to a point halfway between Canadian and Arkansas rivers. Then it turned east, or a trifle north of east, until it reached one of the tributaries of the Arkansas, about 50 miles or so west of Wichita, Kansas. The army returned by a direct route to Cicuye or Pecos river, striking that stream nearly east of Bernalillo-Tiguex, while Coronado proceeded due north to Quivira on the Kansas-Nebraska boundary.

Mr Bandelier has traced a route for the march across the plains which corresponds with the statements of the contemporary narratives somewhat more closely than does that of General Simpson.[3] Crossing

[1] Final Report, vol. i, p. 170.

[2] Ibid., vol. i, p. 178.

[3] Bandelier's best discussion of the route is in his article on Fray Juan de Padilla, in the American Catholic Quarterly Review, vol. xv, p. 551. The Gilded Man also contains an outline of the probable route. An element in his calculation, to which he gives much prominence, is the tendency of one who is lost to wander always toward the right. This is strongly emphasized in the Gilded Man; but it can, I think, hardly merit the importance which he gives to it. The emphasis appears, however, much more in Bandelier's words than in his results. I can not see that there is anything to show that the Indian guides ever really lost their reckoning.

Canadian river by a bridge, just south of where Mora river enters it, the Spaniards, according to Bandelier, marched toward the northeast for ten days, until they met the first of the plains Indians, the Querecho or Tonkawa. Thence they turned almost directly toward the rising sun. Bandelier thinks that they very soon found out that the guides had lost their reckoning, which presumably means that it became evident that there was some difference of opinion among the Indians. After marching eastward for thirty-five days or so, the Spaniards halted on the banks of a stream which flowed in the bottom of a broad and deep ravine. Here it was computed that they had already traveled 250 leagues—650 miles—from Tiguex. They had crossed no other large river since leaving the bridge over the Canadian, and as the route had been south of east, as is distinctly stated by one member of the force, they had probably reached the Canadian again. There is a reference to crossing what may have been the North Fork of the Canadian, in which case the army would now be on the north bank of the main river, below the junction of the two forks, in the eastern part of Indian Territory. Here they divided. The Teya guides conducted the main force directly back to the Rio Grande settlements. Coronado went due north, and a month later he reached a larger river. He crossed to the north bank of this stream, and then followed its course for several days, the direction being northeast. This river, manifestly, must be the Arkansas, which makes a sharp turn toward the northeast at the Great Bend, east of Fort Dodge, flowing in that direction for 75 miles. Jaramillo states that they followed the current of the river. As he approached the settled country, Coronado turned toward the north and found Quivira, in northeastern Kansas, not far south of the Nebraska boundary.[1]

The two texts of the Relacion del Suceso differ on a vital point;[2] but in spite of this fact, I am inclined to accept the evidence of this anonymous document as the most reliable testimony concerning the direction of the army's march. According to this, the Spaniards traveled

[1] Bandelier accounts for sixty-seven days of short marches and occasional delays between the separation of the force on Canadian river and the arrival at Quivira. It may be that the seventy-seven days of desert marching which Coronado mentions in his letter of October 20, 1541, refers to this part of the journey, instead of to the whole of the journey from the bridge (near Mora on the Canadian) to Quivira. But the number sixty-seven originated in a blunder of Ternaux-Compans, who substituted it for seventy-seven, in translating this letter. The mistake evidently influenced Bandelier to extend the journey over more time than it really took. But this need not affect his results materially, if we extend the amount of ground covered by each day's march and omit numerous halts, which were very unlikely, considering the condition of his party and the desire to solve the mystery of Quivira. If the Spaniards crossed the Arkansas somewhere below Fort Dodge, and followed it until the river turns toward the southeast, Quivira can hardly have been east of the middle part of the state of Kansas. It was much more probably somewhere between the main forks of Kansas river, in the central part of that state. Bandelier seems to have abandoned his documents as he approached the goal, and to have transported Coronado across several branches of Kansas river, in order to fill out his sixty-seven days—which should have been seventy-seven—and perhaps to reach the region fixed on by previous conceptions of the limit of exploration. He may have realized that the difficulty in his explanation of the route was that it required a reduction of about one-fourth of the distance covered by the army in the eastward march, as plotted by General Simpson. This can be accounted for by the wandering path which the army followed.

[2] See the note at the end of the translation.

due east across the plains for 100 leagues—265 miles[1]—and then 50 leagues either south or southeast. The latter is the reading I should prefer to adopt, because it accommodates the other details somewhat better. This took them to the point of separation, which can hardly have been south of Red river, and was much more likely somewhere along the North Fork of the Canadian, not far above its junction with the main stream. From this point the army returned due west to Pecos river, while Coronado rode north "by the needle." From these premises, which are broad enough to be safe, I should be inclined to doubt if Coronado went much beyond the south branch of Kansas river, if he even reached that stream. Coronado probably spent more days on his march than General Simpson allowed for, but I do not think that he traveled nearly so far as General Simpson supposed. Coronado also returned to Cicuye by a direct route, which was about two-thirds as long as that of the outward march. The distances given for various portions of the journey have a real value, because each day's march was paced off by a soldier detailed for the purpose, who carefully recorded the distance covered.

THE WINTER OF 1541–1542

By October 20, 1541, Coronado was back in Tiguex, writing his report to the King, in which he expressed his anxiety lest the failure to discover anything of immediate material profit might react unfavorably on his own prospects. Letters and dispatches from Mexico and Spain were awaiting him at Tiguex. One of these informed Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas of the death of his brother, by which he became heir to the family estates. Cardenas had broken his arm on the plains, and this injury was still troubling him when he received permission to return to New Spain. He was accompanied by the messengers carrying letters to the viceroy and by ten or twelve other invalids, "not one of whom could have done any fighting." The party had no trouble, however, until they reached Suya, in Corazones valley, the settlement which had taken the place of San Hieronimo. Pedro de Tovar had reduced the already feeble garrison at the latter post by half, when he took away the reinforcements six months before. The town had been much weakened by desertions, as well as by the loss of its commander, the invaluable Melchior Diaz, before this. The Indians quickly discerned the condition of the town, and its defenders were unable to maintain friendly relations with the surrounding tribes. When Cardenas reached the place, he found everything burned to the ground, and the bodies of Spaniards, Indians, and horses lying about. Indeed, he seems barely to have saved the invalids accompanying him from being added to the number of the massacred. The party succeeded in making its way to Cibola in safety, and from there they returned to Tiguex, where they found the general seriously ill. By this time the winter was

[1] The Spanish (judicial) league was equivalent to 2.63 statute miles.

fairly begun, but the season, fortunately, was much less severe than the preceding one.

Two parties formed in the Spanish camp at Tiguex during the winter of 1541–42. The men who had seen Quivira can hardly have brought back from there much hope of finding gold or other treasure by further explorations in that country. But there were many who had not been there, who were unwilling to give up the ideas which had been formed during the preceding months. When the general parted from his army on the plains, he may have promised that he would return and lead the whole force to this land, if only it should prove to be such as their inclination pictured it. Many persisted in the belief that a more thorough exploration would discover some of the things about which they thought the Turk had told them. On the other hand, there were many besides the leader who were tired of this life of hardship, which had not even afforded the attractions of adventure and serious conflict. Few of them, doubtless, had wives and estates waiting to welcome them home, like their fortunate general, but most of the gentlemen, surely, were looking forward to the time when they could win wealth and glory, with which to return to old Spain, and add new luster to their family name. Castañeda gives a soldier's gossip of the intriguing and persuading which resulted in the abandonment of the Pueblo country, and Mota Padilla seems to support the main points in his story.

THE FRIARS REMAIN IN THE COUNTRY

When it was determined that the army should return to Mexico, the friars who had accompanied the expedition[1] resolved to remain in the newly discovered regions and continue their labors among the people there. Friar Juan de Padilla was the leader of the three missionaries. Younger and more vigorous than his brethren, he had from the first been the most active in constantly maintaining the oversight and discipline of the church. He was with Tovar when the Tusayan country on the west was discovered, and with Alvarado during the first visit to the Rio Grande and the buffalo plains on the east. When Coronado and his companion horsemen visited the plains of Kansas, Friar Juan de Padilla went with him on foot. His brief experience in the Quivira country led him to decide to go back to that district, when Coronado was preparing to return to New Spain. If the Indians who guided Coronado from Quivira to Cicuye remained in the pueblo country during the winter, Padilla probably returned with them to their homes. He was accompanied by Andres Docampo, a Portuguese, mounted on a mare according to most accounts, besides five Indians, negroes or half-bloods, two "donados" or lay brethren, Indians engaged in the church service, who came from Michoacan and were named Lucas and Sebastian, a mestizo or half-blood boy and two other servants from Mexico.

[1] Castañeda implies that Friar Antonio Victoria, who broke his leg near Culiacan, accompanied the main force on its march to Cibola. This is the last heard of him, and it is much more probable that he remained in New Galicia.

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RANADA AND CALIFORNIA, 1597

The friar was successful in his labors until he endeavored to enlarge the sphere of his influence, when the jealousy, or possibly the cupidity, of the Indians led them to kill him, rather than permit the transference to some other tribe of the blessings which he had brought to them.[1]

Friar Juan de la Cruz is not mentioned by Castañeda nor by Jaramillo, but Mendieta and Mota Padilla are very clear in their accounts of him. He was an older man than the others, and had been engaged in missionary work among the natives of the Jalisco country before he joined this expedition. Coronado left him at Tiguex, where he was killed, according to Mota Padilla. The date, in the martyrologies, is November 25, 1542. Many natives of the Mexican provinces stayed in the Pueblo country when Coronado abandoned it. Some of these were still at Cibola when Antonio de Espejo visited it in 1583, while others doubtless made their way back to their old homes in New Spain, and they may have brought the information about the death of Friar Juan.

Friar Luis Descalona, or de Ubeda as Mota Padilla calls him, was a lay brother, who selected Cicuye or Pecos as the seat of his labors in New Mexico. Neither the Spanish chronicles nor the Indian traditions which Mr Bandelier was able to obtain give any hint as to his fate or the results of his devotion to the cause of Christianity.

THE RETURN TO NEW SPAIN

The army started on its return from Tiguex to Cibola and thence to Culiacan and Mexico early in the spring of 1542. The march was without interruption or diversion. As the soldiers reentered New Galicia and found themselves once more among settlements of their own race, beyond the reach of hostile natives, the ranks dwindled rapidly. The men stopped to rest and to recruit their strength at every opportunity, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Coronado was able to keep together the semblance of a force with which to make his entry into the City of Mexico. Here he presented his personal report to the viceroy. He had little to tell which could interest the disappointed Mendoza, who had drawn so heavily on the royal treasure box two years before to furnish those who formed the expedition with everything that they might need. Besides the loss in his personal estate, there was this use of the royal funds which had to be accounted for to the

[1] Vetancurt, in the Menologia, gives the date of the martyrdom of Fray Juan de Padilla as November 30, 1544, and I see no reason to prefer the more general statements of Jaramillo, Castañeda, and Mota Padilla, which seem to imply that it took place in 1542. Docampo and the other companions of the friar brought the news to Mexico. They must have returned some time previous to 1552, for Gomara mentions their arrival in Tampico, on the Mexican gulf, in his Conquista de Mexico published in that year. Herrera and Gomara say that the fugitives had been captured by Indians and detained as slaves for ten months. These historians state also that a dog accompanied the fugitives. Further mention of dogs in connection with the Coronado expedition is in the stories of one accompanying Estevan which Alarcon heard along Colorado river, also in the account of the death of Melchior Diaz, and in the reference by Castañeda to the use of these animals as beasts of burden by certain plains tribes.

Mendieta and Vetancurt say that, of the two donados, Sebastian died soon after his return, and the other lived long as a missionary among the Zacatecas.

officials in Spain. It is the best proof of the strength of Mendoza's able and economical administration that no opposition ever succeeded in influencing the home government against him, and that the failure of this expedition, with the attendant circumstances, furnished the most serious charge which those who had displayed hostility toward him were able to produce.

When Coronado reached the City of Mexico, "very sad and very weary, completely worn out and shamefaced," Suarez de Peralta was a boy on the streets. We catch a glimpse of him in the front rows of a crowd watching an execution, this same winter of 1542–43, and we may be sure that he saw all that was going on, and that he picked up and treasured the gossip of the city. His recollections give a vivid picture of the return of the expedition, when Coronado "came to kiss the hand of the viceroy and did not receive so good a reception as he would have liked, for he found him very sad." For many days after the general reached the city the men who had followed him came straggling in, all of them worn out with their toils, clothed in the skins of animals, and showing the marks of their misfortunes and sufferings. "The country had been very joyous when the news of the discovery of the Seven Cities spread abroad, and this was now supplanted by the greatest sadness on the part of all, for many had lost their friends and their fortunes, since those who remained behind had entered into partnerships with those who went, mortgaging their estates and their property in order to procure a share in what was to be gained, and drawing up papers so that those who were to be present should have power to take possession of mines and enter claims in the name of those who were left behind, in accordance with the custom and the ordinances which the viceroy had made for New Spain. Many sent their slaves also, since there were many of these in the country at this time. Thus the loss and the grief were general, but the viceroy felt it most of all, for two reasons: Because this was the outcome of something about which he had felt so sure, which he thought would make him more powerful than the greatest lord in Spain, and because his estates were ruined, for he had labored hard and spent much in sending off the army. Finally, as things go, he succeeded in forgetting about it, and devoted himself to the government of his province, and in this he became the best of governors, being trusted by the King and loved by all his subjects."

THE END OF CORONADO

We do not know what became of Vazquez Coronado. The failure of the expedition was not his fault, and there is nothing to show that he ever sought the position which Mendoza intrusted to him. Neither is there any evidence that Mendoza treated him with any less marks of friendship after his return than before. The welcome home was not cordial, but there are no reports of upbraiding, nor any accusations of negligence or remissness. Coronado soon gave up his position as gov-

ernor of New Galicia, but we need not suppose that he was compelled to resign. There was every reason why he should have desired to escape from a position which demanded much skill and unceasing active administration, but which carried with it no hope of reward or of honor. It is pleasant to believe that Coronado withdrew to his estates and lived happily ever after with his wife and children, spending his leisure in supervising the operations on his farm and ranch, and leading the uneventful life of a country gentleman. The only break in the monotony of which we happen to know—and this is the only part of this belief for which there is the slightest evidence that it is correct—came when he was accused, in 1544 and again in 1547, of holding more Indians to labor on his estates than were allowed by the royal regulations. We do not even know the outcome of this accusation. Vazquez Coronado sinks into oblivion after he made his report to the viceroy in the autumn of 1542.

Some Results of the Expedition—1540–1547

The Discovery of Colorado River

The Voyage of Alarcon

Coronado found no gold in the land of the Seven Cities or in Quivira, but his search added very much to the geographical knowledge of the Spaniards.[1] In addition to the exploration of the Pueblo country of New Mexico and Arizona, and of the great plains as far north as Kansas or Nebraska, the most important subsidiary result of the expedition of 1540–1542 was the discovery of Colorado river. Hernando de Alarcon, who sailed from Acapulco May 9, 1540, continued his voyage northward along the coast, after stopping at the port of Culiacan to add the *San Gabriel* to his fleet, until he reached the shoals and sandbars at the head of the Gulf of California. The fleet which Cortes

[1] The maps of the New World drawn and published between 1542 and 1600, reproductions of several of which accompany this memoir, give a better idea of the real value of the geographical discoveries made by Coronado than any bare statement could give. In 1540, European cartographers knew nothing about the country north of New Spain. Cortes had given them the name—Nueva España or Hispania Nova—and this, with the name of the continent, served to designate the inland region stretching toward the north and west. Such was the device which Mercator adopted when he drew his double cordiform map in 1538 (plates XLV, XLVI). Six years later, 1544, Sebastian Cabot published his elaborate map of the New World (see plate XL). He had heard of the explorations made by and for Cortes toward the head of the Gulf of California, very likely from the lips of the conqueror himself. He confined New Spain to its proper limits, and in the interior he pictured Indians and wild beasts. In 1548 the maps of America in Ptolemy's Geography for the first time show the results of Coronado's discoveries (see plate XLI). During the remainder of the century Granada, Cibola, Quivira, and the other places whose names occur in the various reports of the expedition, appear on the maps. Their location, relative to each other and to the different parts of the country, constantly changes. Quivira moves along the fortieth parallel from Espiritu Santo river to the Pacific coast. Tiguex and Totonteac are on any one of half a dozen rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, the Espiritu Santo, or the South sea. Acuco and Cicuye are sometimes placed west of Cibola, and so a contemporary map maker may be the cause of the mistaken title to the report of Alvarado's expedition to the Rio Grande. But many as were the mistakes, they are insignificant in comparison with the great fact that the people of Europe had learned that there was an inhabited country north of Mexico, and that the world was, by so much, larger than before.

had sent out under the command of Ulloa the previous summer, turned back from these shoals, and Alarcon's sailors begged him not to venture among them. But the question of a passage by water through to the South, or Pacific, sea, which would make an island of the California peninsula, was still debated, and Alarcon refused to return until he had definitely determined the possibility of finding such a passage. His pilots ran the ships aground, but after a careful examination of the channel, the fleet was floated across the bar in safety, with the aid of the rising tide. Alarcon found that he was at the mouth of a large river, with so swift and strong a current that it was impossible for the large vessels to make any headway against it. He determined to explore the river, and, taking twenty men in two boats, started upstream on Thursday, August 26, 1540, when white men for the first time floated on the waters of the Colorado. Indians appeared on the river banks during the following day. The silence with which the strangers answered the threatening shouts of the natives, and the presence of the Indian interpreters in the boats, soon overcame the hostile attitude of the savages. The European trifles which had been brought for gifts and for trading completed the work of establishing friendly relations, and the Indians soon became so well disposed that they entirely relieved the Spaniards of the labor of dragging the boats up the stream. A crowd of Indians seized the ropes by which the boats were hauled against the current, and from this time on some of them were always ready to render this service to their visitors. In this fashion the Spaniards continued northward, receiving abundant supplies of corn from the natives, whose habits and customs they had many excellent opportunities for observing. Alarcon instructed these people dutifully in the worship of the cross, and continually questioned them about the places whose names Friar Marcos had heard. He met with no success until he had traveled a considerable distance up the river, when for the first time he found a man with whom his interpreter was able to converse.

This man said that he had visited Cibola, which was a month's journey distant. There was a good trail by which one might easily reach that country in forty days. The man said he had gone there merely to see the place, since it was quite a curiosity, with its houses three and four stories high, filled with people. Around the houses there was a wall half as high again as a man, having windows on each side. The inhabitants used the usual Indian weapons—bows and arrows, clubs, maces, and shields. They wore mantles and ox hides, which were painted. They had a single ruler, who wore a long shirt with a girdle, and various mantles over this. The women wore long white cloaks which completely covered them. There were always many Indians waiting about the door of their ruler, ready in case he should wish for anything. They also wore many blue stones which they dug out of a rock—the turquoises of the other narratives. They had but one wife, and when they died all their effects were buried with them. When

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QUIVIRA, ANIAN, AND TOLM, 1597

their rulers ate, many men waited about the tables. They ate with napkins, and had baths—a natural inference from any attempt to describe the stuffy underground rooms, the estufas or kivas of the Pueblos.

Alarcon continued to question the Indian, and learned that the lord of Cibola had a dog like one which accompanied the Spaniards, and that when dinner was served, the lord of Cibola had four plates like those used by the Spaniards, except that they were green. He obtained these at the same time that he got the dog, with some other things, from a black man who wore a beard, whom the people of Cibola killed. A few days later, Alarcon obtained more details concerning the death of the negro "who wore certain things on his legs and arms which rattled." When asked about gold and silver, the Indians said that they had some metal of the same color as the bells which the Spaniards showed them. This was not made nor found in their country, but came "from a certain mountain where an old woman dwelt." The old woman was called Guatuzaca. One of Alarcon's informants told him about people who lived farther away than Cibola, in houses made of painted mantles or skins during the summer, and who passed the winter in houses made of wood two or three stories high. The Indian was asked about the leather shields, and in reply described a very great beast like an ox, but more than a hand longer, with broad feet, legs as big as a man's thigh, a head 7 hands long, and the forehead 3 spans across. The eyes of the beast were larger than one's fist, and the horns as long as a man's leg, "out of which grew sharp points an handful long, and the forefeet and hindfeet about seven handfuls big." The tail was large and bushy. To show how tall the animal was, the Indian stretched his arms above his head. In a note to his translation of this description, Hakluyt suggests, "This might be the crooke backed oxe of Quivira." Although the height and the horns are clearly those of a buck deer, the rest of the description is a very good account of the bison.

The man who told him all this was called ashore, and Alarcon noticed an excited discussion going on among the Indians, which ended in the return of his informant with the news that other white men like himself were at Cibola. Alarcon pretended to wonder at this, and was told that two men had just come from that country, where they had seen white men having "things which shot fire, and swords." These latest reports seemed to make the Indians doubt Alarcon's honesty, and especially his statements that he was a child of the Sun. He succeeded in quieting their suspicions, and learned more about Cibola, with which these people appeared to have quite frequent intercourse. He was told that the strangers at Cibola called themselves Christians, and that they brought with them many oxen like those at Cibola "and other little blacke beastes with wooll and hornes." Some of them also had animals upon which they rode, which ran very swiftly. Two of the party that had recently returned from Cibola, had fallen in with two of the Chris-

tians. The white men asked them where they lived and whether they possessed any fields sown with corn, and gave each of them little caps for themselves and for their companions. Alarcon did his best to induce some of his men to go to Cibola with a message to Coronado, but all refused except one negro slave, who did not at all want to go. The plan had to be given up, and the party returned to the ships. It had taken fifteen days and a half to ascend the river, but they descended with the swift current in two and a half. The men who had remained in the ships were asked to undertake the mission of opening communication with Coronado, but proved as unwilling as the others.

Much against the will of his subordinates, Alarcon determined to make a second trip up the river, hoping to obtain further information which might enable him to fulfill the purposes of his voyage. He took "three boats filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other seedes, hennes and cockes of Castille." Starting September 14, he found the Indians as friendly as before, and ascended the river, as he judged, about 85 leagues, which may have taken him to the point where the canyons begin. A cross was erected to inform Coronado, in case an expedition from Cibola should reach this part of the river,[1] that he had tried to fulfill his duty, but nothing more was accomplished.[2]

While Alarcon was exploring the river, one of the ships was careened and repaired, and everything made ready for the return voyage. A chapel was built on the shore in honor of Nuestra Señora de Buenaguia, and the river was named the Buenaguia, out of regard for the viceroy, who carried this as his device.

The voyage back to Colima in New Spain was uneventful.

THE JOURNEY OF MELCHIOR DIAZ

In September, 1540, seventy or eighty of the weakest and least reliable men in Coronado's army remained at the town of San Hieronimo, in the valley of Corazones or Hearts. Melchior Diaz was placed in command of the settlement, with orders to maintain this post and protect the road between Cibola and New Spain, and also to attempt to find some means of communicating with the fleet under Alarcon. After he had established everything in the town as satisfactorily as possible, Diaz selected twenty-five of these men to accompany him on an exploring expedition to the seacoast. He started before the end of September, going into the rough country west of Corazones valley, and finding only a few naked, weak-spirited Indians, who had come, as he understood, from the land on the farther side of the water, i. e., Lower

[1] See Castañeda's account of the finding of similar message by the party under Diaz.

[2] The account of this trip in Herrera (dec. VI, lib. ix, cap. xv, ed. 1728) is as follows: "Haviendo llegado à ciertas Montañas, adonde el Rio se estrechaba mucho, supo, que vn Encantador andaba preguntando por donde havia de pasar, y haviendo entendido, que por el Rio, puso desde vna Ribera à la otra algunas Cañas, que debian de ser hechiçadas; pero las Barcas pasaron sin daño; y haviendo llegado mui arriba, preguntando por cosas de la Tierra, para entender, si descubriria alguna noticia de Francisco Vazquez de Cornado. . . . Viendo Alarcon, que no hallaba lo que deseaba, i que havia subido por aquel Rio 85 Leguas, determinò de bolver." . . .

California. He hurried across this region and descended the mountains on the west, where he encountered the Indian giants, some of whom the army had already seen. Turning toward the north, or northwest, he proceeded to the seacoast, and spent several days among Indians who fed him with the corn which they raised and with fish. He traveled slowly up the coast until he reached the mouth of a river which was large enough for vessels to enter. The country was cold, and the Spaniards observed that when the natives hereabouts wished to keep warm, they took a burning stick and held it to their abdomens and shoulders. This curious habit led the Spaniards to name the river Firebrand—Rio del Tizon. Near the mouth of the river was a tree on which was written, "A letter is at the foot of this." Diaz dug down and found a jar wrapped so carefully that it was not even moist. The inclosed papers stated that "Francisco de Alarcon reached this place in the year '40 with three ships, having been sent in search of Francisco Vazquez Coronado by the viceroy, D. Antonio de Mendoza; and after crossing the bar at the mouth of the river and waiting many days without obaining any news, he was obliged to depart, because the ships were being eaten by worms," the terrible *Teredo navalis*.[1]

Diaz determined to cross the river, hoping that the country might become more attractive. The passage was accomplished, with considerable danger, by means of certain large wicker baskets, which the natives coated with a sort of bitumen, so that the water could not leak through. Five or six Indians caught hold of each of these and swam across, guiding it and transporting the Spaniards with their baggage, and being supported in turn by the raft. Diaz marched inland for four days, but not finding any people in the country, which became steadily more barren, he decided to return to Corazones valley. The party made its way back to the country of the giants without accident, and then one night while Diaz was watching the camp, a small dog began to bark and chase the flock of sheep which the men had taken with them for food. Unable to call the dog off, Diaz started after him on horseback and threw his lance while on the gallop. The weapon stuck up in the ground, and before Diaz could stop or turn his horse, which was running loose, the socket pierced his groin. The soldiers could do little to relieve his sufferings, and he died before they reached the settlement, where they arrived January 18, 1541. A few months later, Alcaraz, who had been placed in charge of the town when Diaz went away, abandoned Corazones valley for a more attractive situation on Suya river, some distance nearer Cibola. The post was maintained here

[1] Mota Padilla (p. 158, § 1): "Los Indios, para resistir el frio, llevan en las manos un troncon ardiendo que les calienta el pecho, y del mismo modo la espalda; siendo esto tan comun en todos los indios, que por eso los nuestros pusieron á este rio el nombre del rio del Tison, cerca de él vieron un árbol en el cual estaban escritas unas letras, que decian: al pié está una carta: y con efecto; la hallaron en una olla, bien envuelta, porque no se humedeciese, y su contenido era: que el año de 40 llegó allí Francisco de Alarcon con tres navíos, y entrando por la barra de aquel rio, enviado por el virey D. Antonio de Mendoza, en busca de Francisco Vazquez Coronado; y que habiendo estado allí muchos dias sin noticia alguna le fué preciso salir porque los navios se comian de broma."

until late in the summer, when it became so much weakened by dissensions and desertions that the Indians had little difficulty in destroying it. The defenders, with the exception of a few who were able to make their way back to Culiacan, were massacred.

THE INDIAN UPRISING IN NEW SPAIN, 1540–1542

Of the arguments advanced by those who wished to hinder the expedition which Mendoza sent off under Coronado, none was urged more persistently than the claim that this undertaking would require all the men available for the protection of New Spain. It was suggested by all the parties to the litigation in Spain, was repeated by Cortes again and again, reappeared more than once during the visita of 1547, and was the cause of the depositions taken at Compostela on February 26, 1540. These last show the real state of affairs. The men who were withdrawn constituted a great resource in case of danger, but they were worse than useless to the community when things were peaceful. The Indians of New Spain had been quiet since the death of De la Torre, a few years before, but signs of danger, an increasing restlessness, unwilling obedience to the masters and encomenderos, and frequent gatherings, had been noticed by many besides Cortes. There were reasons enough to justify an Indian outbreak, some of them abuses which dated from the time of Nuño de Guzman, but there is every reason to suppose that the withdrawal of Coronado's force, following the irritation which was inevitably caused by the necessity of collecting a large food supply and many servants, probably brought matters to a crisis. Oñate, to whom the administration of New Galicia had again been intrusted during the absence of his superior, began to prepare for the trouble which he foresaw almost as soon as Coronado was gone from the province. In April he learned that two tribes had rebelled and murdered one of their encomenderos. A force was sent to put down the revolt. The rebels requested a conference, and then, early next morning, surprised the camp, which was wholly unprepared for defense. Ten Spaniards, including the unwary commander, and nearly two hundred native allies were killed. Thus began the last and the fiercest struggle of the Indians of New Spain against their European conquerors—the Mixton war.

Oñate prepared to march against the victorious rebels, as soon as the news of the disaster reached him, but when this was followed by additional information from the agents among the Indians, showing how widespread were the alliances of those who had begun the revolt, and that the Indians throughout the province of New Galicia were already in arms, he retired to Guadalajara. The defenses of this town were strengthened as much as possible, and messengers were dispatched to Mexico for reenforcements. The viceroy sent some soldiers and supplies, but this force was not sufficient to prevent the Indians—who were animated by their recent successes, by their numbers, by the knowledge of the weak points as well as of the strong ones in their oppressors, and

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MATTHIAS QUADUS'

QUADUS' FASCICULUS GEOGRAPHICUS, 1608

After Nordenskiold

who were guided by able leaders possessing all the prestige of religious authority—from attacking the frontier settlements and forcing the Spaniards to congregate in the larger towns.

There was much fighting during the early summer of 1540, in which the settlers barely held their own. In August, the adelantado Pedro de Alvarado sailed into the harbor of La Natividad. As the news of his arrival spread, requests were sent to him from many directions, asking for help against the natives. One of the most urgent came from those who were defending the town of Purificacion, and Alvarado was about to start to their assistance, when a message from Mendoza changed his plans. The two men arranged for a personal interview at Tiripitio in Michoacan, where the estate of a relative afforded Alvarado a quasi neutral territory. After some difficulties had been overcome, the terms of an alliance were signed by both parties November 29, 1540. Each was to receive a small share in whatever had already been accomplished by the other, thus providing for any discoveries which might have rewarded Coronado's search before this date. In the future, all conquests and gains were to be divided equally. It was agreed that the expenses of equipping the fleet and the army should offset each other, and that all future expenses should be shared alike. Each partner was allowed to spend a thousand castellanos de minas yearly, and all expenditure in excess of this sum required the consent of the other party. All accounts were to be balanced yearly, and any surplus due from one to the other was to be paid at once, under penalty of a fine, which was assured by the fact that half of it was to go into the royal treasury.

Mendoza secured a half interest in the fleet of between nine and twelve vessels, which were then in the ports of Acapulco and of Santiago de Colima. Cortes accused the viceroy of driving a very sharp bargain in this item, declaring that Alvarado was forced to accept it because Mendoza made it the condition on which he would allow the ships to obtain provisions.[1] Mendoza, as matters turned out, certainly had the best of the bargain, although in the end it amounted to nothing. Whether this would have been true if Alvarado had lived to prosecute his schemes is another possibility. Alvarado took his chances on the results of Coronado's conquests, and it is very likely that, by the end of November, the discouraging news contained in Coronado's letter of August 3 was not generally known, if it had even reached the viceroy.

The contract signed, Alvarado and Mendoza went to Mexico, where they passed the winter in perfecting arrangements for carrying out their plans. The cold weather moderated the fury of the Indian war somewhat, without lessening the danger or the troubles of the settlers in New Galicia, all of whom were now shut up in the few large towns. Alvarado returned to the Pacific coast in the spring of 1541, and as soon as

[1] The accusation was made by others at the time. H. H. Bancroft repeats the charge in his Mexico, but it should always be remembered that Mr Bancroft, or his compilers, in everything connected with the conqueror, repeat whatever it may have pleased Cortes to write, without criticism or question.

Oñate learned of this, he sent an urgent request for help, telling of the serious straits in which he had been placed. The security of the province was essential to the successful prosecution of the plans of the new alliance. Alvarado immediately sent reinforcements to the different garrisons, and at the head of his main force hastened to Guadalajara, where he arrived June 12, 1541. Oñate had received reports from the native allies and the Spanish outposts, who were best acquainted with the situation and plans of the hostile Indians, which led him to urge Alvarado to delay the attack until he could be certain of success. An additional force had been promised from Mexico, but Alvarado felt that the glory and the booty would both be greater if secured unaided. Scorning the advice of those who had been beaten by savages, he hastened to chastise the rebels. The campaign was a short one. On June 24 Alvarado reached the fortified height of Nochistlan, where he encountered such a deluge of men and of missiles that he was not able to maintain his ground, nor even to prevent the precipitate retreat of his soldiers. It was a terrible disaster, but one which reflected no discredit on Alvarado after the fighting began. The flight of the Spaniards continued after the Indians had grown tired of the chase. It was then that the adelantado tried to overtake his secretary, who had been one of those most eager to get away from the enemy. Alvarado was afoot, having dismounted in order to handle his men and control the retreat more easily, but he had almost caught up with his secretary, when the latter spurred his jaded horse up a rocky hill. The animal tried to respond, fell, and rolled backward down the hill, crushing the adelantado under him. Alvarado survived long enough to be carried to Guadalajara and to make his will, dying on the 4th of July.

This disaster did not fully convince the viceroy of the seriousness of the situation. Fifty men had already started from Mexico, arriving in Guadalajara in July, where they increased the garrison to eighty-five. Nothing more was done by Mendoza after he heard of the death of Alvarado. The Indians, emboldened by the complete failure of their enemies, renewed their efforts to drive the white men out of the land. They attacked Guadalajara on September 28, and easily destroyed all except the chief buildings in the center of the city, in which the garrison had fortified themselves as soon as they learned that an attack was about to be made. A fierce assault against these defenses was repulsed only after a hard struggle. The miraculous appearance of Saint Iago on his white steed and leading his army of allies, who blinded the idolatrous heathen, alone prevented the destruction of his faithful believers, according to the record of one contemporary chronicler. At last Mendoza realized that the situation was critical. A force of 450 Spaniards was raised, in addition to an auxiliary body of between 10,000 and 50,000 Aztec warriors. The native chieftains were rendered loyal by ample promises of wealth and honors, and the warriors were granted, for the first time, permission to use horses and Spanish

weapons. With the help of these Indians, Mendoza eventually succeeded in destroying or reducing the revolted tribes. The campaign was a series of fiercely contested struggles, which culminated at the Mixton peñol, a strongly fortified height where the most bitter enemies of the Spanish conquerors had their headquarters. This place was surrendered during the Christmas holidays, and when Coronado returned in the autumn of 1542, the whole of New Spain was once more quiet.

FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT DISCOVERY

THE VOYAGE OF CABRILLO

Mendoza took possession of the vessels belonging to Alvarado after the death of the latter. In accordance with the plans which the two partners had agreed on, apparently, the viceroy commissioned Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo to take command of two ships in the port of La Natividad and make an exploration of the coast on the western side of the peninsula of Lower California. Cabrillo started June 27, 1542, and sailed north, touching the land frequently. Much bad weather interfered with his plans, but he kept on till the end of December, when he landed on one of the San Lucas islands. Here Cabrillo died, January 3, 1543, leaving his chief pilot, Bartolome Ferrel or Ferrelo, "a native of the Levant," in command. Ferrel left the island of San Miguel, which he named Isla de Juan Rodriguez, on January 29, to continue the voyage. In a little more than a month the fleet had reached the southern part of Oregon or thereabouts, allowing for an error of a degree and a half in the observations, which said that they were 44° north. A severe storm forced the ships to turn back from this point.

The report of the expedition is little more than an outline of distances sailed and places named, although there are occasional statements which give us valuable information regarding the coast Indians.[1] Among the most interesting of these notes are those showing that the news of the expeditions to Colorado river, and perhaps of the occupancy of the Pueblo country by white men, had reached the Pacific coast. About September 1, 1542, a party from the fleet went ashore near the southern boundary of California. Five Indians met the Spanish sailors at a spring, where they were filling the water casks. "They appeared like intelligent Indians," and went on board the ships without hesitation. "They took note of the Spaniards and counted them, and made signs that they had seen other men like these, who had beards and who brought dogs and cross-bows and swords . . . and showed by their signs that the other Spaniards were five days' journey distant. . . . The captain gave them a letter, which he told them to carry to the Spaniards who they said were in the interior." September 28, at San

[1] The report or memorandum was written by Juan Paez, or more probably by the pilot Ferrel. It has been translated in the reports of the United States Geological Survey West of the One Hundredth Meridian. (Appendix to part i, vol. vii, Archæology, pp. 293–314.) The translation is accompanied by notes identifying the places named, on which it is safe enough to rely, and by other notes of somewhat doubtful value.

Pedro bay, Ferrel again found Indians who told him by signs that "they had passed people like the Spaniards in the interior." Two days later, on Saturday morning, "three large Indians came to the ship, who told by signs that men like us were traveling in the interior, wearing beards, and armed and clothed like the people on the ships, and carrying cross-bows and swords. They made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and went running in a posture as if riding on horseback. They showed that many of the native Indians had been killed, and that this was the reason they were afraid." A week later, October 7, the ships anchored off the islands of Santa Cruz and Anacapa. The Indians of the islands and also of the mainland opposite, near Santa Barbara or the Santa Clara valley, gave the Spaniards additional descriptions of men like themselves in the interior.

The rest of the year 1542 was spent in this locality, off the coast of southern California, and then the voyage northward was resumed. Many points on the land were touched, although San Francisco bay quite escaped observation. Just before a severe storm, in which one of the vessels was lost, forcing him to turn back, Ferrel observed floating drift and recognized that it meant the neighborhood of a large river, but he was driven out to sea before reaching the mouth of the Columbia. The return voyage was uneventful, and the surviving vessel reached the harbor of Natividad in safety by April 14, 1543.

VILLALOBOS SAILS ACROSS THE PACIFIC

Cortes and Alvarado had both conceived plans more than once to equip a great expedition in New Spain and cross the South sea to the isles of the Western ocean. After the death of Alvarado, Mendoza adopted this scheme, and commissioned Ruy Lopez de Villalobos to take command of some of the ships of Alvarado and sail westward. He started on All Saints day, the 1st of November, 1542, with 370 Spanish soldiers and sailors aboard his fleet. January 22, 1547, Friar Jeronimo de Santisteban wrote to Mendoza "from Cochin in the Indies of the King of Portugal." He stated that 117 of the men were still with the fleet, and that these intended to keep together and make their way as best they could home to Spain. Thirty members of the expedition had remained at Maluco, and twelve had been captured by the natives of various islands at which the party had landed. The rest, including Ruy Lopez, had succumbed to hunger and thirst, interminable labors and suffering, and unrelieved discouragement—the record of the previous months. This letter of Friar Jeronimo is the only published account of the fate of this expedition.

The brief and gloomy record of the voyage of Villalobos is a fit ending for this story of the Coronado expedition to Cibola and Quivira, of how it came about, of what it accomplished, and of what resulted from it. NOTHING is the epitome of the whole story. The lessons which it teaches are always warnings, but if one will read history rightly, every warning will be found to be an inspiration.

THE NARRATIVE OF CASTAÑEDA

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

A perusal of the narratives of the expeditions of Coronado and of Friar Marcos of Nice, which were translated by Henri Ternaux-Compans for the ninth volume of his Collection de Voyages, convinced me that the style and the language of these narratives were much more characteristic of the French translator than of the Spanish conquistadores. A comparison of Ternaux's translations with some of the Spanish texts which he had rendered into French, which were available in the printed collections of Spanish documents in the Harvard University library, showed me that Ternaux had not only rendered the language of the original accounts with great freedom, but that in several cases he had entirely failed to understand what the original writer endeavored to relate. On consulting Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, in the second edition, I found that the Spanish manuscript of the Castañeda narrative, from which most of our knowledge of Coronado's expedition is derived, was in the Lenox Library in New York City. The trustees of this library readily granted my request, made through Dr Winsor, for permission to copy the manuscript. The Lenox manuscript is not the original one written by Castañeda, but a copy made toward the end of the sixteenth century. It contains a number of apparent mistakes, and the meaning of many passages is obscure, probably due to the fact that the Spanish copyist knew nothing about the North American Indians and their mode of living. These places I have pointed out in the notes to my translation of the narrative, and I have called attention also to the important errors and misconceptions in Ternaux's version. Diligent inquiry among the custodians of the large Spanish libraries at Simancas, Madrid, and at Seville where the Lenox manuscript was copied in 1596, has failed to bring me any information in regard to the original manuscript. The Lenox copy is the one used by Ternaux.

The Spanish text of the Relación Postrera de Sívola is printed now for the first time, through the kindness of the late Señor Joaquin García Icazbalceta, who copied it for me from a collection of papers in his possession, which formerly belonged to the Father Motolinia, the author of a very valuable description of the Indians of New Spain. In the preface to this work, dated 1541, Motolinia says that he was in communication with the brethren who had gone with Coronado. The Relación Postrera appears to be a copy made from a letter written to some of the Franciscans in New Spain by one of the friars who accompanied Coronado.

In the bibliography are the references to the exact location of the Spanish texts from which I have translated the other narratives. I am not aware that any of these have been translated entire, although Mr Bandelier has quoted from them extensively in his Documentary History of Zuñi.

There is one other account of the Coronado expedition which might have been included in the present volume. Mota Padilla wrote his Historia de la Nueva Galicia two centuries after the return of Coronado, but he had access to large stores of contemporary documents concerning the early history of New Spain, most of which have since been destroyed. Among these documents were those belonging to Don Pedro de Tovar, one of the captains in Coronado's army. Mota Padilla's account of this expedition is nearly if not quite as valuable as that of Castañeda, and supplements the latter in very many details. The length of the narrative and the limitations inevitable to any work of this nature forced me to abandon the idea of translating it for the present memoir. Much of the text of Mota Padilla will be found, however, in the notes to the translation of Castañeda, while the second half of the historical introduction is based primarily on Mota Padilla's narrative, and a large portion of it is little more than a free rendering of this admirable work.

THE SPANISH TEXT[1]

Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola conpuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera. Donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados y ritos, y costumbres, la qual fue el Año de 1540.

Historia del Conde Fernando Gonzales impressa.

PROEMIO.

Cosa por sierto me parece muy magnifico señor liçeta y que es exerçiçio de hombres uirtuosos el desear saber y querer adquirir para su memoria la noticia berdadera de las cosas acasos aconteçidos en partes remotas de que se tiene poca noticia lo qual yo no culpo algunas personas especulatiuas que por uentura con buen çelo por muchas ueces me an sido inportunos no poco rogadome les dixese y aclarase algunas dudas que tenian de cosas particulares q̃ al bulgo auian oydo en cosas y casos acontecidos en la jornada de cibola o tierra nueba que el buen uisorey que dios aya en su gloria don Antonio de Mendoca ordeno y hiço haçer donde embio por general capitan a francisco uasques de coronado y a la berdad ellos tienen raçon de querer saber la uerdad porque como el bulgo muy muchas ueces y cosas que an oydo y por uentura a quien de ellas no tubo noticia ansi las hacen mayores o menores que ellas son y las que son algo las hacen nada y las no tales las hacen tã admirables que pareçen cosas no creederas podria tan bien

[1] This text is, as far as possible, a copy of the Relacion in the Lenox Library. No attempt has been made to add marks of punctuation, to accent, or to alter what may have been slips of the copyist's pen.

causarlo que como aquello tierra no permanecio no ubo quien quisiese gastar tienpo en escrebir sus particularidades porque se perdiese la noticia de aquello que no fue dios seruido que gosasen el sabe por que en berdad quien quisiera exercitarse en escrebir asi las cosas acaeçidas en la jornada como las cosas se bieron en aquellas tierras los ritos y tratos delos naturales tubiera harta materia por donde pareçiera su juiçio y creo que no le faltara de quedar relaçion que tratar de berdad fuera tam admirable que pareciera increyble.

y tambien creo que algunas nobelas que se quentan el aber como a ueinte años y mas que aquella jornada se hiço lo causa digo esto porque algunas la haçen tierra inabitable otros confinante a la florida otros a la india mayor que no parece pequeño desbario pueden tomar alguna ocaçion y causa sobre que poner su fundamento tambien ay quien da noticia de algunos animales bien remotos que otros con aber se hallado en aquella jornada lo niegan y afirman no aber tal ni aberlos bisto otros uariã en el rumbo de las prouincias y aun en los tractos y trajes atribuyendo lo que es de los unos a los otros todo lo qual a sido gran parte muy magnifico señor a me mober aunque tarde a querer dar una brebe noticia general para todos los que se arrean de esta uirtud especulatiua y por ahorrar el tiempo que con inportunidades soy a quexado donde se hallaran cosas por sierto harto graues de crer todas o las mas bistas por mis ojos y otras por noticia berdadera inquiridas de los propios naturales creyendo que teniendo entendido como lo tengo que esta mi pequeña obra seria en si ninguna o sin autoridad sino fuese faboreçida y anparada de tal persona que su autoridad quitase el atrebimiento a los que sin acatamiento dar libertad a sus murmuradores lenguas y conoçiendo yo en quanta obligacion siempre e sido y soy a vr̃a md humilmente suplico de baxo de su anparo como de berdadero seruidor y criado sea recebida esta pequeña obra la qual ba en tres partes repartida para que mejor se de a entender la primera sera dar noticia del descubrimiento y el armada o campo que hiço con toda la jornada con los capitanes que alla fueron la segunda los pueblos y prouinçias que se hallaron y en que rumbos y que ritos y costumbres los animales fructas y yerbas y en que partes de la tierra. la terçera la buelta que el campo hiço y las ocaciones que ubo para se despoblar aun que no licitas por ser el mejor paraje que ay para se descubrir el meollo de la tierra que ay en estas partes de poniente como se uera y despues aca se tiene entendido y en lo ultimo se tratara de algunas cosas admirables que se bieron y por donde con mas facilidad se podra tornar a descubrir lo que no bimos que suelo mejor y que no poco haria al caso para por tierra entrar en la tierra de que yba en demanda el marques del ualle don fer^do^ cortes de baxo de la estrella del poniente que no pocas armadas le costo de mar plega a nr̃o señor me de tal graçia que con mi rudo entendimiento y poca abilidad pueda tratando berdad agradar con esta me pequeña obra al sabio y prudente lector siendo por vr̃a md aceptada pues mi intincion no es ganar gracias de buen componedor ni retorico salbo querer dar berdadera

noticia y hacer a vr̃a md este pequeño seruicio el qual reciba como de berdadero seruidor y soldado que se hallo presente y aunque no por estilo pulido escrebo lo que paso lo que a oydo palpo y bido y tratrato.

siempre beo y es ansi que por la mayor parte quando tenemos entre las manos alguna cosa preciosa y la tratamos sin inpedimento no la tenemos ni la preçiamos en quanto uale si entendemos la falta que nos haria si la perdiesemos y por tanto de continuo la bamos teniendo en menos pero despues que la abemos perdido y carecemos del benefficio de ella abemos gran dolor en el coraçon y siempre andamos ymaginatibos buscando modos y maneras como la tornemos a cobrar y asi me pareçe acaeçio a todos aquellos o a los mas que fueron a la jornada quel año de nr̃o saluador jesu christo de mill y quinientos y quarenta hico francisco uasques coronado en demanda de las siete ciudades que puesto que no hallaron aquellas riqueças de que les auian dado notiçia hallaron aparejo para las buscar y principio de buena tierra que poblar para de alli pasar adelante y como despues aca por la tierra que conquistaron y despoblaron el tiempo les a dado a entender el rumbo y aparejo donde estaban y el principio de buena tierra que tienan entre manos lloran sus coracones por aber perdido tal oportunidad de tiempo y como sea sierto que ben mas lo honbres quando se suben a la talanquera que quando andan en el coso agora que estan fuera cognoçen y entienden los rumbos y el aparejo donde se hallauan y ya que ben que no lo pueden goçar ni cobrar y el tiempo perdido deleytanse en contar lo que bieron y aun lo que entienden que perdieron especial aquellos que se hallan pobres oy tanto como quando alla fueron y no an dexado de trabajar y gastado el tienpo sin probecho digo esto porque tengo entendido algunos de los que de alla binieron holgarian oy como fuese para pasar adelante boluer a cobrar lo perdido y otros holgarian oy y saber la causa porque se descubrio y pues yo me ofrecido a contarlo tomarlo e del principio que pasa asi.

PRIMERA PARTE.[1]

Capitulo primero donde se trata como se supo la primera poblacion de las siete çiudades y como Nuño de guzman hiço armada para descubrirlla.

en el año y quinientos y treinta siendo presidente de la nueba españa Nuño de guzman ubo en su poder un indio natural del ualle o ualles de oxitipar a quien los españoles nombran tejo este indio dixo que el era hijo de un mercader y su padre era muerto pero que siendo el chiquito su padre entraua la tierra adentro a mercadear con plumas ricas de aues para plumages y que en retorno traya un mucha cantidad de oro y plata que en aquella tierra lo ay mucho y que el fue con el una o dos ueçes y que bido muy grandes pueblos tanto que los quiso comparar con mexico y su comarca y que auia uisto siete pueblos muy grandes donde auia calles de plateria y que para ir a ellos tardauan desde su tierra quarenta dias y todo despoblado y que la tierra por do yban no

[1] The Primera Parte begins a new leaf in the original.

tenia yerba sino muy chiquita de un xeme y que el rumbo que lleuaban era al largo de la tierra entre las dos mares siguiendo la lauia del norte debaxo de esta notiçia Nuño de guzman junto casi quatrosientos hombres españoles y ueinte mill amigos de la nueua españa y como se hallo a el presente en mexico atrabesando la tarasca que es tierra de mechuacan para hallandose el aparejo quel indio deçia boluer atrabesando la tierra hacia la mar del norte y darian en la tierra que yban a buscar a la qual ya nombrauan las siete ciudades pues conforme a los quarenta dias quel texo decia hallaria que abiendo andado doçientas leguas podrian bien atrabesar la tierra quitado a parte algunas fortunas que pasaron en esta jornada desque fueron llegados en la prouincia de culiacan que fue lo ultimo de su gouernaçion que es agora el nueuo reyno de galiçia quisieron atrabesar la tierra y ubo muy gran dificultad porque la cordillera de la sierra que cae sobre aquella mar estan agra que por mucho que trabajo fue inposible hallar camino en aquella parte y a esta causa se detubo todo su campo en aquella tierra de culiacan hasta tanto que como yban con el hombres poderosos que tenian repartimientos en tierra de mexico mudaron las boluntades y de cada dia se querian boluer fuera de esto Nuño de guzman tubo nueua como auia benido de españa el marques del ualle don fernando cortes con el nueuo titulo y grandes fabores y prouinçiones y como nuño de guzman en el tiempo que fue presidente le ubiese sido emulo muy grande y hecho muchos daños en sus haciendas y en las de sus amigos temiose que don fer^{do} cortes se quisiese pagar en otras semejantes obras o peores y determino de poblar aquella uilla de culiacan y dar la buelta con la demas gente sin que ubiese mas efecto su jornada y de buelta poblo a xalisco que es la çiudad de conpostela y atonala que llaman guadalaxara y esto es agora el nuebo reyno de galicia la guia que lleuaban que se decia texo murio en estos comedios y ansi se qɹedo el nombre de estas siete ciudades y la demanda de ellas hasta oy dia que no sean descubierto.

Capitulo segundo como bino a ser gouernador françisco uasques coronado y la segunda relaçion que dio cabeça de uaca.

pasados que fueron ocho años que esta jornada se auia hecho por Nuño de guzman abiendo sido preso por un juez de residençia que uino de españa para el efecto con prouiçiones bastantes llamado el lic^{do} diego de la torre que despues muriendo este juez que ya tenia en si la gouernaçion de aquella tierra el buen don Antonio de mendoça uisorey de la nueua españa puso por gouernador de aquela gouernaçion a francisco uasques de coronado un cauallero de salamanca que a la sacon era casado en la çiudad de mexico cõ una señora hija de Alonso de estrada thesorero y gouernador que auia sido de mexico uno por quien el bulgo dice ser hijo del rey catholico don fernando y muchos lo afirman por osa sierta digo que a la sacon que francisco uasques fue probeydo por gouernador andaba por uisitador general de la nueua españa por donde

tubo amistad y conuersaçiones de muchas personas nobles que despues le siguieron en la jornada que hiço aconteçio a la saçon que llegaron a mexico tres españoles y un negro que auian por nombre cabeça de uaca y dorantes y castillo maldonado los quales se auian perdido en la armada que metio pamfilo de narbaes en la florida y estos salieron por la uia de culiacan abiendo atrabesado la tierra de mar a mar como lo beran los que lo quisieren saber por un tratado que el mismo cabeça de uaca hiço dirigido a el principe don phelipe que agora es rey de españa y señor nr̃o y estos dieron notiçia a el buen don Antonio de mendoça en como por las tierras que atrabesaron tomaron lengua y notiçia grande de unos poderosos pueblos de altos de quatro y çinco doblados y otras cosas bien diferentes de lo que pareçio por berdad esto comunico el buen uisorey con el nuebo gouernador que fue causa que se apresurase dexando la bisita que tenia entre manos y se partiese para su gouernaçion lleuando consigo el negro que auia bendido con los tres frayles de la orden do san fran^co^ el uno auia por nombre fray marcos de niça theologo y saserdote y el otro fray daniel lego y otro fray Antonio de santa maria y como llego a la prouincia de culiacan luego despidio a los frayles ya nonbrados y a el negro que auia por nombre esteuan para que fuesen en demanda de aquella tierra porque el fray marcos de niça se prefirio de llegar a berla por que este frayle se auia hallado en el peru a el tienpo que don pedro de albarado passo por tierra ydos los dichos frayles y el negro esteuan pareçe que el negro no yba a fabor de los frayles porque lleuaba las mugeres que le daban y adquiria turquesas y haçia balumen de todo y aun los indios de aquellos poblados por do yban entendiasen mejor con el negro como ya otra uez lo auian uisto que fue causa que lo ubieron hechar delante que fuese descubriendo y pacificando para que quando ellos llegasen no tubiesen mas que entender de en tomar la relacion de lo que buscauan.

Capitulo terçero como mataron los de cibola a el negro esteuan y fray marcos bolbio huyendo.

apartado que se ubo el esteuan de los dichos frayles presumio ganar en todo reputacion y honra y que se le atribuyese la osadia y atrebimiento de auer el solo descubierto[1] aquellos poblados de altos tan nombrados por aquella tierra y lleuando consigo de aquellas gentes que le seguian procuro de atrabesar los despoblados que ay entre cibola y lo poblado que auia andado y auiase les adelantado tanto a los frayles que quando ellos llegaron a chichieticale ques principio del despoblado ya el estaua a cibola que son ochenta leguas de despoblado que ay desde culiacan a el principio del despoblado docientas y ueinte leguas y en el despoblado ochenta que son trecientas diez mas o menos digo ansi que llegado que fue el negro esteuan a cibola llego cargado de grande numero de turquesas que le auian dado y algunas mugeres hermosas que le auian dado y lleuauan los indios que le acompañauan y le seguian

[1] This is a marginal correction of what is clearly a slip of the pen in the text.

de todo lo poblado que auia pasado los quales en yr debajo de su amparo creyan poder atrabesar toda la tierra sin riesgo ninguno pero como aquellas gentes de aquella tierra fuesen de mas raçon que no los que seguian a el esteuan aposentaronlo en una sierta hermita que tenian fuera del pueblo y los mas uiejos y los que gouernauan oyeron sus raçones y procuraron saber la causa de su benida en aquella tierra y bien informados por espaçio de tres dias entraron en su consulta y por la notiçia quel negro les dio como atras uenian dos hombres blancos embiados por un gran señor que eran entendidos en las cosas del cielo y que aquellos los uenian a industriar en las cosas diuinas consideraron que debia ser espia o guia de algunas naçiones que los querian yr a conquistar porque les pareçio desbario decir que la tierra de donde uenia era la gente blanca siendo el negro y enbiado por ellos y fueron a el y como despues de otras raçones le pidiese turquesas y mugeres parecioles cosa dura y determiaronse a le matar y ansi lo hicieron sin que matasen a nadie de los que con el yban y tomaron algunos muchachos y a los de mas que serian obra de sesenta personas dexaron bolber libres a sus tierras pues como estos que boluian ya huyendo atemorisados llegasen a se topar y ber con los frayles en el despoblado sesenta leguas de çibola y les diesen la triste nueba pusieron los en tanto temor que aun no se fiando de esta gente con aber ydo en compañia del negro abrieron las petacas que lleuaban y les repartieron quanto trayan que no les quedo salbo los hornamentos de deçir misa y de alli dieron la buelta sin ber la tierra mas de lo que los indios les deçian antes caminaban dobladas jornadas haldas en sinta.

Capitulo quarto como el buen don Antonio de mendoça hiço jornada para el descubrimiento de Cibola.

despues que francisco uasques coronado ubo embiado a fray marcos de niça y su conpaña en la demanda ya dicha quedando el en culiacan entendio en negocios que conbenian a su gouernaciõ tubo sierta relaçion de una prouinçia que corria en la trabesia de la tierra de culiacan a el norte que se decia topira y luego salio para la ir a descubrir con algunos conquistadores y gente de amigos y su yda hiço poco efecto por que auian de atrabesar las cordilleras y fue les muy dificultoso y la notiçia no la hallaron tal ni muestra de buena tierra y ansi dio la buelta y llegado que fue hallo a los frayles que auian acabado de llegar y fueron tantas las grandeças que les dixeron de lo que el esteuan el negro auia descubierto y lo que ellos oyeron a los indios y otras noticias de la mar del sur y de ylas que oyeron deçir y de otras riquesas quel gouernador sin mas se detener se partio luego para la ciudad de mexico lleuando a el fray marcos consigo para dar notiçia de ello a el bisorey en grandesiendo las cosas con no las querer comunicar con nadie, sino de baxo de puridad y grande secreto a personas particulares y llegados a mexico y bisto con don Antonio de mendoça luego se començo a publicar como ya se abian descubierto las siete çiudades

que Nuño de guzman buscaba y haçer armada y portar gente para las yr a conquistar el buen birrey tubo tal orden con los frayles de la orden de san françisco que hicieron a fray marcos prouincial que fue causa que andubiesen los pulpitos de aquella orden llenos de tantas marabillas y tan grãdes que en pocos dias se juntaron mas de tresientos hombres españoles y obra de ochocientos indios naturales de la nue (ua) españa y entre los españoles honbres de gran calidad tantos y tales que dudo en indias aber se juntado tan noble gente y tanta en tam pequeño numero como fueron treçientos hombres y de todos ellos capitan general francisco uasques coronado gouernador de la nueba galiçia por aber sido el autor de todo hico todo esto el buen uirey don Antonio porque a la saçon era franco uasques la persona mas allegada a el por pribança porque tenia entendido era hombre sagaz abil y de buen consejo allende de ser cauallero como lo era tenido tubiera mas atençion y respecto a el estado en que lo ponia y cargo que llebaua que no a la renta que dexaba en la nueba españa o a lo menos a la honra que ganaba y auia de ganar lleuando tales caualleros de baxo de su bando pero no le salio ansi como a delante se bera en el fin de este tratado ni el supo conserbar aquel estado ni la gouernacion que tenia.

Capitulo quinto que trata quienes fueron por capitanes a cîbola.

ya quel bisorey don Antonio de mendoça bido la muy noble gente que tenia junta y con los animos y uoluntad q̃ todos se le auian ofreçido cognoçiendo el ualor de sus personas a cada uno de ellos quisiera haçer capitan de un exerçito pero como el numero de todos era poco no pudo lo que quisiera y ansi ordeno las conductas y capitanias que le pareçio porque yendo por su mano ordenado era tam obedecido y amado que nadie saliera de su mandado despues que todos entẽdieron quien era su general hiço alferez general a don pedro de touar cauallero mançebo hijo de don fernando de tobar guarda y mayordomo mayor de la reyna doña Juana nr̃a natural señora que sea en gloria y maestre de campo a lope de samaniego alcayde de las ataraçanas de mexico cauallero para el cargo bien sufiçiente capitanes fueron don tristan de arellano don pedro de gueuara hijo de don juan de gueuara y sobrino del conde de oñate don garçi lopes de cardenas don rodrigo maldonado cuñado del duque del infantado diego lopes ueinte y quatro de seuilla diego gutierres de la caualleria todos los demas caualleros yban debajo del guion del general por ser peronas señaladas y algunos de ellos fueron despues capitanes y permanecieron en ello por ordenaçion del birey y otros por el general francisco uasques nombrare algunos de aquellos de que tengo memoria que fueron françisco de barrio nuebo un cauallero de granada juan de saldibar françisco de auando juan gallego y melchior dias capitan y alcalde mayor que auia sido de culiacan, q̃ aunque no era caualllero mereçia de su persona el cargo que tubo los demas caualleros que fueron sobresalientes fueron don Alonso manrique de lara don lope de urrea cauallero aragones gomes suares de figueroa luis ramires de uargas

juan de sotomayor francisco gorbalan el factor riberos y otros cauallеros de que agora no me acuerdo y hombres de mucho calidad capitan de infanteria fue pablo de melgosa burgales y de la artilleria hernando de albarado cauallero montañes digo que con el tiempo e perdido la memoria de muchos buenos hijos dalgo que fuera bueno que los nombrara por que se biera y cognoçiera la racon que tengo de decir que auia para esta jornada la mas lucida gente que sea juntado en indias para yr en demandas de tierras nuebras sino fueran desdichados en lleuar capitan que dexaba rentas en la nueba españa y muger moça noble y generosa que no fueron pocas espuelas para lo que bino a haçer.

Capitulo sexto como se juntaron en conpostela todas las capitanias y salieron en orden para la jornada.

hecho y ordenado por el birey don Antonio de mendoça lo que abemos dicho y hechas las capitanias o capitanes dio luego a la gente de guerra socorros de la caxa de su magestad a las personas mas menesterosas y por pareçerle que si salia el campo formado desde mexico haria algunos agrauios por las tierras de los amigos ordeno que se fuesen a juntar a la ciudad de conpostela cabeça del nuebo reyno de galicia ciento y diez leguas de mexico para que desde alli ordenadamente comencasen su jornada lo que paso en este uiaje no ay para que dar de ello relaçion pues al fin todos se juntaron en conpostela el dia de carnes tollendas del año de quarenta y uno y como ubo hechado toda la gente de Mexico dio orden en como pedro de alarcon saliese con dos nauios que estaban en el puerto de la nabidad en la costa del sur y fuese a el puerto de xalisco a tomar la ropa de los soldados que no la pudiesen lleuar para que costa a costa fuese tras del campo porque se tubo entendido que segun la notiçia auian de ir por la tierra çerca de la costa de el mar y que por los rios sacariamos los puertos y los nauios siempre tendrian noticia del campo lo qual despues pareçio ser falso y ansi se perdio toda la ropa o por mejor deçir la perdio cuya era como adelante se dira asi que despachado y concluido todo el uisorey se partio para conpostela acompañado de muchos caualleros y ricos honbres y tubo el año nuebo de quarenta y uno en pasquaro que es cabeça del obispado de mechuacan y de alli con mucha alegria y placer y grandes reçebimientos atrabeso toda la tierra de la nueba españa hasta Conpostela que son como tengo dicho çiento y diez leguas adonde hallo toda la gente junta y bien tratada y hospedada por christobal de oñate que era a la saçon la persona que tenia enpeso aquella gouernaçion y la auia sostenido y era capitan de toda aquella tierra puesto que francisco uasques era gouernador y llegado con mucha alegria de todos hiço alarde de la gẽte que embiaba y hallo toda la que abemos señalado y repartio las capitanias y esto hecho otro dia despues de misa a todos juntos ansi capitanes como a soldados el uisorey les hico una muy eloquente y breue oraçion encargandoles la fidelidad q̃ debian a su general dandoles bien a entender el probecho que de haçer aquella jornada podia redundar a

si a la conuerçion de aquellas gentes como en pro de los que conquistasen aquella tierra y el seruicio de su magestad y la obligaçion en que le auian puesto para en todo tiempo los faborecer y socorrer y acabada tomo juramento sobre los euãgelios en un libro misala todos generalmente asi a capitanes como a soldados aunque por orden que siguirian a su general y harian en aquella jornada y obedecerian todo aquello que por el les fuese mandado lo qual despues cumplieron fielmente como se bera y esto hecho otro dia salio el campo con sus banderas tendidas y el uirey don Antonio le acompaño dos jornados y de alli se despidio dando la buelta para la nueua españa aconpañado de sus amigos.

Capitulo septimo como el campo llego a chiametla y mataron a el maestre de canpo y lo que mas acaeçio hasta llegar a culiacan.

partido que fue el uirey don Antonio el campo camino por sus jornadas y como era forçado lleuar cada uno sus aberes en cauallos y no todos los sabian apareiar y los cauallos salian gordos y holgados en las primeras jornadas ubo grande dificultad y trabajo y muchos dexaron muchas preseas y las daban de gracia a quien las queria por no las cargar y a el fin la necesidad que es maestra con el tiempo los hiço maestros donde se pudierã ber muchos caualleros tornados harrieros y que el que se despreciaba del officio no era tenido por hombre y con estos trabajos que entonçes tubieron por grandes llego el canpo en chiametla donde por fastar bastimentos fue forçado de tenerse alli algunos dias en los quales el maestre de campo lope de samaniego con sierta compañia fue a buscar bastimentos y en un pueblo por entrar indiscretamente por un arcabuco en pos de los enemigos lo flecharon por un ojo y le pasaron el celebro de que luego murio alli y flecharon otros cinco o seis compañeros y luego como fue muerto diego lopes ueinte y quatro de seuilla recogio la gente y lo embio a haçer saber a el general y puso guarda en el pueblo y en los bastimentos sabido dio gran turbacion en el campo y fue enterrado y hicieron algunas entradas de dõde truxeron bastimentos y algunos presos de los naturales y se ahorcaron a lo menos los que parecieron ser de a quella parte a do murio el maestre de campo.

parece que a el tiempo que el general françisco uasques partio de culiacan con fray marcos a dar la noticia ya dicha a el bisorey don Antonio de mendoça auia dexado ordenado que saliese el capitan melchior dias y juan de saldibar con una doçena de buenos hombres de culiacan en demada de lo que fray marcos auia bisto y oydo los quales salieron y fueron hasta chichilticale que es principio del despoblado doçientas y ueinte leguas de Culiacan y no hallaron cosa de tomo bolbieron y a el tiempo que el campo queria salir de chiametla llegaron y hablaron a el general y por secreto que se trato la mala nueua luego suena ubo algunos dichos que aunque se doraban no dexaban de dar lustre de lo que eran fray marcos de niça cognociendo la turbaçion de algunos deshaçia aquellos nublados prometiendo ser lo que bieron lo bueno y que el yba alli y poruia el campo en tierra donde hinchesen las manos y con

esto se aplaco y mostraron buen semblante y de alli camino el campo hasta llegar a culiacan haçiendo algunas entradas en tierra de guerra por tomar bastimentos llegaron a dos leguas de la uilla de culiacan uispera de pasqua de resureçion a donde salieron los uecinos a reçebir a su gouernador y le rogaron no entrase en la uilla hasta el segundo dia de pasqua.

Capitulo otauo como el campo entro en la uilla de culiacan y el recebimiento que se hiço y lo que mas acaeçio hasta la partida.

como fuese segundo dia de pasqua de resureçion el campo salio de mañana para entrar en la uilla y en la entrada en un campo esconbrado los de la uilla ordenados anso de guerra a pie y a cauallo por sus exquadrones teniendo asẽtada su artilleria que eran siete pieças de bronce salieron en muestra de querer defender la uilla estaban con ellos alguna parte de nr̃os soldados nr̃o campo por la misma orden comencaron con ellos una escaramuça y ansi fueron romprendo despues de aber jugado el artilleria de ambas partes de suerte que les fue tomada la uilla por fuerça de armas que fue una alegre demostraçion y reçebimiento aun que no para el artillero que se llebo una mano por aber mandado poner fuego antes que acabase de sacar el atacador de un tiro tomada la uilla fueron luego bien aposentados y hospedados por los ueçinos que como eran todos hombres muy honrados en sus propias posadas metieron a todos los caualleros y personas le calidad que yban en el campo aunque auia aposento hecho para todos fuera de la uilla y no les fue algunos uecinos mal gratificado este hospedaje por que como todos benian aderesados de ricos atabios y de alli auian de sacar bastimentos en sus bestias y de fuerça auian de dejar sus preseas muchos quisieron antes dar las a sus huespedes que no ponerlas a la bentura de la mar ni que se las llebase los nabios que auian benido por la costa siguiendo el campo para tomar el fardaje como ya se dixo ansi que llegados y bien aposentados en la uilla el general por orden del bisorey don Antonio puso alli por capitan y tiniente a fernandarias de saabedra tio de hernandarias de saabedra conde del castellar que fue alguaçil mayor de seuilla y alli reposo el canpo algunos dias porque los ueçinos auian cogido aquel año muchos bastimentos y partieron con la gente de nr̃o campo con mucho amor especial cada uno con sus huespedes de manera que no solamente ubo abudançia para gastar alli mas aun ubo para sacar que a el tiempo de la partida salieron mas de seiçientas bestias cargadas y los amigos y seruiçio que fueron mas de mill personas. pasados quinse dias el general ordeno de se partir delante con hasta sinquenta de acauallo y pocos peones y la mayor parte de los amigos y dexar el campo que le siguiese desde a quinse dias y dexo por su teniente a don tristan de arellano.

en este comedio antes que se partiese el general aconteçio un caso donoso y yo por tal lo quento y fue que un soldado mançebo que se decia trugillo fingio aber bisto una biçion estando bañandose en el rio y façiendo del disfigurado fue traydo ante el general adonde dio a enten-

der que le auia dicho el demonio que matase a el general y lo casaria con doña beatris su muger y le daria grandes thesoros y otras cosas bien donosas por donde fray marcos de niça hiço algunos sermones atribuyendolo a que el demonio con embidia del bien que de aquella jornada auia de resultar lo queria desbaratar por aquella uia y no solamente paro en esto sino que tambien los frayles que yban en la jornada lo escribieron a sus conbentos y fue causa que por los pulpitos de mexico se dixesen hartas fabulas sobre ello.

El general mando quedar a el truxillo en aquella uilla y que no hiciese la jornada que fue lo que el pretendio quando hiço aquel embuste segun despues pareçio por berdad el general salio con la gente ya dicha siguiendo su jornada y despues el campo como se dira.

Capitulo nueue como el canpo salio de culiacan y llego el general a çibola y el campo a señora y lo que mas acaeçio.

el general como esta dicho salio del ualle de culiacan en seguimiento de su uiaje algo a la ligera lleuando consigo los frayles que ninguno quiso quedar con el campo y a tres jornados un frayle llamado fray Antonio uictoria se quebro un pierna y este frayle era de misa y para que se curase lo bolbieron del camino y despues fue con el campo que no fue poca consolaçion para todos el general y su gente atrabesaron la tierra sin contraste que todo lo que hallaron de pax porque los indios cognoçian a fray marcos y algunos de los que auian ydo con el capitan melchior dias quando auia ydo el y juan de saldibar a descubrir como el general ubo atrabesado lo poblado y llegado a chichilticale principio del despoblado y no bio cosa buena no dexo de sentir alguna tristesa porque aunque la notiçia de lo de adelante era grande no auia quien lo ubiese uisto sino los indios que fueron con el negro que ya los auian tomado en algunas mentiras por todos se sintio mucho ber que la fama de chichilticale se resumia en una casa sin cubierta aruynada puesto que pareçia en otro tiempo aber sido casa fuerte en tiempo que fue poblada y bien se cognoçia ser hecha por gentes estrangeras pulticas y guerras benidas de lejos era esta casa de tierra bermeja desde alli prosiguieron el despoblado y llegaron en quinse dias a ocho leguas de çibola a un rio que por yr el agua turbia y bermeja le llamaron el rio bermejo en este rio se hallaron barbos como en españa a qui fue adonde se bieron los primeros indios de aquella tierra que fueron dos que huyeron y fueron a dar mandado y otro dia a dos leguas del pueblo siendo de noche algunos indios en parte segura dieron una grita que aunque la gente estaba aperçebida se alteraron algunos en tanta manera que ubo quien hecho la silla a el rebes y estos fueron gente nueba que los diestros luego caualgaron y corrieron el campo los indios huyeron como quien sabia la tierra que ninguno pudo ser abido.

otro dia bien en orden entraron por la tierra poblada y como bieron el primer pueblo que fue çibola fueron tantas las maldiciones que algunos hecharon a fray marcos quales dios no permita le comprehendan.

el es un pueblo pequeño ariscado y apeñuscado que de lejos ay estancias en la nueua españa que tienen mejor aparençia es pueblo de hasta doçientos hombres de guerra de tres y de quatro altos y las casas chicas y poco espaciosas no tienen patios un patio sirue a un barrio auia se juntado alli la gente de la comarca porque es una prouinçia de siete pueblos donde ay otros harto mayores y mas fuertes pueblos que no çibola estas gentes esperarõ en el campo hordenados con sus exquadrones a uista del pueblo y como a los requerimientos que le hicieron con las lenguas no quisieron dar la pax antes se mostraban brauos diese santiago en ellos y fueron desbaratados luego y despues fueron a tomar el pueblo que no fue poco dificultoso que como tenian la entrada angosta y torneada a el entrar deribaron a el general con una gran piedra tendido y ansi le mataran sino fuera por don garci lopes de cardenas y hernando de albarado que se deribaron sobre el y le sacaron recibiendo ellos los golpes de piedras que no fueron pocos pero como a la primera furia de los españoles no ay resistençia en menos de una ora se entro y gano el pueblo y se descubrieron los bastimentos que era de lo que mas necesidad auia y de ay adelante toda la prouincia bino de pax.

el campo quo auia quedado a don tristan de arellano partio en seguimiento del general cargados todos de bastimentos las lanças en los onbros todos a pie por sacar cargados los cauallos y no con pequeño trabajo de jornadas en jornadas llegaron a una prouinçia que cabeça de uaca puso por nombre coraçones a causa que alli les ofrecieron muchos coraçones de animales y luego la començo a poblar una uilla y poner le nombre sant hieronimo de los coraçones y luego la començo a poblar y bisto que no se podia sustentar la paso despues a un ualle que llamã persona digo señora y los españoles le llamaron señora y ansi le llemare de aqui adelante desde alli se fue a buscar el puerto el rio abajo a la costa de la mar por saber de los nabios y no los hallaron don rodrigo maldonado que yba por caudillo en busca de los nabios de buelta truxo consigo un indio tam grande y tam alto que el mayor honbre y tan alto quel mayor hombre del campo no le llegaua a el pecho deciase que en a quella costa auia otros indios mas altos alli reposaron las aguas y despues paso el campo y la uilla señora por que auia en aquella comarca bastimentos para poder aguardar mandado del general.

mediado el mes de otubre melchior dias y juan gallego capitanes binieron de çibola el juan gallego para nueba españa y melchior dias para quedar por capitan en la nueba uilla de los coraçones con la gente que alli quedase y para que fuese a descubrir los nabios por aquella costa.

Capitulo deçimo como el campo salio de la uilla de senora quedando la uilla poblada y como llego a çibola y lo que le a uino en el camino a el capitan melchior dias yendo en demanda de los nabios y como descubrio el rio del tison.

luego como fue llegado en la uilla de señora melchior dias y juan gallego se publico la partida del campo para cibola y como auia de que-

dar en aquella uilla melchior dias por capitan con ochenta honbres y como juan gallego yba con mensaje para la nueba españa a el bisorey y llebaba en su compañia a fray marcos que no se tubo por seguro quedar en cibola biendo que auia salido su relaçion falsa en todo porque ni se hallaron los reynos q̃ deçia ni ciudades populosas ni riquesas de oro ni pedreria rica que se publico ni brocados ni otras cosas que se dixeron por los pulpitos pues luego que esto se publico se repartio la gente que auia de quedar y los demas cargaron de bastimentos y por su orden mediado setiembre se partieron la uia de çibola siguiendo su general don tristan de arellano quedo en esta nueba uilla con la gente de menos estofa y asi nunca dexo de aber de alli adelante motines y contrastes porque como fue partido el canpo el capitan melchoir dias tomo uiente y çinco hombres de los mas escogidos dexando en su lugar a un diego de alcaraz hombre no bien acondicionado para tener gente debaxo de su mando y el salio en demanda de la costa de la mar entre norte y poniente con guias y abiendo caminado obra de çiẽto y sinquenta leguas dieron en una prouinçia de gẽtes demasiadamente de altos y membrudos ansi como gigantes aunque gente desnuda y que hacia su abitaçion en choças de paja largas a manera de sa hurdas metidas debaxo de tierra que no salia sobre la tierra mas de la paja entraban por la una parte de largo y salian por la otra dormian en una chosa mas de cien personas chicos y grandes lleuaban de peso sobre las cabeças quando se cargauan mas de tres y de quatro quintales biose querer los nr̃os traer un madero para el fuego y no lo poder traer seis hombres y llegar uno de aquellos y leuantarlo en los braços y ponerselo el solo en la cabeça y lleuallo muy liuianamente.

comen pan de mais cosidoso el rescoldo de la senisa tam grandes como hogasas de castilla grandes. para caminar de unas partes a otras por el gran frio sacan un tison en una mano con que se ban calentãdo la otra y el cuerpo y ansi lo ban trocando a trechos y por esto a un gran rio que ba por aquella tierra lo nõbran el rio del tison es poderoso rio y tiene de boca mas de dos leguas por alli tenia media legua de trabesia alli tomo lengua el capitã como los nabios auian estado tres jornadas de alli por bajo hacia la mar y llegados adonde los nabios estubieron que era mas de quinçe leguas el rio arriba de la boca del puerto y hallaron en un arbol escripto aqui llego alarcon a el pie de este arbol ay cartas sacaronse las cartas y por ellas bieron el tiempo que estubieron aguardando nuebas de el campo y como alarcon auia dado la buelta desde alli para la nueba españa con los nabios porque no podia correr adelante porque aquella mar era ancõ que tornaba a bolber sobre la isla del marques que diçen California y dieron relaçion como la california no era isla sino punto de tierra firme de la buelta de aquel ancon.

uisto esto por el capitan torno a bolber el rio arriba sin ber la mar por buscar bado para pasar a la otra banda para seguir la otra costa y como andubieron cinco o seis jornadas parecioles podrian pasar con balsas y para esto llamaron mucha gente de los de la tierra los quales

querian ordenar de hacer salto en los nr̃os y andaban buscando ocaçion oportuna y como bieron que querian pasar acudieron a haçer las balsas con toda prestesa y diligençia por tomar los ansi en el agua y ahogarlos o dibidos de suerte que no se pudiesen faboreçer ni ayudar y en este comedio que las balsas se hacian un soldado que auia ydo a campear bido en un mõte atrabesar gran numero de gente armada que aguardaban a que pasase la gente dio de ello notiçia y secretamente seençerro un indio para saber de el la berdad y como le apretasen dixo toda la orden que tenian ordenada para quando pasasen q̃ era que como ubiesen pasado parte de los nr̃os y parte fuesen por el rio y parte quedasen por pasar que los de las balsas procurasen a hogar los que lleuaban y las demas gente saliese a dar en ambas partes de la tierra y si como tenian cuerpos y fuerças tubieran discriçion y esfuerço ellos salierã con su empresa. bisto su intento el capitan hiço matar secretamente el indio que confeso el hecho y aquella noche se hecho en el rio con una pesga porque los indios no sintiesen que eran sentidos y como otra dia sintieron el reçelo de los nr̃os mostraronse de guerra hechãdo roçiadas de flechas pero como los cauallos los començaron a alcançar y las lanças los lastimaban sin piadad y los arcabuçeros tambien hacian buenos tiros ubieron de dexar el campo y tomar el monte hasta que no pareçio hombre de ellos bino por alli y ansi paso la gente a buen recaudo siendo los amigos balseadores y españoles a las bueltas pasando los cauallos a la par de las balsas donde los dexaremos caminando.

por contar como fue el campo que caminaba para çibola que como yba caminando por su orden y el general lo auia dexado todo de pax por do quiera hallaban la gente de la tierra alegre sin temer y que se dexaban bien mandar y en una prouinçia que se diçe uacapan auia gran cantidad de tunas que los naturales haçen conserua de ellas en cantidad y de esta conserua presentaron mucha y como la gente del campo comio de ella todos cayeron como amodoridos con dolor de cabeça y fiebre de suerte que si los naturales quisieran hicieran gran daño en la gente duro esto ueinti y quatro oras naturales despues que salieron de alli caminando llegaron a chichilticale despues que salierõ de alli un dia los de la guardia bieron pasar una manada de carneros y yo los bi y los segui eran de grande cuerpo en demasia el pelo largo los cuernos muy gruesos y grandes para correr enhiestran el rostro y hechã los cuernos sobre el lomo corren mucho por tierra agra que no los pudimos alcançar y los ubimos de dexar.

entrando tres jornadas por el despoblado en la riuera de un rio que esta en unas grandes honduras de barrancas se hallo un cuerno quel general despues de aber lo uisto lo dexo alli para que los de su canpo le biesen que tenia de largo una braça y tam gordo por el naçimiento como el muslo de un hombre en la faieron pareçia mas ser de cabron que de otro animal fue cosa de ber pasando adelante y a quel canpo yba una jornada de çibola començo sobre tarde un gran torbellino de ayre frigidissimo y luego se signio gran lubia de niebe que fue harta

con friçion para la gente de seruiçio el campo camino hasta llegar a unos peñascos de socareñas donde se llego bien noche y con harto riesgo de los amigos que como eran de la nueba españa y la mayor parte de tierras calientes sintieron mucho la frialdad de aquel dia tanto que ubo harto que haçer otro dia en los reparar y llebar a cauallo yendo los soldados a pie y con este trabajo llego el campo a çibola donde los aguardaba su general hecho el aposento y alli se torno a jũtar aunque algunos capitanes y gente faltaua que auian salido a descubrir otras prouinçias.

Capitulo onçe como don pedro de touar descubrio a tusayan o tutahaco y don garci lopes de cardenas bio el rio del tison y lo que mas acaecion.

en el entre tanto que las cosas ya dichas pasaron el general franco uasques como estaba en cibola de pax procuro saber de los de la tierra que prouincias le cayan en comarca y que ellos diesen noticia a sus amigos y uecinos como eran benidos a su tierra cristianos y que no querian otra cosa salbo ser sus amigos y aber notiçia de buenas tierras que poblar y que los biniesen aber y comunicar y ansi lo hiçieron luego saber en aquellas partes que se comunicaban y trataban con ellos y dieron notiçia de una prouincia de siete pueblos de su misma calidad aunque estaban algo discordes que no se trataban con ellos esta prouincia se diçe tusayan esta de cibola ueinte y çinco leguas son pueblos de altos y gente belicosa entre ellos.

el general auia embiado a ellos a don pedro de touar con desisiete hombres de a cauallo y tres o quatro peones fue con ellos un fray juan de padilla frayle françisco que en su mosedad auia sido hombre belicoso llegados que fueron entraron por la tierra tam secretamente que no fueron sentidos de ningun honbre la causa fue que entre prouincia y prouinçia no ay poblados ni caserias ni las gentes salen de sus pueblos mas de hasta sus heredades en espeçial en aquel tienpo que tenian noticia de que çibola era ganada por gentes ferosissimas que andaban en unos animales que comian gentes y entre los que no auian bisto cauallos era esta notiçia tam grande que les ponia admiraçion y tanto que la gente de los nños llego sobre noche y pudieron llegar a encubrirse se debajo de la barranca del pueblo y estar alli oyendo hablar los naturales en sus casas pero como fue de mañana fueron descubiertos y se pusieron en orden los de la tierra salieron a ellos bien ordenados de arcos y rodelas y porras de madera en ala sin se desconsertar y ubo lugar que las lenguas hablasen con ellos y se les hiçiese requerimientos por ser gente bien entendida pero con todo esto hacian rayas requiriendo que no pasasen los nuestros aquellas rayas hacia sus pueblos que fuesen porte pasaronse algunas rayas andando hablando con ellos bino a tanto que uno se ellos de desmesuro y con una porra dio un golpe a un cauallo en las camas del freno. el fray juan enojado del tiempo que se mal gastaba con ellos dixo a el capitan en berdad yo no se a que benimos aca bisto esto dieron santiago y fue tam supito que derribaron muchos indios y luego fueron desbaratados y huyeron a el pueblo y a

otros no les dieron ese lugar fue tanta la prestesa con que del pueblo salieron de pax con presentes que luego se mando recoger la gente y que no se hiciese mas dano el capitan y los que con el se hallaron buscaron sitio para asentar su real çerca del pueblo y alli se hallaron digo se apearon dõde llego la gente de pax diciendo que ellos benian a dar la obidençia por toda la prouinçia y que los queria tener por amigos que recibiesen aquel presente que les daban que era alguna ropa de algodon aunque poca por no lo aber por aquella tierra dieron algunos cueros adobados y mucha harina y piñol y mais y abes de la tierra despues dieron algunas turquesas aunque pocas aquel dia se recogio la gente de la tierra y binieron a dar la obidençia y dieron abiertamente sus pueblos y que entrasen en ellos a tratar comprar y bender y cambiar.

rigese como çibola por ayuntamiento de los mas ançianos tenien sus gouernadores y capitanes seria lados aqui se tubo notiçia de un gran rio y que rio abajo a algunas jornadas auia gẽtes muy grandes de cuerpo grande.

como don pedro de touar no llebo mas comiçion bolbio de alli y dio esta notiçia al general que luego despacho alla a don garçi lopes de cardenas con hasta doçe conpañeros para ber este rio que como llego a tusayan siendo bien reçebido y hospedado de los naturales le dieron guias para proseguir sus jornadas y salieron de alli cargados de bastimentos por que auian de yr por tierra despoblada hasta el poblado que los indios deçian que eran mas de ueinte jornadas pues como ubieron andado ueinte jornadas llegaron a las barrancas del rio que puestos a el bado de ellas pareçia al otro bordo que auia mas de tres o quatro leguas por el ayre esta tierra era alta y llena de pinales bajos y encorbados frigidissima debajo del norte que con ser en tiempo caliente no se podia biuir de frio en esta barranca estubieron tres dias buscando la bajada para el rio que pareçia de lo alto tendria una braçada de trabesia el agua y por la notiçia de los indios tendria media legua de ancho fue la baxada cosa inposible porque acabo de estos tres dias pareçiendo les una parte la menos dificultosa se pusieron a abajar por mas ligeros el capitan melgosa y un juan galeras y otro conpañero y tadaron baxando a bista de ellos de los de arriba hasta que los perdieron de uista los bultos quel biso no los alcansaba aber y bolbieron a ora de las quatro de la tarde que no pudieron acabar de bajar por grandes dificultades que hallaron porque lo que arriba parecia façil no lo era antes muy aspero y agro dixeron que auian baxado la terçia parte y que desde donde llegaron parecia el rio muy grande y que conforme a lo que bieron era berdad tener la anchura que los indios deçian de lo alto determinaban unos peñol sillas desgarados de la baranca a el parecer de un estado de hombre juran los que baxaron que llegaron a ellos que eran mayores que la torre mayor de seuilla no caminaron mas arrimados a la barranca de el rio porque no auia agua y hasta alli cada dia se desbiaban sobre tarde una legua o dos la tierra adentro en busca de las aguas y como andubiesen otras quatro jornadas las guias dixeron

que no era posible pasar adelante porque no auia agua en tres ni quatro jornadas porque ellos quando caminauan por alli sacaban mugeres cargadas de agua en calabaços y que en aquellas jornadas enterraban los calabaços del agua para la buelta y que lo que caminaban los nuestros en dos dias lo caminaban ellos en uno.

este rio era el del tison mucho mas hacia los nacimientos del que no por donde lo auian pasado melchior dias y su gente estos indios eran de la misma calidad segun despues pareçio desde alli dieron la buelta que no tubo mas efecto aquella jornado y de camino bieron un descolgadero de aguas que baxaban de una peña y supieron de las guias que unos rasimos que colgauan como sinos de christal era sal y fueron alla y cogieron cantidad de ella que trugeron y repartieron quando llegaron en çibola donde por escripto dieron quenta a su general de lo que bieron por que auia ydo con don garçi lopes un pedro de sotomayor que yba por coronista de el campo aquellos pueblos de aquella prouinçia quedaron de paz que nunca mas se biçitaron ni se supo ni procuro buscar otros poblados por aquella uia.

Capitulo doçe como binieron a çibola gentes de cicuye a ber los christianos y como fue her^do^ de aluarado a ber las uacas.

en el comedio que andaban en estos descubrimientos binieron a çibola siertos indios de un pueblo que esta de alli setenta leguas la tierra adentro al oriente de aquella prouincia a quien nombran cicuye benia entre ellos un capitan a quien los nños pusieron por nombre bigotes por que traya los mostachos largos era mançebo alto y bien dispuesto y robusto de rostro este dixo al general como ellos benian a le seruir por la noticia que les auian dado para que se les ofreçiese por amigos y que si auian de yr por su tierra los tubiesen por tales amigos hicieron sierto presente de cueros adobados y rodelas y capaçetes fue reçebido con mucho amor y dio les el general basos de bidrio y quẽtas margaritas y caxcabeles que los tubieron en mucho como cosa nunca por ellos uista dieron notiçia de uacas que por una que uno de ellos traya pintada en las carnes se saco ser uaca que por los cueros no se podia entender a causa quel pelo era merino y burelado tanto que no se podia saber de que eran aquellos cueros ordeno el general que fuese con ellos hernando de aluarado con ueinte compañeros y ochenta dias de comiçion y quien bolbiese a dar relaçion de lo que hallauan este capitan aluarado prosiguio su jornada y a çinco jornadas llegaron a un pueblo que estaba sobre un peñol deciase acuco era de obra de doçientos hombres de guerra salteadores temidos por toda la tierra y comarca el pueblo era fortissimo porque estaba sobre la entrada del peñol que por todas partes era de peña tajada en tan grande altura que tubiera un arcabuz bien que haçer en hechar una pelota en lo alto del tenia una sola subida de escalera hecha a mano que comencaba sobre un repecho que hacia aquella parte haçia la tierra esta escalera era ancha de obra de doçientos escalones hasta llegar a la peña auia otra luego

angosta arrimada a la peña de obra de cien escalones y en el remate de ella auian de subir por la peña obra de tres estados por agugeros dõde hincaban las puntas de los pies y se asian con las manos en lo alto auia una albarrada de piedra seca y grãde que sin se descubrir podian derribar tanta que no fuese poderoso ningun exerçito a les entrar en lo alto auia espaçio pa sembrar y coger gran cantidad de maix y cisternas para recoger nieue y agua esta gente salio de guerra abajo en lo llano y no aprobechaba con ellos ninguna buena raçon haçiendo rayas y queriendo defender que no las pasasen los nuestros y como bieron que se les dio un apreton luego dieron la plaça digo la pax antes que se les hiçiese daño hicieron sus serimonias de pax que llegar a los cauallos y tomar del sudor y untarse con el y hacer cruçes con los dedos de las manos y aun que la pax mas figa es trabarse las manos una con otra y esta guardan estos inbiolablemente dieron gran cantidad de gallos de papada muy grandes mucho pan y cueros de benado adobados y piñoles y harina y mais.

de alli en tres jornadas llegaron a una prouinçia que se dice triguex salio toda de pax biendo que yban con bigotes hombres temido por todas aquellas prouinçias de alli embio aluarado a dar auiso a el general para que se biniese a inbernar aquella tierra que no poco se holgo el general con la nueba que la tierra yba mejorando de alli a cinco jornadas llego a cicuyc un pueblo muy fuerte de quatro altos los del pueblo salieron a recebir a her^{do} de aluarado y a su capitan con muestras de alegria y lo metieron en el pueblo con atambores y gaitas que alli ay muchos a manera de pifanos y le hiçieron grãde presente de ropa y turquesas que las ay en aquella tierra en cantidad alli holgaron algunos dias y tomaron lengua de un indio esclabo natural de la tierra de aquella parte que ba hacia la florida ques la parte que don fer^{do} de soto descubrio en lo ultimo la tierra adentro este dio notiçia que no debiera de grandes poblados llebolo hernando de aluarado por guia para las uacas y fueron tantas y tales cosas las que dixo de las riqueças de oro y plata que auia en su tierra que no curaron de buscar las uacas mas de quanto bieron algunas pocas luego bolbieron por dar a el general la rica notiçia a el indio llamaron turco porque lo pareçia en el aspecto y a esta sacon el general auia embiado a don garcia lopes de lopes de cardenas a tiguex con gente a haçer el aposẽto para lleuar alli a inbernar el campo que a la sason auia llegado de señora y quando hernando de albarado llego a tiguex de buelta de cicuyc hallo a don garcia lopes de cardenas y fue neçesario que no pasase adelante y como los naturales les inportase que biesen digo diesen a donde se aposentasen los españoles fue les forçado desamparar un pueblo y recogerse ellos a los otros de sus amigos y no llebaron mas que sus personas y ropas y alli se descubrio notiçia de muchos pueblos debajo del norte que creo fuera harto mejor seguir aquella uia que no a el turco que fue causa de todo el mal suseso que ubo.

Capitulo trece como el general llego con poca gente la uia de tutahaco y dexo el campo a don tristan que lo llebo a tiguex.

todas estas cosas ya dichas auian pasado quando don tristan de arellano llego de señora en cibola y como llego luego el general por noticia que tenia de una prouincia de ocho pueblos tomo treinta hombres de los mas descansados y fue por la uer y de alli tomar la buelta de tiguex con buenas guias que lleuaba y dexo ordenado que como descansase la gente ueinte dias don tristan de arellano saliese con el campo la uia derecha de tiguex y asi siguio su camino donde le acontecio que desde un dia q̃ salieron de un aposento hasta terçero dia a medio dia que bieron una sierra nebada donde fueron a buscar agua no la bebieron ellos ni sus cauallos ni el seruicio pudo soportala por el gran frio aun que con gran trabajo en ocho jornadas llegaron a tutahaco y alli se supo que aquel rio abaxo auia otros pueblos estos salieron de pax son pueblos de terrados como los de tiguex y del mismo traje salio el general de alli bisitando toda la probinçia el rio arriba hasta llegar a tiguex donde hallo a hernando de aluarado y a el turco que no pocas fueron las alegrias que hiço con tam buena nueba porque deçia que auia en su tierra un rio en tierra llana que tenia dos leguas de ancho a donde auia peçes tan grandes como cauallos y gran numero de canoas grandissimas de mas de a ueinte remeros por banda y que lleuaban uelas y que los señores yban a popa sentados debajo de toldos y en la proa una grande aguila de oro deçia mas quel señor de aquella tierra dormia la siesta debajo de un grande arbol donde estaban colgados gran cantidad de caxcabeles de oro que con el ayre le dabã solas deçia mas quel comun seruicio de todos en general era plata labrada y los jarros platos y escudillas eran de oro llamaba a el oro Acochis diose le a el presente credito por la eficaçia con que lo deçia y porque le enseñaron joyas de alaton y oliolo y deçia que no era oro y el oro y la plata cognoçia muy bien y de los otros metales no hacia caso de ellos. embio el general a hernando de albarado otra bez a cicuyc a pedir unos brasaletes de oro que deçia este turco que le tomaron a el tiempo que lo prendieron albarado fue y los del pueblo recibieron como amigo y como pidio los bracaletes negaron los por todas uias diciendo quel turco los engañaba y que mentia el capitan aluarado biendo que no auia remedio procuro que biniese a su tienda el capitan bigotes y el gouernador y benidos prendio les en cadena los del pueblo lo salieron de guerra hechando flechas y denostando a hernando de albarado diçiendole de honbre que quebrantaba la fee y amistad her^{do} de albarado partio con ellos a tiguex al general donde los tubieron presos mas de seis meseis despues que fue el principio de desacreditar la palabra que de alli adelante se les daba de paz como se uera por lo que despues suçedio.

Capitulo catorce como el campo salio de sibola para tiguex y lo que les acaeçio en el camino con niebe.

ya abemos dicho como quando el general salio de çibola dexo mandado a don tristan de arellano saliese desde a ueinte dias lo qual se hiço

que como bido que la gente estaba ya descansada y probeydos de bastimentos y ganosos de salir en busca de su general salio con su gente la buelta de tigues y el primero dia fueron a haçer aposento a un pueblo de aquella probinçia el mejor mayor y mas hermoso solo este pueblo tiene casas de siete altos que son casas particulares que siruen en el pueblo como de fortaleças que son superiores a las otras y salen por encima como torres y en ellas ay troneras y saeteras para defender los altos por que como los pueblos no tienen calles y los terrados son parejos y comunes anse de ganar primero los altos y estas casas mayores es la defença de ellos alli nos començo a nebar y faboreçiose la gente solas las aues digo alaues del pueblo que salen a fuera unos como balcones con pilares de madera por baxo por que comunmẽte se mandan por escaleras que suben a aquellos balcones que por baxo no tienen puertas.

como dexo de nebar salío de alli el campo su camino y como ya el tiempo lo lleuaba que era entrada de diçiembre en diez dias que tardo el canpo no dexo de nebar sobre tarde y casi todas las noches de suerte que para haçer los aposentos donde llegaban auian de apalancar un coldo de niebe y mas no se bio camino empero las guias atino guiaban cognociendo la tierra ay por toda la tierra sauinas y pinos haciase de ello grandes hogueras quel humo y calor haçia a la niebe que caya que se desbiase una braça y dos a la redonda del fuego era nieue seca que aunque cay medio estado sobre el fardaje no mojaba y con sacudilla caya y quedaba el hato linpio como caya toda la noche cubria de tal manera el fardaje y los soldados en sus lechos que si de supito alguien diera en el campo no biera otra cosa que montones de niebe y los cauallos aunque fuese medio estado se soportaba y antes daba calor a los que estaban debajo.

paso el campo por Acuco el gran peñol y como estaban de paz hiçieron buen hospedaje dando bastimentos y abes aũque ella es poca gente como tengo dicho a lo alto subieron muchos compañeros por lo ber y los pasos de la peña con gran dificultad por no lo aber usado porque los naturales lo suben y bajan tam liberalmente que ban cargados de bastimentos y las mugeres con agua y parece que no tocan las manos y los nr̃os para subir auian de dar las armas los unos a los otros por el paso arriba.

desde alli pasaron a tiguex donde fueron bien recebidos y aposentados y la tam buena nueba del turco que no dio poca alegria segun alibiaba los trabajos aunque quando el campo llego hallamos aleada aquella tierra o probincia por ocaçion que para ello ubo que no fue pequeña como se dira y auian ya los nr̃os quemado un pueblo un dia antes que el campo llegase y bolbian a el aposento.

Capitulo quinçe como se alço tiguex y el castigo que en ellos ubo sin que lo ubiese en el causador.

dicho sea como el general llego a tiguex donde hallo a don garci lopes de cardenas y a hernando de albarado y como lo torno a embiar a cicuye y truxo preso a el capitan bigotes y a el gouernador del pueblo que

era un hombre ançiano de esta pricion los tiguex no sintieron bien juntose con esto q̃ el general quiso recoger alguna ropa para repartir a la gente de guerra y para esto hiço llamar a un indio principal de tiguex que ya se tenia con el mucho conosimiento y conbersaçion a quien los nuestros llamauan juan aleman por un juan aleman que estaba en mexico a quien deçian pareçer a queste hablo el general diciendo que le probeyese de tresientas pieças de ropa o mas que auia menester para dar a su gente el dixo que aquello no era a el haçer lo sino a los gouernadores y que sobre ello era menester entrar en consulta y repartirse por los pueblos y que era menester pedir lo particularmente a cada pueblo por si ordenolo ansi el general y que lo fuesen a pedir siertos hombres señalados de los que con el estaban y como eran doçe pueblos que fuesen unos por la una parte del rio y otros por la otra y como fuese de manos aboca no les dieron lugar de se consultar ni tratar sobre ello y como llegaria a el pueblo luego se les pedia y lo abian de dar porque ubiese lugar de pasar adelante y con esto no tenian mas lugar de quitarse los pellones deençima y darlos hasta que llegase el numero que se les pedia y algunos soldados de los que alli yban que los cogedores les daban algunas mantas o pellones sino eran tales y bian algun indio con otra mejor trocabanse la sin tener mas respecto ni saber la calidad del que despojaban que no poco sintieron esto allende de lo dicho del pueblo del aposento salio un sobre saliente que por su honra no le nombrare y fue a otro pueblo una legua de alli y biendo una muger hermosa llamo a su marido que le tubiese el cauallo de rienda en lo bajo y el subio a lo alto y como el pueblo se mandaba por lo alto creyo el indio que yba a otra parte y detenido alli ubo sierto rumor y el bajo y tomo su cauallo y fuese el indio subio y supo que auia forçado o querido forçar a su muger y juntamente con las personas de calidad del pueblo se uino a quexar diçiendo que un hombre le auia forçado a su muger y conto como auia pasado y como el general hiço pareçer todos los soldados y personas que con el estaban y el indio no lo conoçio o por aberse mudado la ropa o por alguna otra ocaçion que para ello ubo pero dixo que conoçeria el cauallo porq̃ lo tubo de rienda fue lleuado por las cauallerisas y hallo un cauallo enmantado hobero y dixo que su dueño de aquel cauallo era el dueño nego biendo quel no abia conoçido y pudo ser que se herro en el cauallo finalmente el se fue sin aber en mienda de lo que pedia otra dia uino un indio del canpo que guardaba los cauallos herido y huyendo diciendo que le auian muerto un compañero y que los indios de la tierra se llebarian los cauallos ante cogidos hacia sus pueblos fueron a recoger los cauallos y faltaron muchos y siete mulas del general.

otro dia fue don garci lopes de cardenas a ber los pueblos y tomar de ellos lengua y hallo los pueblos serrados con palenques y gran grita dẽtro corriendo los cauallos como en coso de toros y flechandolos y todos de guerra no pudo haçer cosa por que no salieron a el campo que como son pueblos fuertes no les pudieron enojar luego ordeno el general que don garçi lopes de cardenas fuese a çercar un pueblo con toda la

demas gente y este pueblo era donde se hiço el mayor daño y es donde acaeçio lo de la india fueron muchos capitanes que auian ydo delante con el general como fue juan de saldiuar y barrio nuebo y diego lopes y melgosa tomaron a los indios tam de sobresalto que luego les ganaron los altos con mucho riesgo porque les hirieron muchos de los nuestros por saeteras que hacian por de dentro de las casas estubieron los nuestros en lo alto a mucho riesgo el dia y la noche y parte de otro dia haçiendo buenos tiros de ballestas y arcabuçes la gente de a cauallo en el campo con muchos amigos de la nueba españa y daban por los sotanos que auian aportillado grandes humasos de suerte que pidieron la paz hallaronse aquella parte pablos de melgosa y diego lopes ueinti quatro de seuilla y respondieronles cõ las mismas señales que ellos haçian de paz que es haçer la cruz y ellos luego soltaron las armas y se dieron a md llebabanlos a la tienda de don garçia el qual segun se dixo no supo de la paz y creyo que de su boluntad se daban como hombres benzidos y como tenia mandado del general que no los tomase a uida porque se hiciese castigo y los demas temiesen mando que luego hincasen doçientos palos para los quemar biuos no ubo quien le dixese de la paz que les auian dado que los soldados tan poco lo sabian y los que la dieron se lo callaron que no hiçieron caso de ello pues como los enemigos bieron que los yban atando y los començaban a quemar obra de çien hombres que estaban en la tienda se començaron a haçer fuertes y defenderse con lo que estaba dentro y con palos que salian a tomar la gente nuestra de a pie dan en la tiẽda por todas partes estocadas que los hacian desmanparar la tienda y dio luego la gente de a cauallo en ellos y como la tierra era llana no les quedo hombre a uida sino fueron algunos que se auian quedado escondidos en el pueblo que huyeron a quella noche y dieron mandado por toda la tierra como no les guardaron la paz que les dieron que fue despues harto mal y como esto fue hecho y luego les nebase desampararon el pueblo y bolbieronse a el aposento a el tiẽpo que llegaba el campo de cibola.

Capitulo desiseis como se puso çerco a tiguex y se gano y lo que mas acontencio mediante el cerco.

como ya e contado quando acabaron de gañar aquel pueblo començo a nebar en aquella tierra y nebo de suerte que en aquellos dos meses no se pudo haçer nada salbo yr por los caminos a les abisar que biniesen de pax y que serian perdonados dandoles todo seguro a lo qual ellos respondieron que no se fiarian de quien no sabia guardar la fe que daban que se acordasen que tenian preso a bigotes y que en el pueblo quemado no les guardaron la paz fue uno de los que fueron a les haçer estos requerimientos don garcia lopes de cardenas que salio con obra de treinta compañeros un dia y fue a el pueblo de tiguex y a hablar con juan aleman y aunque estaban de guerra binieron a hablalle y le dixeron que si queria hablar con ellos q̃ se apease y se llegauan a el a hablar de paz y que se desbiase la gente de a cauallo y harian apartar su gente

y llegaron a el el juan aleman y otro capitan del pueblo y fue hecho ansi como lo pedian y a que estaba çerca de ellos dixeron que ellos no trayan armas que se las quitase don garcia lopes lo hiço por mas los asegurar cõ gana que tenia de los traer de paz y como llego a ellos el juan aleman lo bino a abraçar en tanto los dos que con el benian sacaron dos maçetas que secretamente trayan a las espaldas y dieronle sobre la çelada dos tales golpes que casi lo aturdieron hallaron dos soldados de a cauallo çerca que no se auian querido apartar aunque les fue mandado y arremetieron con tanta presteça que lo sacaron de entre sus manos aunque no puedieron enojar a los enemigos por tener la acogida çerca y grandes rosiadas de flechas que luego binieron sobre ellos y a el uno le atrabesaron el cauallo por las narises la gente de acauallo llego toda de tropel y sacaron a su capitan de la priesa sin poder dañar a los enemigos antes salieron muchos de los nr̃os mal heridos y asi se retiraron quedando algunos haçiendo rostro don garçia lopes de cardenas con parte de la gente paso a otro pueblo que estaba media legua adelante porque en estos dos lugares se auia recogido toda la mas gente de aquellos pueblos y como de los requerimientos que les hiçieron no hiçieron caso ni de dar la paz antes con grandes gritos tiraban flechas de lo alto y se bolbio a la compañia que auia quedado haciendo rostro a el pueblo de tiguex entonçes salieron los del pueblo en gran cantidad los nr̃os a media rienda dieron muestra que huyan de suerte que sacaron los enemigos a lo llano y rebulbieron sobre ellos de manera que se tendieron algunos de los mas señalados los demas se recogieron al pueblo y a lo alto y ansi se bolbio este capitan a el aposento.

el general luego como esto paso ordeno delos yr açercar y salio un dia con su gente bien ordenada y con algunas escalas llegado asento su real junto a el pueblo y luego dieron el combate pero como los enemigos auia muchos dias que se pertrechaban hecharon tanta piedra sobre los nr̃os que a muchos tendieron en tierra y hirieron de flechas çerca de çien hombres de que despues murieron algunos por mala cura de un mal surugano que yba en el campo el çerco duro sinquenta dias en los quales algunas ueces se les dieron sobresaltos y lo que mas les aquexo fue que no tenian agua y hiçieron dentro del pueblo un poso de grandissima hondura y no pudieron sacar agua antes se les derrumbo a el tiempo que lo hacian y les mato treinta personas murieron de los çercados doçientos hombres de dentro en los combates y un dia que se les dio un combate recio mataron de los nr̃os a francisco de obando capitan y maestre de campo que auia sido todo el tiempo que don garcia lopes de cardenas andubo en los descubrimientos ya dichos y a un francisco de pobares buen hidalgo a francisco de obando metieron en el pueblo que los nr̃os no lo pudieron defender q̃ no poco se sintio por ser como era persona señalada y por si tam honrado afable y bien quisto que era marauilla antes que se acabase de ganar un dia llamaron a habla y sabida su demanda fue deçir que tenian cognoçido que las mugeres ni a los niños no haciamos mal que querian dar sus mugeres y hijos por

que les gastaban el agua no se pudo acabar con ellos que se diesen de paz diçiendo que no les guardaria la palabra y asi dieron obra de çien personas de niños y mugeres que no quisieron salir mas y mientras las dieron estubieron los nr̃os a cauallo en ala delante del pueblo don lope de urrea a cauallo y sin çelada andaba reçibiendo en los braços los niños y niñas y como ya no quisieron dar mas el don lope les inportunaba que se diesen de pax haçiendo les grandes promeças de seguridad ellos le dixeron que se desbiase que no era su uoluntad de se fiar de gente que no guardaba la amistad ni palabra que daban y como no se quisiese desbiar salio uno con un arço a flechar y con una flecha y amenasolo con ella que se la tiraria sino se yba de alli y por boçes que le dieron que se pusiese la çelada no quiso diçiendo que mientras alli estubiese no le harian mal y como el indio bido que no se queria yr tiro y hincole la flecha par de las manos de el cauallo y en arco luego otra y torno le a deçir que se fuese sino que le tirarian de beras el don lope se puso su çelada y paso ante paso se uino a meter entre los de a cauallo sin que recibiese enojo de ellos y como le bieron que ya estaba en salbo con gran grita y alarido comencaron arroçiar flecheria el general no quiso que por a quel dia se les diese bateria por ber si los podian traer por alguna uia de paz lo qual ellos jamas quisieron.

desde a quinçe dias determinaron de salir una noche y ansi lo hicieron y tomando en medio las mugeres salieron a el quarto de la modorra uelauan aquel quarto quarenta de a cauallo y dando aclarma los del quartel de don rodrigo maldonado dieron en ellos los enemigos derribaron un español muerto y un cauallo y hirieron a otros pero ubieron los de romper y haçer matança en ellos hasta que retirandose dieron consigo en el rio que yba corriente y frigidissimo y como la gente del real acudio presto fueron pocos los que escaparon de muertos o heridos otro dia pasaron el rio la gente del real y hallaron muchos heridos que la gran frialdad los auia deribado en el campo y trayan los para curar y siruirse de ellos y ansi se acabo aquel çerco y se gano el pueblo aun que algunos que quedaron en el pueblo se rrecibieron en un barrio y fueron tomados en pocos dias.

el otro pueblo grande mediãte de çerco le auian ganado dos capitanes que fueron don diego de gueuara y juº de saldibar que yendo les una madrugada a echar una çelada para coger en ella sierta gente de guerra que acostumbraba a salir cada mañana a haçer muestra por poner algun temor en nr̃o real las espias que teniã puestas para quando los biesen benir bieron como saliã gentes y caminaban haçia la tierra salieron de la çelada y fueron para el pueblo y bieron huir la gente y siguieron la haciendo en ellos matança como de esto se dio mandado salio gente del real que fueron sobre el pueblo y lo saquearon prẽdiendo toda la gente que en el hallaron en que ubo obra de çien mugeres y niños acabose este çerco en fin de marco del año de quarenta y dos en el qual tiempo acaecieron otras cosas de que podria dar notiçia que por no cortar el hilo las he dexado pero deçir sean agora porque conbienese sepan para entender lo de adelante.

Capitulo desisiete como binieron a el campo mensajeros del ualle de señora y como murio el capitan melchior dias en la jornada de tizon.

ya diximos como melchior dias el capitan auia pasado en balsas el rio del tiçon para proseguir adelante el descubrimiento de aquella costa pues a el tiempo que se acabo de ercollegaron mensajeros a el canpo de la uilla de san hieronimo con cartas de diego de alarcon que auia quedado alli en lugar del melchior dias trayan nuebas como melchior dias auia muerto en la demanda que lleuaba y la gente se auia buelto sin ber cosa de lo que deseaban y paso el caso desta manera.

como ubieron pasado el rio caminaron en demanda de la costa que por alli ya daba la buelta sobre el sur o entre sur y oriente porque aquel ançon de mar entra derecho al norte y este rio entre en el remate del ancon trayendo sus corrientes debaxo del norte y corre a el sur yẽdo como yban caminando dieron en unos medaños de çenisa ferbiente que no podia nadie entrar a ellos porque fuera entrarse a hogar en la mar la tierra que hollaban temblaba como tenpano que pareçia que estaban debaxo algunos lagos parecio cosa admirable que asi herbia la çenisa en algunas partes que parecia cosa infernal y desbiando se de aqui por el peligro que parecia que llebauan y por la falta del agua un dia un lebrel que lleuaba un soldado antojo se le dar tras de unos carneros que llebauan para bastimento y como el capitan lo bido arronjole la lança de enquentro yendo corriendo y hincola en tierra y no pudiendo detener el cauallo fue sobre la lança y enclabose la por el muslo que le salio el hierro a la ingle y le rompio la begiga bisto esto los soldados dieron la buelta con su capitan siendo teniendo cada dia refriegas con los indios que auian quedado rebelados bibio obra de ueinte dias que por le traer pasaron gran trabajo y asi bolbieron hasta que murio con buena orden sin perder un honbre ya yban saliendo de lo mas trabajoso llegados a señora hiço alcaraz los mensajeros ya dichos haciendolo saber y como algunos soldados estaban mal asentados y procuraban algunos motines y como auia sentenciado a la horca a dos que despues se le auian huydo de la priçion.

el general bisto esto enbio a quella uilla a don pedro de touar para que entresacase alguna gente y para que llebase consigo mensajeros que embiaba a el uisorey don Antonio de mendoça con recaudos de lo aconteçido y la buena nueba del turco.

don pedro de touar fue y llegado alla hallo que auian los naturales de aquella probinçia muerto con una flecha de yerba a un soldado de una muy pequeña herida en una mano sobre esto auian ydo alla algunos soldados y no fueron bien recebidos don pedro de tobar embio a diego de alcaraz con gente aprender a los prinçipales y señores de un pueblo que llaman el ualle de los uellacos que esta en alto llegado alla los prendieron y presos parecio le a diego de alcaraz de los soltar a trueque de que diesen algun hilo y ropa y otras cosas de que los soldados tenian necesidad biendose sueltos alsarose de guerra y subieron a ellos y como estaban fuertes y tenian yerba mataron algunos españoles y hirieron otros que despues murieron en el camino bolbiendose retirandose para

su uilla y sino lleuaran consigo amigos de los coraçones lo pasaron peor bolbieron a la uilla dexando muertos desisiete soldados de la yerba que con pequeña herida morian rabiando rompiendose las carnes con un pestelencial hedor inconportable bisto por don pedro de touar el daño pareçiendoles que no quedaban seguros en aquella uilla la paso quarenta leguas mas haçia çibola al ualle del suya donde los dexaremos por contar lo que a bino a el general con el campo despues del cerco de tiguex.

Capitulo desiocho como el general procuro dexar asentada la tierra para ir en demanda de quisuira donde deçia el turco auia el prinçipio de la riqueça.

mediante el çerco de tiguex el general quiso yr a cicuye llebando consigo a el gouernador para lo poner en libertad con promesas que quando saliese para quiuira daria libertad a bigotes y lo dexaria en su pueblo y como llego a cicuye fue reçibido de paz y entro en el pueblo con algunos soldados ellos reçibieron a su gouernador con mucho amor y fiesta bisto que ubo el pueblo y hablado a los naturales dio la buelta para su canpo quedando cicuye de paz con esperança de cobrar su capitan bigotes.

acabado que fue el çerco como ya abemos dicho embio un capitan a chia un buen pueblo y de mucha gente que auia embiado a dar la obidençia que estaba desbiado del rio al poniente quatro leguas y hallaronle de paz a qui se dieron aguardar quatro tiros de bronçe questaban mal acondiçionados tambien fueron a quirix probincia de siete pueblos seis compañeros y en el primer pueblo que seria de çien ueçinos huyeron que no osaron a esperar a los nños y los fueron atajar arrienda suelta y los bolbieron a el pueblo a sus casas con toda seguridad y de alli abisaron a los demas pueblos y los aseguraron y asi poco a poco se fue asegurando toda la comarca en tanto quel rio se deshelaba y se dexaba badear para dar lugar a la jornada aunque los doçe pueblos de tiguex nunca en todo el tiempo que por alli estubo el campo se poblo ninguno por seguridad ninguna que se les diese.

y como el rio fue deshelado que lo auia estado casi quatro meses que se pasaba por ençima del yelo a cauallo ordenose la partida para quibira donde decia el turco que auia algun oro y plata aunque no tanto como en Arche [Arehe?] y los guaes ya auia algunos del campo sospechosos del turco porque mediante el cerco tenia cargo del un español que se llamaua seruantes y este español juro con solenidad que auia bisto a el turco hablar en una olla de agua con el demonio y que teniendolo el debaxo de llaue que nadie podia hablar con el le auia preguntado el turco a el que a quien auian muerto de los cristianos los de tiguex y el le dixo que a no nadie y el turco le respondio mientes que çinco christianos an muerto y a un capitan y que el çeruantes biendo que deçia berdad se lo conçedio por saber del quien se lo auia dicho y el turco le dixo quel lo sabia por si y que para aquello no auia neçesidad que nadie se lo dixese y por esto lo espio y bio hablar con el demonio en la olla como e dicho.

con todo esto se hiço alarde para salir de tiguex a este tiempo llegaron gentes de cibola a ber a el general y el general les encargo el buen trata-

miento de los españoles que biniesen de señora con don pedro de touar y les dio cartas que le diesen a don pedro en que le daba abiso de lo que debia de haçer y como abia de yr en busca del campo y que hallaria cartas debajo de las cruçes en las jornadas que el campo abia de haçer salio el campo de tiguex a çinco de mayo la buelta de cicuyc que como tengo dicho son ueinte y cinco jornadas digo leguas de alli lleuando de alli a bigotes llegado alla les dio a su capitan que ya andaba suelto con guardia el pueblo se holgo mucho con el y estubieron de paz y dieron bastimentos y bigotes y el gouernador dieron a el general un mancebete que se deçia xabe natural de quiuira para que del se informasen de la tierra este deçia que abia oro y plata pero no tanto como deçia el turco toda uia el turco se afirmaua y fue por guia y asi salio el campo de alli.

Capitulo desinueue como salieron en demanda de quiuira y lo que acontecio en el camino.

salio el campo de cicuye dexando el pueblo de paz y a lo que pareçio contento y obligado a mantener la amistad por les aber restituydo su gouernador y capitan y caminando para salir a lo llano que esta pasada toda la cordillera a quatro dias andados de camino dieron en un rio de gran corriente hondo que baxaba de hacia cicuyc y a queste se puso nombre el rio de cicuyc detubieron se aqui por haçer puente para le pasar acabose en quatro dias con toda diligençia y prestesa hecha paso todo el campo y ganados por ella y a otras diez jornadas dieron en unas racherias de gente alarabe que por alli son llamados querechos y auia dos dias que se auian uisto uacas esta gente biuen en tiendas de cueros de uacas adobados andan tras las uaças haçiendo carne estos aun que bieron nr̃o campo no hiçieron mudamiento ni se alteraron antes salieron de sus tiendas a ber esentamente y luego binieron a hablar con la auanguardia y dixeron que se a el campo y el general hablo con ellos y como ya ellos auian hablado con el turco que yba en la auanguardia cõformaron con el en quanto deçia era gente muy entendida por señas que pareçiã que lo decian y lo daban tan bien a entender que no auia mas necesidad de interprete estos dixeron que baxando haçia do sale el sol auia un rio muy grande y que yria por la riuera del por poblados nouenta dias sin quebrar de poblado en poblado deçian quese decia lo primero del poblado haxa y que el rio era de mas de una legua de ancho y que auia muchas canoas estos salieron de alli otro dia con harrias de perros en que llebabã sus aberes desde a dos dias que todauia caminaba el campo a el rumbo que auian salido de lo poblado que era entre norte y oriente mas haçia el norte se bieron otros querechos rancheados y grande numero de uacas que ya pareçia cosa increibble estos dieron gradissima notiçia de poblados todo a el oriente de donde nos hallamos a qui se quebro don garçia un braço y se perdio un español que salio a casa y no aserto a boluer al real por ser la tierra muy llana decia el turco que auia a haya una o dos jornadas el general embio adelante a

el capitan diego lopes a la ligera con diez compañeros dandole rumbo por una guia de mar haçia adonde salia el sol que caminase dos dias a toda priesa y descubriese a haxa y bolbiese a se topar con el canpo otro dia salio por el mesmo rumbo y fue tanto el ganado que se topo que los que yban en la auanguardia cogierō por delante un gran numero de toros y como huyan y unos a otros serrenpugaban dieron en una barranca y cayo tanto ganado dentro que la emparejaron y el demas ganado paso por ençima la gēte de a cauallo que yba en pos de ellos cayeron sobre el ganado sin saber lo que haçian tres cauallos de los que cayeron ensillados y enfrenados se fueron entre las bacas que no pudieron mas ser abidos.

Como a el general le parecio que seria ya de buelta diego lopes hiço que seis compañeros siguisen una ribera arriba de un pequeño rio y otros tantos la riuera abajo y que se mirase por el rastro de los cauallos en las entradas o las salidas del rio porque por la tierra no es posible hallarse rastro porque la yerua en pisandola se torna a leuantar hallose por donde auian ydo y fue bentura que a las bueltas auian ydo indios del campo en busca de fruta una gran legua de donde se hallo rastro y toparon con ellos y ansi bajaron el rio abajo a el real y dieron por nueua a el general que en ueinte leguas que auian andado no auian uisto otra cosa sino uacas y çielo yba en el campo otro indio pintado natural de quiuira que se deçia sopete este indio siempre dixo que el turco mentia y por esto no haçian caso del y aunque en esta saçon tambien lo deçia como los querechos auian informado con el y el y sopete no era creydo.

desde aqui embio el general delante a don rodrigo maldonado con su compañia el qual camino quatro dias y llego a una barranca grande como las de colima y hallo en lo bajo de ella gran rancheria de gente por aqui auia atrabesado cabeça de uaca y dorantes aqui presētaron a don rodrigo un monton de cueros adobados y otras cosas y una tienda tan grande como una casa en alto lo qual mando que asi la guardasen hasta quel campo llegase y embio cōpañeros que guiasen el campo haçia aquella parte porque no se perdiesen aunque auian ydo haçiendo mojones de guesos y boñigas para que el campo se siguiese y desta manera se guiaba ya el campo tras la abanguardia.

llego el general con su campo y como bio tan gran multitud de cueros penso los repartir cō la gente y hiço poner guardas para que mirasen por ellos pero como la gente llego y bieron los compañeros que el general embiaba algunos hombres particulares con señas para que les diesen las guardas algunos cueros y los andaban a escoger enojados de que no se repartia cō orden dan saco mano y en menos de quarto de ora no dexaron sino el suelo limpio.

los naturales que bieron aquello tambien pusieron las manos en la obra las mugeres y algunos otros quedaron llorando porque creyeron que no les auian de tomar nada sino bendeçirse lo como auian hecho cabeça de uaca y dorantes quando por alli pasaron aqui se hallo una india tam

blanca como muger de castilla saluo que tenia labrada la barua como morisca de berberia que todas se labran en general de aquella manera por alli se ahogolan los ojos.

Capitulo ueinte como cayeron grandes piedras en el campo y como se descubrio otra barranca donde se dibidio el campo en dos partes.

estando descansando el campo en esta barranca que abemos dicho una tarde començo un torbellino con grandissimo ayre y graniço y en pequeño espaçio bino tam grande multitud de piedra tam grandes como escudillas y mayores y tam espesas como lubia que en parte cubrieron dos y tres palmos y mas de tierra y uno dexo el cauallo digo que ningun cauallo ubo que no se solto sino fueron dos o tres que acudieron a los tener negros enpabesados y conseladas y rrodelas que todos los demas llebo por delante hasta pegallos con la barranca y algunos subio donde con grã trabajo se tornaron abajar y si como los tomo alli dentro fuera en lo llano de arriba quedara el campo a gran rriesgo sin cauallos que muchos no se pudieran cobrar rrompio la piedra muchas tiendas y abollo muchas çeladas y lastimo muchos cauallos y quebro toda la losa del canpo y calabaços que no puso poca neçesidad porque por alli no ay losa ni se haçe ni calabaços ni se siembra maiz ni comen pan salbo carne cruda o mal asada y fructas.

desde alli embio el general a descubrir y dieron en otras rancherias a quatro jornadas a manera de alixares era tierra muy poblada adonde auia muchos frisoles y siruelas como las de castilla y parrales duraban estos pueblos de rancherías tres jornadas desiase cona desde aqui salieron con el campo algunos teyas porque asi se deçian aquellas gentes y caminaron con sus harrias de perros y mugeres y hijos hasta la prostera jornada de las otras donde dieron guias para pasar adelante a donde fue el canpo a una barranca grande estas guias no las dexaban hablar con el turco y no hallauan las notiçias que de antes deçian que quiuira era hacia el norte y que no hallauamos buena derrota con esto se començo a dar credito a ysopete y ansi llego el campo a la prostera barrãca que era una legua de borbo a bordo y un pequeño rio en lo bajo y un llano lleno de arboleda con mucha uba morales y rosales que es fruta que la ay en françia y sirue de agraz en esta barranca la auiã madura abia nueses y galinas de la calidad de las de la nueba españa y siruelas como las de castilla y en cantidad en este camino se bio a un teya de un tiro pasar un toro por ambas espaldas que un arcubuz tiene bien que haçer es gẽte bien entendida y las mugeres bien tratadas y de berguença cubren todas sus carnes traen çapatos y borseguiez de cuero adobado traen mantas las mugeres sobre sus faldellines y mangas cogidas por las espaldas todo de cuero y unos como sanbenitillos con rapasejos que llegan a medio muslo sobre los faldellines.

Alexeres

en esta barranca holgo el campo muchos dias por buscar comarca hicieronse hasta aqui treinta y siete jornadas de camino de a seis y de a siete leguas porque se daba cargo a quien fuese tasanda y un con

Primera

Jo avia bino tan grande mul-
tud de jiedra tan grandes ynos
de cudillas y mas bien y tame se
fas como subia que en jun de
cubrieron dos y hes jun mos y
mas de tierra y vno dexo el ca-
nallo dijo que mi gun cana
llo vbo que nose sabe si mos ma
vendos. o hes que a cudieron a los
de mi gente en ja befados y
consfe la dos y vn de ellos que ha
bos de mas alleo por delan
te hasta je gar alli vn labarran
ca y algunos subio donde venia
ba yo se torna vna ba jar
si como sabe torno alli derribos
me a enbolano de a vn ba jieda
ra en bolano de a gran riesgo sin
canallos que en mucho & nose je
ziera nos bras vno mas la jieda

mu

porta

muchas hendas y abollo muchas
de la das y lastimo muchas cava
llos y quebro toda la silla delan
tera y ala baca que no puso la
ca necesidad porque por alli
no ay losa ni se hace mi calabaças
ni se siembra maiz ni comen par
salbo carne cruda o mal asada
y frutas

Despues de alli embio el general
a descubrir y dieron con tres
rancherias a quatro jornadas
a manera de lisa (Alxores) tierra muy poblada adonde auia
muchos ciboleros y fueronlas como
las de castilla y ballaron dura
vanestos pueblos de rancherias
tres jornadas de si a persona
des diestra hecha en el

tando por pasos deçian que auian a el poblado do doçientas y sinquenta leguas bisto ya y cognoçido por el general franco uasques como hasta alli auian andado engañados por el turco y que faltauan los bastimentos a el campo y que por alli no auia tierra dõde se pudiesen probeer llamo a los capitanes y alferes a junta para acordar lo que les paresiese se debiese haçer y de acuerdo de todos fue quel general contreinta de a cauallo y media doçena de peones y fuese en demanda de quiuira y que dõ tristan de arellano bolbiese con todo el campo la buelta de tiguex sabido esto por la gente del canpo y como ya se sabia lo acordado suplicaron de ello a su general y que no los dexase de lleuar adelante que todos querian morir con el y no bolber atras esto no aprobecho aunque el general les conçedio que les embiaria mensajeros dentro de ocho dias si cõbiniese seguirle o no y con esto se partio con las guias que lleuaba y con ysopete el turco yba arrecando en cadena.

Capitulo ueinte y uno como el campo bolbio a tiguex y el general llego a quiuira.

partio el general de la barranca con las guias que los teyas le auian dado hiço su maestre de campo a el ueinte y quatro diego lopes y llebo de la gẽte que le pareçio mas escogida y de mejores cauallos el canpo quedo con alguna esperança que embiaria por el general y tornaron se lo a embiar a suplicar a el general con dos hombres de a cauallo a la ligera y por la posta. el general llego digo que se le huyeron las guias en las primeras jornadas y ubo de bolber diego lopes por guias a el campo y con mandado quel cãpo bolbiese a tiguex a buscar bastimentos y a aguardar a el general dieronle otras guias que les dieron los teyas de boluntad aguardo el campo sus mensajeros y estubo alli quinçe dias haçiendo carnaje de bacas para lleuar tubose por quenta que se mataron en estos quinse dias quinientos toros era cosa increyble el numero de los que auia sin bacas perdiose en este comedio mucha gente de los que salian a caça y en dos ni tres dias no tornaban a bolber a el campo andando desatinados a una parte y a otra sin saber bolber por donde auian ydo y con aber aquella barranca que arriba o abaxo auian de atinar y como cada noche se tenia quenta con quien faltaua tirauan artilleria y tocauan trompetas y a tambores y haçian grandes hogaredas y algunos se hallaron tam desbiados y abian desatinado tanto que todo esto no les aprobechaua nada aunque a otros les balio el remedio era tornar adonde mataban el ganado y haçer una uia a una parte y a otra hasta que daban con la barranca o topaban con quien los encaminaua es cosa de notar que como la tierra es tam llana en siendo medio dia como an andado desatinados en pos de la caça a una parte y a otra sean de estar cabe la caça quedos hasta que decline el sol para ber a que rumbo an de bolber a donde salieron y aun estos auian de ser hombres entendidos y los que no lo eran se auian de encomendar a otros.

el general siguio sus guias hasta llegar a quiuira en que gasto quarenta y ocho dias de camino por la grande cayda que auian hecho sobre

la florida y fue reçebido de paz por las guias que lleuaba preguntaron a el turco que porque auia mẽtido y los auia guiado tam abieso dixo que su tierra era haçia aquella parte y que allende de aquello los de cicuye le auian rogado que los truxese perdidos por los llanos por que faltando les el bastimento se muriesen los cauallos y ellos flacos quando bolbiesen los podrian matar sin trabajo y bengarse de lo que auian hecho y que por esto los abia desrumbado creyendo que no supieran caçar ni mantenerse sin maiz y que lo del oro que no sabia adonde lo auia esto dixo ya como desesperado y que se hallaba corrido que auain dado credito a el ysopete y los auia guiado mejor que no el y temiendose los que alli yban que no diese algun abiso por donde les biniese algun daño le dieron garrote de que el ysopete se holgo porque siẽpre solia deçir que el ysopete era un bellaco y que no sabia lo que se decia y siempre le estorban ban que no hablase con nadie no se bio entre aquellag ente oro ni plata ni noticia de ello el señor traya al cuello una patena de cobre y no la tenia en poca.

los mensajeros quel campo embio en pos del general bolbieron como dixe y luego como no truxeron otro recaudo que el que el ueinti quatro auia dicho el campo salio de la barranca la buelta de los teyas a donde tomaron guias que los bolbiesen por mas derecho camino ellos las dieron de boluntad porque como es gente que no para por aquellas tierras en pos del ganado todo lo saben guiaban desta manera luego por la mañana mirabã a donde salia el sol y tomaban el rumbo que auian de tomar y tiraban una flecha y antes de llegar a ella tirauan otra por ençima y desta manera yban todo el dia hasta las aguas adonde se auia de haçer jornada y por este orden lo que se auia andado a la yda en treinta y siete jornadas se bolbio en ueinte y çinco caçãdo en el camino uacas hallaronse en este camino muchas lagunas de sal que la auia en gran cantidad auia sobre el agua tablones della mayores que mesas de quatro y de çinco dedos de grueso debajo del agua a dos y tres palmos sal en grano mas sabrosa que la de los tablones por que esta amargaba un poco era cristalina auia por aquellos llanos unos animales como hardillas en gran numero y mucha suma de cueuas de ellas uino en esta buelta a tomar el campo el rio de cicuyc mas de treinta leguas por bajo de ella digo de la puente que se auia hecho a la yada y subiose por el arriba que en general casi todas sus riueras tenian rosales que son como ubas moscateles en el comer naçen en unas uaras delgadas de un estado tiene la oja como peregil auia ubas en agraz y mucho uino y oregano deçian las guias que se juntaba este rio con el de tiguex mas de ueinte jornadas de alli y que boluian sus corrientes a el oriente creese que ban a el poderoso rio del espiritu santo que los de don hernando de soto descubrieron en la florida en esta jornada a la yda se hundio una india labrada a el capitan juan de saldibar y fue las barrancas abajo huyendo que reconoçio la tierra por que en tiguex donde se ubo era esclaua esta india ubieron a las manos siertos españoles de los de la florida que auian entrado descubriendo hacia aquella parte yo les oy deçir quãdo bolbieron a la nueba

españa que les auia dicho la india que auia nuebe dias que se auia huydo de otros y que nombro capitanes por donde se debe creer que no llegamos lejos de lo que ellos descubrieron aunque dicen que estaban entonçes mas de dosientas leguas la tierra adentro creese que tiene la tierra de trabesia por aquella parte mas de seicientas leguas de mar a mar.

pues como digo el rio arriba fue el campo hasta llegar a el pueblo de cicuye el qual se hallo de guerra que no quisieron mostrarse de paz ni dar ningun socorro de bastimento de alli fueron a tiguex que ya algunos pueblos se auian tornado a poblar que luego se tornaban a despoblar de temor.

Capitulo ueinte y dos como el general bolbio de quiuira y se hiçieron otras entradas debajo del norte.

luego que don tristan de arellano llego en tiguex mediado el mes de jullio del año de quarenta y dos hiço recoger bastimentos para el inbierno benidero y enbio a el capitan francisco de barrio nuebo con alguna gẽte el rio arriba debajo del norte en que bio dos prouinçias que la una se decia hemes de siete pueblos y la otra yuqueyunque los pueblos de hemes salieron de paz y dieron bastimentos los de yuqueyunque en tanto que el real se asentaba despoblaron dos muy hermosos pueblos que tenian el rio en medio y se fueron a la sierra a donde tenian quatro pueblos muy fuertes en tierra aspera que no se podia yr a ellos a cauallo en estos dos pueblos se ubo mucho bastimento y loça muy hermoça y bedriada y de muchas labores y hechuras tambien se hallaron muchas ollas llenas de metal escogido reluciente con que bedriaban la losa era señal que por aquella tierra auia minas de plata si se buscaran.

ueinte leguas adelante el rio arriba auia un poderoso y grande rio digo pueblo que se decia braba a quien los nr̃os pusieron ualladolid tomaba el rio por medio pasabase por puentes de madera de muy largos y grandes pinos quadrados y en este pueblo se bieron las mas grandes y brabas estufas que en toda aquella tierra porque eran de doçe pilares que cada uno tenia dos braças de ruedo de altura de dos estados este pueblo auia uisitado hernando de aluarado quando descubrio a çicuye es tierra muy alta y figridissima el rio yba hondo y de gran corriente sin ningun uado dio la buelta el capitan barrio nuebo dexando de pax aquellas prouinçias.

otro capitan fue el rio abajo en busca de los poblados que deçian los de tutahaco auia algunas jornadas de alli este capitan bajo ochenta leguas y hallo quatro pueblos grandes que dexo de paz y andubo hasta que hallo quel rio se sumia debaxo de tierra como guadiana en extremadura no paso adelãte donde los indios decian q̃ salia muy poderoso por no llebar mas comiçion de ochẽta leguas de camino y como bolbio este capitan y se llegaba el plaço en que el capitan abia de bolber de quiuira y no bolbia don tristan señalo quarenta conpañeros y dexando el campo a fran^co de barrio nuebo salio con ellos a buscar el

Rio que se hundi.

general y como llego a cicuye los del pueblo salieron de guerra que fue causa que se detubiesen alli quatro dias por les haçer algun daño como se les hiço que con tiros quese asentaron a el pueblo les mataron alguna gẽte por que no salian a el canpo a causa quel primer dia les mataron dos hombres señalados.

en este comedio llegaron nuebas [niebas?] como el general benia y por esto tambien ubo de aguardar alli don tristan para asegurar aquel paso llegado el general fue bien reçebido de todos con grande alegria el indio xabe que era el mançebo que auian dado los de cicuye a el general quando yba en demanda de quiuira estaba con don tristan de arellano y como supo que el general benia dando muestras que se holgaba dixo agora que biene el general bereis como ay oro y plata en quiuira aunque no tanta como deçia el turco y como el general llego y bio como no auian hallado nada quedo triste y pasmado y afirmãdo que la auia hiço creer a muchos que era asi porque el general no entro la tierra adentro que no oso por ser muy poblado y no se hallar poderoso y dio la buelta por lleuar sus gentes pasadas las aguas porque ya por alla llobia que era entrada de agosto quando salio tardo en la buelta quarenta dias con buenas guias con benir a la ligera como bolbieron decia el turco quando salio de tiguex el canpo que para que cargauan los cauallos tanto de bastimẽtos que se cansarian y no podrian despues traer el oro y la plata donde parese bien andaba con engaño.

llegado el general con su gẽte a cicuyc luego se partio para tiguex dexando mas asentado el pueblo por que a el luego salieron de paz y le hablaron llegado a tiguex procuro de inbernar alli para dar la buelta con todo el campo porque deçia traya noticia de grandes poblaciones y rios poderossissimos y que la tierra era muy pareciente a la de españa en las frutas y yerbas y temporales y que no benian satisfechos de creer que no auia oro antes trayan sospecha que lo auia la tierra adentro porque puesto que lo negauan entendian que cosa era y tenia nombre entre ellos que se deçia acochis con lo qual daremos fin a esta primera parte y trataremos en dar relaçion de las prouincias.

SEGUNDA PARTE EN QUE SE TRATA DE LOS PUEBLOS Y PROUINCIAS DE ALTOS Y DE SUS RITOS Y COSTUMBRES RECOPILADA POR PEDRO DE CASTAÑEDA UEÇINO DE LA ÇIUDAD DE NAXARA.[1]

laus deo.

no me parece que quedara satisfecho el lector em aber bisto y entendido lo que e contado de la jornada aunque en ello ay bien que notar en la discordançia de las notiçias porque aber fama tan grande de grandes thesoros y en el mismo lugar no hallar memoria ni aparençia de aberlo cosa es muy de notar en lugar de poblados hallar grandes despoblados y en lugar de ciudades populosas hallar pueblos de doçien-

[1] The Segunda Parte begins a new page in the manuscript.

tos uecinos y el mayor de ocho cientos o mill no se si esto les dara materia para considerar y pẽsar en la bariedad de esta uida y para poderlos agradar les quiero dar relaçion particular de todo lo poblado que se bio y descubrio en esta jornada y algunas costunbres que tienen y ritos conforme a lo que de ellos alcançamos a saber y en que rumbo cae cada prouinçia para que despues se pueda entender a que parte esta la florida y a que parte cae la india mayor y como esta tierra de la nueba españa es tierra firme con el peru ansi lo es con la india mayor o de la china sin que por esta parte aya entrecho que la dibida ante es estan grande la anchura de la tierra que da lugar a que aya tan grandes despoblados como ay entre las dos mares por que la costa del norte sobre la florida buelbe sobre los bacallaos y despues torna sobre la nuruega y la del sur a el poniente haciendo la otra punta debaxo del sur casi como en arco la buelta de la india dando lugar a que las tierras que siguen las cordilleras de anbas costas se desbien en tanta manera unas de otras que dexen en medio de si grandes llanuras y tales que por ser inabitables sõ pobladas de ganados y otros muchos animales de dibersas maneras aunque no de serpientes por ser como son esentos y sin montes antes de todo genero de caça y aues como adelante se dira dexando de contar la buelta quel campo dio para la nueba españa hasta que se beã la poca ocaçion que para ello ubo començaremos a tratar de la uilla de culiacan y bersea la diferençia que ay de la una tierra a la otra para que meresca lo uno estar poblado de españoles y lo otro no abiendo de ser a el contrario quanto a cristianos porque en los unos ay raçon de hombres y en los otros barbaridad de animales y mas que de bestias.

Capitulo primero de la prouincia de Culiacan y de sus ritos y costumbres.

Culiacan es lo ultimo del nuebo reyno de galiçia y fue lo primero que poblo Nuño de guzman quando conquisto este reyno esta a el poniente de mexico doçientas y diez leguas en esta prouinçia ay tres lẽguas prinçipales sin otras bariables que de ella responden la primera es de tahus que era la mejor gente y mas entendida y los que en esta saçon estan mas domesticos y tienen mas lumbre de la fe estos ydolatraban y haçian presentes a el demonio de sus aberes y requeças que era ropa y turquesas no comian carne humana ni la sacrificauan aconstumbraban a criar muy grandes culebras y tenian las en beneraçion auia entre ellos hombres en abito de mugeres que se casaban con otros honbres y les seruian de mugeres canonicaban con gran fiesta a las mugeres que querian bibir solteras con un grande areyto o bayle en quese juntaban todos los señores de la comarca y sacaban la a baylar en cueros y desque todos abian baylado con ella metian la en un rancho que para aquel efecto estaba bien adornado y las señoras la adereçaban de ropa y braçaletes de finas turquesas y luego entrabran a usar con ella los señores uno a uno y tras de ellos todos los demas que querian y desde alli adelante no abian de negar a nadie pagandoles sierta paga que estaba cons-

tituyda para ello y aunque despues tomaban maridos no por eso eran reseruadas de cũplir con quien se lo pagaba sus mayores fiestas son mercados auia una costumbre que las mugeres que se casaban los maridos las compraban a los padres y parientes por gran preçio y luego la llebaban a un señor que lo tenian como por saserdote para que las desbirgase y biese si estaba donçella y si no lo estaba le abian de bolber todo el preçio y estaba en su escoger si la queria por muger o no o dexalla para que fuese canoniçada haçian grandes borracheras a sus tiempos.

la segunda lengua es de pacaxes que es la gente que abitan en la tierra que esta entre lo llano y las serranias estos son mas barbara gente algunos comen carne humana que son los que confinan con las serranias son grandes someticos toman muchas mugeres aunque sean hermanas adoran en piedras pintados de entalladura son grandes abuçioneros y hechiçeros.

la tercera lengua son acaxes aquestos pose en gran parte de la tierra por la serrania y toda la cordillera y asi andan a caça de hombres como a caça de benados comen todos carne humana y el que tiene mas guesos de hombre y calaberas colgadas a el rededor de su caça es mas temido y en mas tenido biben a barrios y en tierra muy aspera huyen de lo llano para pasar de un barrio a otro a de aber quebrada en medio que aunque se hablē no puedan pasar tam ligeramēte a una grita se juntan quinientos hombres y por pequeña ocaçion se matan y se comen estos an sido malos de sojuzgar por la aspereça de la tierra que es muy grande.

an se hallado en esta tierra muchas minas de plata ricas no ban a lo hondo acabāse en breue desde la costa de esta prouinçia comiença el ancon que mete la mar debajo del norte que entra la tierra adentro doçientas y sinquentas leguas y fenese en la boca del rio del tiçon esta tierra es la una punta a el oriente la punta del poniente es la California ay de punta a punta segun he oydo a hombres que lo an nabegado treinta leguas porque perdiendo de bista a esta tierra ben la otra el ancon diçen es ancho dentro a tener de tierra a tierra çiento y sinquenta leguas y mas desde el rio del tiçon da la buelta la costa a el sur haçiendo arco hasta la california que buelue a el poniente haçiendo aquella punta que otro tiempo se tubo por isla por ser tierra baxa y arenosa poblada de gente bruta y bestial desnuda y que comen su mismo estiercol y se juntaban hombre y muger como animales poniendose la hembra en quatro pies publicamente.

Capitulo segundo de la prouincia de petlatlan y todo lo poblado hasta chichilticale.

petlatlan es una poblaçion de casas cubiertas con una manera de esteras hechas de causo congregadas en pueblos que ban a el luego de un rio desde la sierras hasta la mar son gente de la calidad y ritos de los tahues culhacaneses ay entre ellos muchos someticos tienen grande poblaçion y comarca de otros pueblos a la serrania difieren en la lengua

de los tahues algun tanto puesto que se entienden los unos a los otros dixose petlatlan por ser las casas de petates dura esta manera de casas por aquella parte docientas y quarenta leguas y mas que ay hasta el principio del despoblado de cibola desde petlatlan hace raya aquella tierra cognoçidamente la causa porque desde alli para adelante no ay arbol sin espina ni ay frutas sino son tunas y mesquites y pitahayas ay desde culiacan alla ueinte leguas y desde petlatlan a el ualle de señora ciento y treinta ay entre medias muchos rios poblados de gente de la misma suerte como son sinoloa, boyomo, teocomo, y aquimi yotros mas pequeños estan tambien los coraçones ques nuestro caudal abajo del ualle de señora.

Nagues

senora es un rio y ualle muy poblado de gente muy dispuesta las mugeres bisten naguas de cuero adobado de benados y sanbenitillos hasta medio cuerpo los que son señores de los pueblos se ponen a las mañanas en unos altillos que para aquello tienen hechos y a manera de pregones o pregoneros estan pregonando por espaçio de una ora como administrando les en lo que an de haçer tienē unas casillas pequeñas de adoratorios en que hincan muchas flechas que las ponen por de fuera como un eriso y esto haçen quando asperan tener guerra a el rededor de esta prouincia hacia las sierras ay grandes poblaçiones en probincillas apartadas y congregadas de diez y doçe pueblos y ocho o siete de ellos que se los nombres sō com u patrico, mochilagua y arispa, y el uallecillo ay otros que no se bieron.

desde señora a el ualle de suya ay quarenta leguas en este ualle se uino a poblar la uilla de san hieronimo que despues se alcaron y mataron parte de la gente que estaba poblada como se bera adelante en lo terçera parte en este ualle ay muchos pueblos que tienen en su torno son las gentes de la calidad de los de señora y de un traje y lengua ritos y costumbres con todo los demas que ay hasta el despoblado de chichilticale las mugeres se labran en la barba y los ojos como moriscas de berberia ellos son grandes sometico beben bino de pitahayas que es fruta de cardones que se abre como granadas hacen se con el bino tontos haçen conserua de tunas en gran cantidad conseruanse en su sumo en gran cantidad sin otra miel haçen pan de mesquites como quesos conseruase todo el año ay en esta tierra melones de ella tam grandes que tiene una persona que lleuar en uno haçen de ellos tasajos y curan los a el sol son de comer del sabor de higos pasado guisados son muy buenos y dulces guardanse todo el año asi pasado.

y por esta tierra se bieron aguilas candoles. tienen las los señores por grandeça en todos estos pueblos no se bieron gallinas de ninguna suerte salbo en este ualle de suya que se hallaron gallinas como las de castilla que no se supo por donde entraron tanta tierra de guerra teniendo como todos tienen guerra unos con otros entre suya y chichilticale ay muchos carneros y cabras montesas grandissimas de cuerpos y de cuernos españoles ubo que afirman aber bisto manada de mas de çiento juntos corren tanto que en brebe se desparesen.

en chichilticale torna la tierra a hacer raya y pierde la arboleda espinosa y la causa es que como el Ancon llega hasta aquel paraje y da buelta la costa asi da buelta la cordillera de las sierras y alli se biene a trabesar la serrania y se rompe para pasar a lo llano de la tierra

Capitulo tercero de lo ques chichilticale y el despoblado de çibola sus costumbres y ritos y de otras cosas.

chichilticale dixose asi porque hallaron los frayles en esta comarca una casa que fue otros tiempos poblada de gentes que rresquebraban de çibola era de tierra colorado o bermeja la casa era grande y bien pareçia en ella aber sido fortaleça y debio ser despoblada por los de la tierra que ès la gente mas barbara de las que se bieron hasta alli biuen en rancherias sin poblados biben de casar y todo lo mas es despoblado y de grandes pinales ay piñones en gran cantidad son los pinos donde se dan parrados de hasta de dos a tres estados de alto ay ençinales de bellota dulce y fanonas que dan una fruta como confites de culantro seco es muy dulce como asucar ay berros en algunas fuẽtes y rosales y poleo y oregano.

en los rios deste despoblado ay barbos y picones como en españa ay leones pardos que se bieron desde el principio del despoblado siempre se ba subiendo la tierra hasta llegar a çibola que son ochenta leguas la uia del norte y hasta llegar alli desde culiacan se auia caminado lleuando el norte sobre el ojo isquierdo.

çibola son siete pueblos el mayor se dice maçaque comunmente son de tres y quatro altos las casas en maçaque ay casas de quatro altos y de siete estas gentes son bien entendidas andan cubiertas sus berguenças y todas las partes deshonestas con paños a manera de serbilletas de mesa con rapasejos y una borla en cada esquina atan los sobre el quadril bisten pellones de plumas y de pelo de liebres mãtas de algodon las mugeres se bisten de mantas que las atan o añudan sobre el honbro isquierdo y sacan el braço derecho por ençima siriense las a el cuerpo traen capotes de cuero pulidos de buena fayçion cogen el cabello sobre las dos orejas hechos dos ruedas que paresen papos de cosia.

esta tierra es un ualle entre sierras a manera de peñones siembran a hoyos no crese el maiz alto de las maçorcas desdel pie tres y quatro cada caña gruesas y grandes de a ocho çiẽtos granos cosa no bista en estas partes ay en esta prouincia osos en gran cantidad leones gatos çeruales y nutrias ay muy finas tratan turquesas aunque no en la cantidad que deçian recogen y entrogan piñones para su año no tiene un hombre mas de una muger ay en los pueblos estufas que estan en los patios o placas donde se juntan a consulta no ay señores como por la nueba españa rigense por consejo de los mas biejos tienen sus saserdotes a quien llaman papas que les predican estos son uiejos subense en el terrado mas alto del pueblo y desde alli a manera de pregoneros predican a el pueblo por las mañanas quando sale el sol estando todo el pueblo en silençio asentados por los corredores escuchando dicen les

como an de bibir y creo que les diçen algunos mandamientos que an de guardar porque entre ellos no ay borrachera ni sodomia ni sacrificios ni comen carne humana ni hurtan de comun trabajan en el pueblo la estufas son comunes es sacrilegio que las mugeres entren a dormir en las estufas por señal de paz dar cruz queman los muertos hechan con ellos en el fuego los instrumentos que tienen para usar sus officios.

tienen a tusayan entre norte y poniente a ueinte leguas es prouinçia de siete pueblos de la misma suerte trajes ritos y costumbres que los de çibola abra en estas dos prouinçias que son catorçe pueblos hasta tres o quatro mill hombres y ay hasta tiguex quarenta leguas o mas la buelta del norte ay entre medias el peñon de acuco que contamos en la primera parte.

Capitulo quarto como se tratan los de tiguex y de la prouincia de tiguex y sus comarcas.

tiguex es prouincia de doçe pueblos riberas de un rio grande y caudaloso unos pueblos de una parte y otros de otra es ualle espaçioso de dos leguas en ancho tiene a el oriente una sierra nebada muy alta y aspera a el pie de ella por las espaldas ay siete pueblos quatro en llano y los tres metidos en la halda de la sierra.

tiene a el norte a quirix siete pueblos a siete leguas tiene a el nordeste la prouincia de hemes siete pueblos a quarenta leguas tiene a el norte o leste a Acha a quatro leguas a el sueste a tutahaco prouinçia de ocho pueblos todos estos pueblos en general tienen unos ritos y costumbres aunque tienen algunas cosas en particulares que no las tienen los otros gobiernanse por acuerdo de los mas uiejos labran los edificios del pueblo de comun las mugeres entienden en haçer la mescla y las paredes los hombres traen la madera y la asientan no ay cal pero haçen una mescla de çenisa de carbon y tierra ques poco menos que de cal porque con aber de tener quatro altos la casa no hacen la pared de mas gordor que de media bara juntan gran cantidad de rama de tomillos y corriso y ponen le fuego y como esta entre carbon y çenisa hechan mucha tierra y agua y haçen lo mescla y de ella hacen pellas redondas que ponen en lugar de piedra despues de seco y traban con la misma mescla de suerte que despues es como argamasa los mançebos por casar siruen a el pueblo en general y traen la leña que se a de gastar y la ponen en rima en los patios de los pueblos de donde la toman las mugeres para lleuar a sus casas su abitaçion de los mançebos es en las estufas que son en los patios de el pueblo debajo de tierra quadrados o redondos con pilares de pino algunas se bieron de doçe pilares y de quatro por nabe de gordor de dos braças los comunes eran de tres o quatro pilares los suelos de losas grandes y lisas como los baños que se usan ẽ europa tienen dentro un fogon a manera de una bitacora de nabio donde ensienden un puño de tomillo con que sustentan la calor y pueden estar dentro como en baño lo alto en pareja con la tierra alguna se bio tan espaciosa que tendra juego de bola quando alguno se a de casar a de ser por orden de

los que gobiernan a de hilar y texer una manta el baron y ponerle la muger delante y ella cubre con ella y queda por su muger las casas son de las mugeres las estufas de los hombres si el uaron repudia la muger a de ir a ello a la estufa es biolable cosa domir las mugeres en la estufa ni entrar a ningun negoçio mas de meter de comer a el marido o a los hijos los hombres hilan y texen las mugeres crian los hijos y guisan de comer la tierra es tan fertil que no desyerban en todo el año mas de para sembrar porque luego cae la niebe y cubre lo senbrado y debajo de la niebe cria la maçorca cogen en un año para siete ay grãdissimo numero de guillas y de ansares y cuerbos y tordos que se mantienen por los sembrados y con todo esto quando bueluen a sembrar para otro año estan los campos cubiertos de maiz que no lo an podido acabar de encerrar.

auia en estas prouincias grã cantidad de gallinas de la tierra y gallos de papada sustentabanse muertos sin pelar ni abrir sesenta dias sin mal olor y los hombres muertos lo mismo y mas tiempo siendo inbierno los pueblos son limpios de inmundiçias porque salen fuera a estercolar y desaguan en basijas de barro y las sacan a basiar fuera del pueblo tienen bien repartidas las casas en grande limpieça donde guisan de comer y donde muelen la harina que es un apartado o retrete donde tienen un farnal con tres piedras asentado con argamasa donde entran tres mugeres cada una en su piedra que la una frangolla y la otra muele y la otra remuele antes q̃ entren dentro a la puerta se descalçan los sapatos y cogen el cabello y sacuden la ropa y cubrẽ la cabeça mientras que muelẽ esta un hombre sentado a la puerta tañedo con una gayta al tono traen las piedras y cantã a tres boçes muelen de una bez mucha cantidad porque todo el pan haçen de harina desleyda con agua caliente a manera de obleas cogen gran cantidad de yeruas y secan las para guisar todo el año para comer no ay en la tierra frutas saluo piñones tienen sus predicadores no se hallo en ellos sodomia ni comer carne humana ni sacrificarlla no es gente cruel porque en tiguex estubieron obra de quarenta dias muerto a françisco de ouando y quando se acabo de ganar el pueblo lo hallaron entero entre sus muertos sin otra liçion mas de la herida de que murio blanco como niebe sin mal olor de un indio de los nuestros que auia estado un año catibo entre ellos alcanse a saber algunas cosas de sus costumbres en especial preguntãdole yo que porque causa en aquella prouinçia andaban las mugeres moças en cueros haçiendo tam gran frio dixome que las donçellas auian de andar ansi hasta que tomasen maridos y que en cognoçiendo uaron se cubrian trayan los hombres por alli camisetas de cuero de benado adobado y ençima sus pellones ay por todas estas prouincias loca bedriada de alcohol y jarros de extremadas labores y de hechuras que era cosa de ber.

Capitulo quinto de cicuyc y los pueblos de su contorno y de como unas gentes binieron a conquistar aquella tierra.

ya abemos dicho de tiguex y de todas las prouinçias que estan en la costa de aquel rio por ser como son todos de una calidad de gente y una

condiçion y costumbres no sera menester en ellos particulariçar ninguna cosa solo quiero deçir del açiento de cicuye y unos pueblos despoblados que le caen en comarca en el camino derecho quel campo llebo para alla y otros que estan tras la sierra nebada de tiguex que tambien caen en aquella comarca fuera del rio.

cicuyc es un pueblo de hasta quinientos hombres de guerra es temido por toda aquella tierra en su sitio es quadrado asentado sobre peña en medio un gran patio o plaça con sus estufas las casas son todas parejas de quatro altos por lo alto se anda todo el pueblo sin que aya calle que lo estorbe a los dos primeros doblados es todo çercado de corredores que se anda por ellos todo el pueblo son como balcones que salen a fuera y debajo de ellos se pueden amparar no tienen las casas puertas por lo bajo con escaleras leuadisas se siruen y suben a los corredores que son por de dentro del pueblo y por alli se mandan que las puertas de las casas salen a aquel alto al corredor sirue el corredor por calle las casas que salen a el campo haçen espaldas con las de dentro del patio y en tiempo de guerra se mandan por las de dentro es çercado de una çerca baja de piedra tiene dentro una fuente de agua que se la pueden quitar la gente deste pueblo se preçiã de que nadie los a podido sojuzgar y los sojuzgan los pueblos que quieren son de la misma condiçion y costumbres que los otros pueblos tambien andan las doncellas desnudas hasta que tomã maridos por que diçen que si hacen maldad que luego se bera y ansi no lo haran ni tienẽ de que tener berguença pues andan qual naçieron.

ay entre cicuye y la prouinçia de quirix un pueblo chico y fuerte a quien los españoles pusieron nonbre ximena y otro pueblo casi despoblado que no tiene poblado sino un barrio este pueblo era grande segun su sitio y fresco parecia aber sido destruydo aqueste se llamo el pueblo de los cilos porque se hallaron en el grandes silos de maiz.

adelante auia otro pueblo grande todo destruido y asolado en los patios del muchas pelotas de piedras tan grandes como botijas de arroba que pareçia aber sido hechadas con ingenios o trabucos con que destruyeron aquel pueblo lo que de ello se alcanso a saber fue que abria desiseis años que unas gentes llamados teyas en gran numero auian benido en aquella tierra y auian destruydo aquellos pueblos y auian tenido çercado a cicuye y no lo auian podido tomar por ser fuerte y que quando salieron de aquella tierra auian hecho amistades con toda la tierra pareçio debio de ser gente poderosa y que debiã de tener ingenios para derriba los pueblos no saben decir de que parte binieron mas de señalar debajo del norte generalmente llaman estas gentes teyas por gentes ualiẽtes como diçen los mexicanos chichimecas o teules porque los teyas que el campo topo puesto que eran ualientes eran cognoçidos de la gente de los poblados y sus amigos y que se ban a inbernar por alla los inbiernos debaxo de los alaues de lo poblado porque dẽtro no se atreben a los reçebir porque no se deben fiar de ellos y puesto que los reçiben de amistad y tractan con ellos de noche no quedan en los pueblos sino

fuera solas alaues y los pueblos se belanabo çina y grito grito como las fortaleças de españa.

otros siete pueblos ay a la orilla deste camino hacia la sierra nebada que el uno quedo medio destruydo de estas gentes ya dichas que estan debaxo de la obidiençia de cicuye esta cicuye en un pequeño ualle entre sierras y montañas de grandes pinales tiene una pequeña riuera que lleba muy buenas truchas y nutrias crianse por aqui muy grandes osos y buenos halcones.

Capitulo sexto en que se declara quantos fueron los pueblos que se uieron en los poblados de terrados y lo poblado de ello.

pareçiome antes que salga deçir de los llanos de las bacas y lo poblado y rancheado de ellos que sera bien que se sepa que tanto fue lo poblado que se bio de casas de altos en pueblos congregados y en que tanto espaçio de tierra digo que çibola es lo primero.

çibola siete pueblos
tucayan siete pueblos
el peñon de acuco uno
tiguex doçe pueblos
tutahaco ocho pueblos
por abajo del rio estauan estos pueblos.
quirix siete pueblos
a la sierra nebeda siete pueblos
ximena tres pueblos.
cicuye uno pueblo.
hemes siete pueblos
aguas calientes tres pueblos.
yuqueyunque de la sierra seis pueblos.
ualladolid dicho braba un pueblo.
chia un pueblo.

por todos son sesenta y seis pueblos como parece tiguex es el riñon de los pueblos ualladolid lo mas alto el rio arriba a el nordeste los quatro pueblos a el rio abaxo al sueste porque el rio boltea haçia leuante que desde la una punta de lo que se bio el rio abaxo a la otra que se bio el rio arriba en que esta todo lo poblado ay çiento y treinta leguas diez mas o menos que por todos los pueblos con los de las trabesias son sesenta y seis como tengo dicho en todos ellos puede auer como ueinte mill hombres lo qual se puede bien considerar y entender por la poblaçion de los pueblos y entre medias de unos y otros no ay caserias ni otra abitacion sino todo despoblado por donde se be que segun son poca gente y tan diferençiados en trato gouierno y poliçia de todas las naçiones que se an bisto y descubierto en estas partes de poniente son benediços de aquella parte de la india mayor que cae su costa debaxo del poniente de esta tierra que por aquella parte pueden aber baxado atrabesando aquellas cordilleras baxando por aquel rio abajo poblando en lo mejor que les pareçia y como an ydo multiplicando an ydo poblando hasta que

no hallaron rio porque se sume debaxo de tierra haciendo sus corrientes haçia la florida baxando del nordeste donde se hallaua notiçia todauia de pueblos quese dexo de seguir al turco que lo deçiã sin aquellas cordilleras do nace aquel rio se atrabesaran yo creo se tomaran ricas noticias y se entrara en las tierras de donde aquellas gentes proçeden que segun el rũbo es principio de la india mayor aun que partes innotas y no sabidas ni cognosidas porque segun la demostraçion de la costa es muy la tierra adentro entre la nuruega y la china en el comedio de la tierra de mar a mar es grande anchura segun de muestran los rumbos de ambas costas asi lo q̃ descubrio el capitan uillalobos yendo por esta mar de poniente en demanda de la china como lo que sea descubierto por la mar del norte la buelta de los bacallaos que es por la costa de la florida arriba hacia la nuruega.

ansi que tornado a el proposito de lo començado digo q̃ en espaçio de setenta leguas en el ancho de aquella tierra poblada y de ciento y treinta leguas al luego del rio de tiguex no se bieron ni hallaron mas poblados ni gentes de los ya dichas que ay repartimientos en la nueba españa no uno sino muchos de mayor numero de gentes en muchos pueblos de ellos se hallaron metales de plata que los tenian para bedriar y pintar los rotro.

Capitulo septimo que trata de los llanos que se atrabesaron de bacas y de las gentes que los habitan.

dicho abemos de lo poblado de altos que segun parese esta en el comedio de la cordillera en lo mas llano y espaçioso de ella porque tiene de atrabesia çiento y sinquenta leguas hasta entrar en la tierra llana que esta entre las dos cordilleras digo la que esta a la mar del norte y la que esta a la mar del sur que por esta costa se podria mejor deçir a la mar de poniente esta cordillera es la que esta a el mar del sur pues para entender como lo poblado que digo es ba en el comedio de la cordillera digo que desde chichiltıcale que es el principio de la trabesia a çibola ay ochenta leguas de çibola que es el primer pueblo a cicuye que es el prostero en la trabesia ay setenta leguas de cicuye a los llanos ay treinta leguas hasta el prinçipio de ellos puede ser aberse atrabesado algo por trabesia o a el sesgo por do parece aber mas tierra que si se atrabesara por medio y pudiera ser mas dificultoso y aspero y esto no se puede biẽ entender por la buelta que la cordillera haçe tras de su costa del Ancon del rio del tizon.

agora diremos de los llanos que es una tierra llana y espaçiosa que tiene en anchura mas de quatro cientas leguas por aquella parte entre las dos cordilleras la una la que atrabeso francisco uasques coronado a la mar del sur y la otra la que atrabeso la gente de don fernando de soto a la mar del norte entrando por la florida lo que de estos llanos se bio todo era despoblado y no se pudo ber la otra cordillera ni çerro ni çierra que tubiese de altura tres estados con andar doçientas y sinquenta leguas por ellos atrechos se hallauan algunas lagunas redondas como

platos de un tiro de piedra de ancho y mayores algunas dulçes y algunas de sal en estas lagunas ay alguna yerba cresida fuera de ellas toda es muy chica de un geme y menos es la tierra de hechura de bola que donde quiera que un hombre se pone lo çerca el çielo a tiro de ballesta no tiene arboleda sino en los rios que ay en algunas barrancas que son tam encubiertas que hasta que estan a el bordo de ellas no son bistas son de tierra muerta tienen entradas que haçen las bacas para entrar a el agua que esta honda por estos llanos andan gentes como tengo dicho en la primera parte en pos de las bacas haçiendo caça y adobãdo cueros para lleuar a bender a los poblados los inbiernos porque ban a inbernar a ellos cada compañia a donde mas çerca se halla unos a los poblados de cicuye otros haçia quiuira otros haçia la florida a los poblados que estan haçia aquella parte y puerto estan gentes que los llamã querechos y teyas dan relaçion de grandes poblados y segun lo que de estas gentes se bio y de otros que ellos daban notiçia que auia por otras partes ella es harto mas gente que no la de los poblados mas dispuesta y mayores hombres de guerra y mas temidos andan como alarabes con sus tiendas y harrias de perros aparejados con lomillos y en xalmas y sincha quando se les tuerçe la carga aullan llamando quien los aderese comen esta gente la carne cruda y beben la sagre no comen carne humana es gente amoroso y no cruel tienen fiel amistad son muy entendidos por señas secan la carne a el sol cortandola delgada como una oja y seca la muelen como harina para guardar y haçer maçamorras para comer que con un puño que hechan en una olla se hinche por que creçe mucho guisan lo con manteca que siempre procuran traer quando matan la baca uaçian una gran tripa y hinchen la de sangre y hechan la a el cuello para beber quando tienen sed quando an abierto la pança de la baca aprietan para abajo la yerua mascada y el sumo que queda arriba lo beben que diçen que esto da la sustançia de el bientre abren las bacas por el lomo y deshaçen los por sus coyunturas con un pedernal grande como un dedo atado en un palito cõ tanta façilidad como si fuese con una muy buena herramienta dando les los filos en sus propios dientes es cosa de ber y de notar la presteça con que lo haçen.

ay por estos llanos muy gran cantidad de lobos que andã tras de las bacas tienen el pelo blanco los sieruos son remendados de blanco el pelo ancho y que muriendo ansi con la mano se pelan en caliente y quedan como puerco pelado las liebres que son en gran numero andan tan abobadas que yendo a cauallo las matan con las lanças esto es de andar hechas entre las bacas de la gente de pie huyen.

Capitulo ocho de quiuira y en que rumbo esta y la notiçia que dan.

quiuira es a el poniente de aquellas barrancas por el medio de la tierra algo arrimada a la cordillera de la mar porque hasta quiuira es tierra llana y alli se començan a ber algunas sierras la tierra es muy poblada segun el principio de ella se bio ser esta tierra muy aparente a la de

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españa en su manera de yeruas y frutas ay siruelas como las de castilla ubas nueçes moras uallico y abena poleo oregano lino en gran cantidad no lo benefficiã porque no saben el uso de ello la gente es casi de la manera y traje de los teyas tienen los pueblos a la manera como los de la nueba españa las casas son redondas sin çerca tienen unos altos a manera de balbacoas por baxo la techũbre adonde duermen y tienen sus aberes las techumbres son de paja ay en su contorno otras prouincias muy pobladas en grande numero de gente y aqui en esta prouinçia quedo un frayle que se deçia fray juº de padilla y un español portugues y un negro y un mestiso y siertos indios de la prouinçia de capothan de la nueba españa a el frayle mataron porque se queria yr a la prȯuinçia de los guas que eran sus enemigos el español escapo huyendo en una yegua y despues aporto en la nueba españa saliendo por la uia de panuco los indios de la nueba españa que yban con el frayle lo enterraron con consentimiento de los matadores y se binieron en pos del español hasta que lo alcançaron este español era portugues auia por nombre campo.

el gran rio del espiritu santo que descubrio don ferᵈº de soto en la tierra de la florida lleua sus corrientes de aquesta tierra pasa por una prouinçia que se diçe arache segun alli tubo por noticia berdadera que no se bieron sus naçimientos porque segun deçian bienen de muy lejos tierra de la cordillera del sur de la parte que desagua a los llanos y atrabiesa toda la tierra llana y rompe la cordillera del norte y sale adonde lo nauegaron los de don fernando de soto esto es mas de treçientas leguas de donde el ba a salir a la mar y por esto y por las grandes acogidas que tiene sale tam poderosa a el mar que an perdido la uista de la tierra y no el agua de ser dulçe.

hasta esta tierra de quiuira fue lo ultimo que se bio y de lo que ya puedo dar noticia o relaçion y agora me conbiene dar la buelta a hablar del campo que dexe en tiguex reposando el inbierno para poder pasar o bolber a buscar estos poblados de quiuira lo qual despues no suçedio ansi porque fue dios seruido que estos descubrimientos quedasen para otras gentes y que nos contentasemos los que alla fuimos con deçir que fuimos los primeros que lo descubrimos y tubimos noticia de ello.

como hercules conoçer el sitio adonde jullio çesar auia de fundar a seuilla o hispales plega a el señor todo poderoso se sirua con todo que sierto es que si su uoluntad fuera ni franᶜº uasques se bolbiera a la nueba españa tan sin causa ni raçon ni los de don fernando de soto dexaran de poblar tan buena tierra como tenian y tambien poblada y larga mayormente abiendo tenido como tubieron noticia de nuestro campo.

TERCERA PARTE COMO Y EN QUE SE TRATA AQUELLO QUE ACONTEÇIO A FRANCISCO UASQUES CORONADO ESTANDO INBERNANDO Y COMO DEXO LA JORNADA Y SE BOLBIO A LA NUEBA ESPAÑA.[1]

laus deo.

Capitulo primero como bino de Señora don pedro de touar con gente y se partio para la nueba españa don garci lopes de cardenas.

en el fin de la primera parte de este libro diximos como francisco uasques coronado buelto de quiuira auia ordenado de inbernar en tiguex y benido el inbierno dar la buelta con todo su canpo para descubrir todos aquellos poblados en estos comedios don pedro de touar que como diximos auia ydo a sacar gente de la uilla de san hieronimo llego con la gente que traya y a la berdad considerando que pa ir en demanda de su general a la tierra del indio que llemauan turco le conbenia lleuar buena gente no saco de alla los cediçiosos ni reboltosos sino los mas exprimentados y mejores soldados hombres de confiança que pudo y llegados a tiguex aunque hallaron alli el campo no les plugo mucho por que benian ya el pico a el biento creyendo hallar a el general en la tierra rica del indio que deçian turco consolaronse con la esperança de la buelta que se auia de haçer y biuian en gran plaçer y alegria con la esperanca de la buelta que se auia de hacer y de que presto yria el campo a quiuira con don pedro de touar binieron cartas de la nueba españa ansi del uirrey don Antonio de mendoça como de particulares entre los quales dieron una a don garçia lopes de cardenas en que le hiçieron saber la muerte de un su hermano mayorazgo llamandole fuese a heredar a españa por donde ubo liçençia y salio de tiguex con algunas otras personas que ubieron liçençia para se yr a reposar a sus casas otros muchos se quisieran yr que lo dexaron por no mostrar flaqueça procuraba en estos comedios a pasiguar algunos pueblos de la comarca que estaban no bien asentados y llamar a los de tiguex a paz y buscar alguna ropa de la tierra porque andaban ya los soldados desnudos y mal tratados llenos de piojos y no los podian agotar ni deshechar de si.

el general francisco uasques coronado auia sido entre sus capitanes y soldados el mas bien quisto y obedeçido capitan que podia auer salido en indias y como la necesidad careçe de ley y los capitanes que recogian la ropa la repartiesen mal tomando para si y sus amigos y criados lo mejor y a los soldados se les repartiese el deshecho comẽço a aber algunas murmuraçiones y desabrimentos unos por lo dicho y otros por ber que algunos sobre salientes eran reseruados del trabajo y de las uelas y mejor repartidos en lo que se repartia asi de ropa como de bastimentos par do se cree praticaban y a no aber en la tierra para que bolber a quiuira que no fue pequeña ocaçion para lo de adelante como se uera.

[1] The heading of the third part is written on the same page with the preceding text of the second part, there being no break between the end of the second part and the heading which follows it. The following page is left blank.

Capitulo segundo como cayo el general y se hordeno la buelta para la nueba españa.

pasado que fue el inuierno se publico la buelta para quiuira y la gente se comẽcaua a perçebir de las cosas necesarias y como ninguna cosa esta en esta uida a la dispusiçion de los hombres sino a la ordenaçion de dios todo poderoso fue su uoluntad que los nr̃os no se efectuasen y fue el caso quel general un dia de fiesta se salio a holgar a cauallo como solia y corriendo parejas con el capitan don rodrigo maldonado el yba en un poderoso cauallo y sus criados auian le puesto una çincha nueba que del tiempo debia de estar podrida en la carrera rebento y bino a caer de lado a la parte que yba don rodrigo y a el pasar a el cansole el cauallo con el pie en la cabeça de que llego a punto de muerte y su cura fue larga y temida.

en este comedio quel estaba en la cama don garci lopes de cardenas que auia salido para salir a la nueba españa bolbio de suya huyendo que hallo despoblada la uilla y muerta la gente y cauallos y ganados y llego a tiguex y sabida la triste nueba como el general estaba en los terminos ya dichos no se lo osaron deçir hasta que estubiese sano y al cabo y a que se lebantaua lo supo y sintio lo tanto que ubo de tornar a recaer y por uentura para benir a haçer lo que hiço segun despues se creyo y fue que como se bio de aquella suerte bino le a la memoria que en salamanca un mathematico su amigo le auia dicho que se auia de ber en tierras estrañas señor y poderoso y abia de dar un cayda de que no se auia de poder leuantar y con esta inmaginaçion de su muerte le dio deseo de boluer a morir a donde tenia muger y hijos y como del mismo fiçico y su surujano que lo curaua y seruia tambien de chismoso suprese las murmuraçiones que andaban entre los soldados trato secreta y ocultamente con algunos caualleros de su opinion pusieron en pratica la buelta de la nueua españa entre los soldados haçiendo juntas y corrillos y que se hiciesen consultas y lo pidiesen con sus alferes a el general cõ carteles firmados de todos sus soldados lo qual ellos trataron muy por entero y no fue menester gastar mucho tienpo segun ya muchos lo tenian en uoluntad el general mostro des que se lo pidieron que no lo queria haçer sino lo confirmauan todos los caualleros y capitanes dando su pareçer firmado y como algunos eran en ello dieronlo luego y aun persuadieron a los otros a haçer lo mismo y ansi dieron pareçer que se deuian de boluer a la nueba españa pues no se auia hallado cosa rica ni auia poblado en lo descubrierto donde se pudiesen haçer repartimientos a todo el campo y como les cogio las firmas luego se publico la buelta para la nueua españa y como no puede aber cosa encubierta comẽçose a descubrir el trato doble y hallaronse muchos de los caualleros faltos y corridos y procuraron por todas uias tornar a cobrar sus firmas del general el qual las guardo tanto que no salia de una camara haçiendo su dolençia muy mayor poniendo guardas en su persona y camara y de noche en los altos a donde dormia con todo esto le hurtaron el cofre y se dixo no hallaron en el sus firmas que las tenia en el colchon

por otro cabo se dixo que las cobraron ellos pidieron quel general les diese sesenta hombres escogidos y que ellos quedarian y sustentarian la tierra hasta que el uirrey les embiase socorro o a llamar o que el general dexase el campo y escogiese sesenta hombres con que se fuese pero los soldados ni de una ni de otra manera no quisieron quedar lo uno por aber ya puesto la proa a la nueba españa y lo otro por que bieron clara la discordia que se auia de leuantar sobre quien auia de mandar los caualleros no se sabe si porque auian jurado fidelidad o por tener creydo que los soldados no los faboreçerian aunque agrabiados lo ubieron de su fin y pasar por lo determinado aunque desde alli no obedeçian al general como solian y el era dellos mal quisto y haçia caudal de los soldados y honraba los que fue a benir a el efecto de lo quel queria y que se efetuase la buelta de todo el campo.

Capitulo terçero como se alço Suya y las causas que para ello dieron los pobladores.

ya diximos en el capitulo pasado como don garcia lopes de cardenas bolbio huyendo de suya desque hallo alçada la tierra y que de deçir como y porque se despoblo a la aquella uilla lo qual paso como contare y fue el caso que como ya en aquella uilla no auia quedado sino la gente ruyn entereçada honbres reboltosos y sediciosos puesto que quedaron algunos honrados en los cargos de republica y para gouernar a los demas podia mas la maliçia de los ruynes y cada dia hacian munipudios y tratos diciendo que estaban bendidos y no para ser aprobechados pues en aquella tierra se mandaba por otra parte mas aproposito de la nueba españa que no aquella estaua y ellos quedaban casi por derecho y con esto mouidos sierta compañia haciendo caudillo a un pedro de auila se amotinaron y fueron la buelta de culiacan dexando a diego de alcaraz su capitan con poca gente doliente en aquella uilla de sant hieronimo que no ubo quiẽ los pudiese seguir para los apremiar a que bolbiesẽ en el camino en algunos pueblos les mataron alguna gente y al cabo salieron a culiacan adonde hernando arias de saya bendra los detubo entretenidos con palabras porque aguardaba a juan gallego que auia de benir alli con gente de la nueua españa y que los bolberia algunos temiendolo que auia de ser se huyan de noche para la nueba españa diego de alcaraz que auia quedado con poca gente y doliente aunque quisiera no podia alli sustentarse por el peligro de la yerua mortal que por alli usan traer los naturales los quales sintiendo la flaqueça de los españoles ya no se dexaban tratar como solian abian se ya descubierto antes desto mineros de oro y como estaban en tierra de guerra y no tenian posibilidad no se labrauan estando en esta confuçion no se dexaban de belar y recatar mas que solian.

saabedra

la uilla estaba poblada çerca de un rio pequeño y una noche a desora bieron fuegos no usados ni acostumbrados que fue causa que doblaron las uelas pero como en toda la noche no sintieron nada a la madrugada se descuidarõ y los enemigos entraron tan callados por el pueblo que no

fueron uistos hasta que andaban matando y robando algunas gentes salieron a lo llano que tubieron lugar y a el salir hirieron de muerte a el capitan y como algunos españoles se rehiçieron en algunos cauallos bolbieron sobre los enemigos y socorrieron alguna gente aunque fue poca y los enemigos se fueron con la presa sin reçebir daño dexando muertos tres españoles y mucha gente de seruiçio y mas de ueinto cauallos.

los españoles que quedaron salieron aquel dia a pie sin cauallos la buelta de culiacan por fuera de caminos y sin ningun bastimento hasta llegar a los coraçones adonde aquellos indios los socorrieron de bastimentos como amigos que siempre fueron y de alli cõ grandes trabajos que pasaron llegaron a culiacan adonde hernandarias de saabedra alcalde mayor los reçibio y hospedo lo mejor que pudo hasta que juan gallego llego con el socorro que traya para pasar adelante en busca del campo que no poco le peso se obiese despoblado aquel paso creyendo quel campo estaba en la tierra rica que auia dicho el indio que llamáron turco porque lo parecia en su aspeto.

Capitulo quarto como se quedo fray juan de padilla y fray luis en la tierra y el campo se aperçibio la buelta de mexico.

ya quel general francisco uasques uido que todo estaba pacifico y que sus negoçios se auian encaminado a su uoluntad mando que para entrado el mes de abril del año de quinientos y quarenta y tres estubiesen todos aperçebidos para salir la buelta de la nueba españa.

biendo esto un fray juan de padilla frayle de misa de la orden de los menores y otro fray luis lego dixeron a el general que ellos querian quedarse en aquella tierra el fray juan de padilla en quiuira porque le parecia haria alli fructo su dotrina y el fray luis en cicuye y para esto como era quaresma a la saçon predico un domingo aquel sermon del padre de las compañas y fundo su proposito con autoridad de la sagrada escritura y como su celo era combertir aquellas gentes y traer los a la fe y como tubieron liçençia que para esto no era menester embio el general con ellos una compañia que los sacasen hasta cicuye donde se quedo el fray luis y el fray juan paso la buelta de quiuira lleuando el portugues que diximos y el negro y el mestiso y indios de la nueba españa con las guias que auia traydo el general donde en llegando alla dentro de muy poco tiempo lo martiriçaron como contamos en la segunda parte cap̃ otauo y ansi se puede creer murio martir pues su çelo era santo y bueno.

el fray luis se quedo en cicuye no se a sabido del mas hasta oy aun que antes quel campo saliese de tiguex lleuandole sierta cantidad de obejas para que se le quedasen los que las llebauan toparon acompañado de gente que andaba uiçitando otros pueblos que estaban a quinçe y a ueinte leguas de cicuye y no dio poca buena esperanca que estaba en graçia del pueblo y haria fruto su dotrina aũque se quexaba que los uiejos lo desamparaban y creyo al fin lo matarian yo para mi tengo que como era hombre de buena y santa uida nr̃o señor lo guardaria y daria

gracia que conbirtiese algunas gentes de aquellas y dexase despues de sus dias quien los administrase en la fee y no es de creer otro cosa porque la gente de por alli es piadosa y ninguna cosa cruel antes son amigos o enemigos de la crueldad y guardan la fee y lealtad a los amigos.

el general despachados los frayles temiendo no le dañase el traer gente de aquella tierra a la nueba españa mãdo quel seruiçio que los soldados tenian de los naturales lo dexasen yr libres a sus pueblos adonde quisiesen que a mi ber no lo a serto que mas ualiera se dotrinaran entre christianos.

andaba ya el general alegre y contento llegado el plaço y todos probeydos de lo necesario para su jornada el campo salio de tiguex la buelta de cibola aconteçio en este camino una cosa no poco de notar y fue que con salir los cauallos exerçitados a el trabajo gordos y hermosos en diez dias que se tardo en llegar a cibola murieron mas de treinta que no ubo dia que nò muriesen dos y tres y mas y despues hasta llegar a culiacan murieron gran numero de ellos cosa no aconteçida en toda la jornada.

llegado que fue el campo a çibola se rehiço para salir por el despoblado por ser alli lo ultimo de los poblados de aquella tierra quedando toda aquella tierra pacifica y llana y que se quedaron algunos amigos entre ellos de los nuestros.

Capitulo quinto como el canpo salio del poblado y camino a culiacan y lo que aconteçio en el camino.

dexando ya por popa podemos deçir los poblados que se auian descubierto en la tierra nueba que como tengo dicho eran los siete pueblos de cibola lo primero que se bio y lo prostero que se dexo salio el campo caminando por el despoblado y en dos o tres jornadas nunca dexaron los naturales de seguir el campo tras la retaguardia por coger algun fardaje o gente de seruiçio porque aunque que dabã de paz y auian sido buenos y le a les amigos todauia como bieron que se les dexaba la tierra libre se holgauan de ber en su poder gente de la nuestra a aunque se cre no para los enojar como se supo de algunos que no quiseron yr con ellos que fueron de ellos inportunados y rogados todauia lleuaron alguna gente y otros que se auian quedado uoluntariamẽte de los quales el dia de oy abra buenas lenguas el despoblado se camino sin contraste y como salieron en chichilticale en la segunda jornada llego a el campo juan gallego que yba de la nueba españa con socorro de gente y cosas neçesarias para el campo pensando de lo hallar en la tierra del indio que llamauan turco y como juan gallego bido que el canpo se bolbia la prime[ra] palabra que dixo no fue deçir norabuena bengais y no lo sintio tan poco que despues de aber hablado al general y llegados a el campo digo a el aposento no ubiese algunos mobimientos en los caualleros con aquel nuebo socorro que no con poco trabajo auian allegado tras ta alli teniendo cada dia recuentros con los indios de aquellas partes como se a dicho que estaban alcados ubo algunos tratos y platicas de poblar por alli en alguna parte hasta dar relaçion a el

bisorey de lo que pasaba la gente de los soldados que uenian de la tierra nueba a ninguna cosa daban consentimiento sino en bolber a la nueba españa por donde no ubo efecto nada de lo que se proponia en sus consultas y aunque ubo algunos alborotos al cabo se apasiaguarō yban con juan gallego algunos de los amotinados que despoblaron la uilla de los coraçones asegurados por el y debajo de su palabra y puesto que el general quisiera haçer algun castigo era poco su poder porque ya era desobe desobedecido y poco acatado y de alli adelante de nuebo començo a temer y haciase doliente andando con guarda en algunas partes ubo algunas gritas y de indios y de heridos y muertes de cauallos hasta llegar a batuco donde salieron a el campo indios amigos del ualle del coraçon por ber a el general como amigos que sienpre fueron y ansi auiā tratado a todos los españoles que por sus tierras auian pasado probeyendoles en sus neçesidades de bastimentos y gente si necesario era y ansi fueron de los nr̄os siempre muy bien tratados y gratificados en esta jornada se aprobo del agua del menbrillo ser buena contra la yerba de estas partes porque en un paso algunas jornadas antes de llegar a el ualle de señora los indios enemigos hirieron a un español llamado mesa y con ser la herida mortal de yerba fresca y tardarse mas de dos oras en curar con el agua no murio puesto que quedolo que la yerba auia infiçionado podrido y se cayo la carne hasta dexar los guesos y nierbos desnudos con pestilençial hedor que fue la herida en la muñeca y auia llegado la ponsoña hasta la espalda quando se uino a curar y todo esto desamparo la carne.

caminaba el campo sin tomar reposo porque ya en esta saçon auia falta de bastimentos que como aquellas comarcas estaban alçadas las bituallas no auia adonde las tomar hasta que llego a petlatlan haçiendo algunas entradas en las trabesias por buscar bastimentos patlatlan es de la prouinçia de culiacan y a esta causa estaba de paz aunque despues aca a bido algunas nobedades alli descanso el campo algunos dias por se basteçer y salidos de alli con mayor presteça que de antes procuraron pasar aquellas treinta leguas que ay el ualle de culiacan donde de nuebo los acogieron como gente que benia con su gouernador mal tratado.

Capitulo sexto como el general salio de culiacan para dar quenta a el uisorey del campo que le encargo.

ya parece que en aber llegado a el ualle de culiacan se da fin a los trabajos de esta jornada lo uno por ser el general gouernador y lo otro por estar en tierra de christianos y ansi se començaron luego asentar algunos de la superioridad y dominio que sobre ellos tenian sus capitanes y aun algunos capitanes de la obidencia del general y cada uno haçia ya cabeça de su juego de manera que pasando el general a la uilla que estaua de alli diez leguas mucha de la gente o la mas de ella se le quedo en el ualle reposando y algunos con proposito de no le seguir bien sintio el general que por uia de fuerça ya no era poderoso

aunque la autoridad de ser gouernador le daba otra nueba autoridad determino llebar lo por otra mejor uia que fue mandar prober a todos los capitanes de bastimentos y carne de lo que auia en algunos pueblos que como gouernador estaban en su cabeça y mostrose estar doliente haçiendo cama porque los que con el ubiesen de negoçiar pudiesen hablarle o el con ellos mas libremente sin enpacho ni obenpacion y no dexaba de embiar a llamar algunos particulares amigos para les rogar y encargar hablasen a los soldados y los animasen a salir de alli en su compañia la buelta de la nueba españa y les dixesen lleuaba muy a cargo de los faboreçeran si con el uisorey don Antonio de mendoça como en su gouernaçion a los que con el quisiesen quedar en ella y desque ubo negociado salio con su campo en tiempo reçio y principio de las aguas que era por san juan en el qual tiempo lluebe brabamẽte y los rios de aquel despoblado que se pasan hasta conpostela sõ muchos y muy peligrosos y caudalosos de grandes y brauos lagartos en un rio de los quales estando asentado el campo pasando un soldado de la una parte a la otra a bista de todos fue arrebatado de un lagarto y llebado sin poder ser socorrido el general camino dexando por todas partes gentes que no le querian seguir y llego a mexico con menos de çien hombres a dar quenta a el uisorey don Antonio de mendoça no fue del bien recebido aun que dio sus descargos y desde alli perdio reputaçion y gouerno poco tiempo la gouernaçion que se le auiã encargado de la nueba galiçia porque el uisorey la tomo en si hasta que uino a el la audiençia como a el presente lo ay y este fue el fin que ubieron aquellos descubrimientos y jornada que se hiço de la tierra nueba.

quedanos agora deçir por que uia se podria entrar y por mas derecho camino en ella aunque digo que no ay atajo sin trabajo y siempre es lo mejor lo que se sabe porque prebienen bien los hombres lo que saben que a de benir y necesidades en que ya otra uez se bieron y decir sea a que parte cae quiuira ques el rumbo que llebo el campo y a qual parte cae la india mayor que era lo que se pretendia buscar quando el campo salio para alla que agora por aber uillalobos descubierto esta costa de la mar del sur que es por esta uia de poniente se cognoçe y be claramente que se auia de bolber estando como estabamos debajo del norte a el poniente y no haçia oriente como fuimos y con esto dexaremos esta materia y daremos fin a este tratado como ay a hecho relaçion de algunas cosas notables que dexe de contar por las tratar particularmente en los dos capitulos siguientes.

Capitulo septimo de las cosas que le aconteçieron al capitan Juan gallego por la tierra alçada lleuando el socorro.

bien se sufrira pues en el capitulo pasado pase en silençio las haçañas quel capitan juan gallego hiço con ueinte compañeros que lleuabase diga en el presente capitulo para que en los tiempos benideros los que lo leyeren y de ello dieren notiçia tengan autor sierto con quien aprobar y que no escribe fabulas como algunas cosas que en nr̃os tiempos

leemos en los libros de cauallerias que si no fuese por lleuar aquellas fabulas de encãtamientos ay cosas el dia de oy acontesidas en estas partes por nr̃os españoles en conquistas y recuentros abidos con los naturales que sobrepujan en hechos de admiraçion no solo a los libros ya dichos sino a los que se escriben de los doçe pares de françia porque tanteado y mirado la fatales fuerças que los autores de aquellos tienpos les atribuyen y las lucidas y resplandesientes armas de que los adornan y las pequeñas estaturas de que agora son los hombres de nr̃os tiempos y las pocas y ruynes armas de en estas partes mas es de admirar las cosas estrañas que con tales armas los nr̃os acometen y hacen el dia de oy que las que escribẽ de los antiguos pues tambien peleaban ellos con gentes barbaras y desnudas como los nr̃os con indios donde no dexa de aber hombres que entre ellos sõ esforcados y ualientes y muy çerteros flecheros pues le abemos uisto derribar las aues que ban bolando y corriendo tras las liebres flecharlas todo esto he dicho a el fin que algunas cosas que tenemos por fabulosas pueden ser bẽrdaderas y pues cada dia bemos en nr̃os tiempos cosas mayores como an sido las de don fer^{do} cortes en los benideros tienpos que con tresientos hombres osa se entrar en el riñon de la nueba españa donde tan grande numero de gentes como es mexico y con quinientos españoles la acabase de ganar y señorear en dos años cosa de grande admiraçion.

los hechos de don pedro de aluarado en la conquista de guatimala y lo de montejo en tabasco las conquistas de terra firme y del peru cosas eran todas estas para que yo ubiera de callar y pasar en silençio lo que agora quiero contar pero por que estoy obligado a dar relacion de las cosas en esta jornada acontecidas e querido se sepan tambien las oue agora dire con las demas que tengo dicho.

y es ansi quel capitan juan gallego llego a la uilla de culiacan con bien poca gente y alli recogio la que pudo de la que se auia escapado de la uilla de los coraçones o por mejor decir de suya que por todos fueron ueinte y dos hombres y con estos camino por toda aquella tierra poblada en que andubo doçientas leguas y de tierra de guerra y gente alçada que auian estado ya en el amistad de los españoles teniendo cada dia o poco menos recuentros con los enemigos y siempre caminaua dexando atras el fardaje con las dos partes de las gentes lleuando continuamente la auangardia con seis o siete españoles sin otros amigos que los lleuaban entrando en los pueblos por fuerça matando y destruyendo y poniendo fuego dando en los enemigos tam de supito y con tanta presteça y denuedo que no les daban lugar a que se juntasen ni entendiesen de suerte que eran tan temidos que no auia pueblo que esperar los osase que ansi huyan de ellos como de un poderoso exercito tanto que les aconteçio yr diez dias todo por poblado que no tenian ora de descanso y todo lo haciã con siete compañeros que quando llegaua el fardaje con toda la demas gente no tenian en que entender saluo en robar que ya ellas auian muerto y preso la gente que auian podido auer a las manos y la demas auia huydo y como no paraban aunque los pueblos de ade-

lante tenian algun abiso eran con ellos tam presto que no les daban lugar a se recoger en espeçial en aquella parte donde auia sido la uilla de los coraçones que alli mato y ahorco buena cantidad de gente en castigo de su rebelion y en todo esto no perdio compañero sin se lo hirieron saluo uno que por despojar a un indio que casi estaba muerto le hirio en el parpalo del ojo quando le ronpio el pelejo y por ser con yerba obiera de morir sino fuera socorrido con el agua del membrillo y perdio el ojo fueron tales estos hijos digo hechos que aquella gente tendra en memoria todo quanto la uida les durare en espeçial quatro o cinco indios amigos que salieron con ellos de los coraçones que quedaron desto tam admirados que los tenian mas por cosa diuina que humana y si como nro campo los topo no los topara obieran de llegar a la tierra del indio que llamauan turco do yban encaminados y lo pasaran sin riesgo segũ la buena orden y gouierno lleuaba y bien dotrinada y exerçitada en la guerra de los quales algunos quedaron en esta uilla de culiacan donde yo a el presente escribo esta relaçion y notiçia a donde ansi ellos como yo y los demas que en esta prouincia paramos no nos a faltado trabajos apasiguando y sustentando esta tierra tomando rebeldes y biniendo en probeça y neçesidad y en esta ora mas por estar la tierra mas probe y alcançada que nunca lo fue.

Capitulo otauo en que se quentan algunas cosas admirables que se bieron en los llanos con la façion de los toros.

no sin misterio calle y dicimule en la segunda parte deste libro en el capitulo septimo que habla de los llanos las cosas de que hare mençion en este capitulo particular adonde se hallase todo junto pues eran cosas señaladas y no uistas en otras partes y atrebome a las escrebir porque escribo en tiempo que son oy biuos muchos hombres que lo bieron y haran berdadera mi escriptura quien podra crer que caminando por aquellos llanos mill cauallos y quinientas uacas de las nuestras y mas de çinco mill carneros y obejas y mas de mill y quinientas personas de los amigos y seruiçio que acabando de pasar no dexaban mas rastro que si nunca por alli ubieran pasado nadie tanto que era menester haçer montones de guesos y boñigas de uacas a trechos para que la retaguardia guiase tras del canpo y no se perdiesen la yerba aunque menuda en pisandola se enhiestaua tam limpia y derecha como de antes lo estaba.

otra cosa que se hallo a la orilla de una laguna de sal a la parte del sur un grande ayuntamiento de guesos de uacas que tenia de largo un tiro de ballesta o muy poquito menos y de esto casi dos estados en partes y en ancho tres braças y mas en parte donde no ay gente que lo pudiese haçer lo que de ello se entendio fue que con la reseca que debe de haçer el lago o laguna en tiempo de nortes los a juntado de el ganado que muere dentro en la laguna que de uiejo y flaco entrando no puede salir lo que se a de notar es que numero de ganado seria menester para tanta osamenta.

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

mi zar que mi gu nca nallo vbo
alos pu nei pios que los briesc de
ca za que no hu xese desu bos
ta porque ellos hè nen chus
ho an chu yer to. deu pa sso
dos pas mos desente los espa
los pores la do que yendo
hu xendo ben a quien los si
que hè nen bar bas como abu
nes muy grandes quando hu
xen de dan ca ca be ca ba xa
la bar ba a rras hando por el
suelo del medio cuerpo para
a has son se ni dos el pelo muy
meu no como deo ne jas muy
si nas y delo suba para adelan
te el pelo muy largo de sai con
de leon ras pante y una pa
ueba may r que de ca me
llo los cuer nos de tos y gar dos

que

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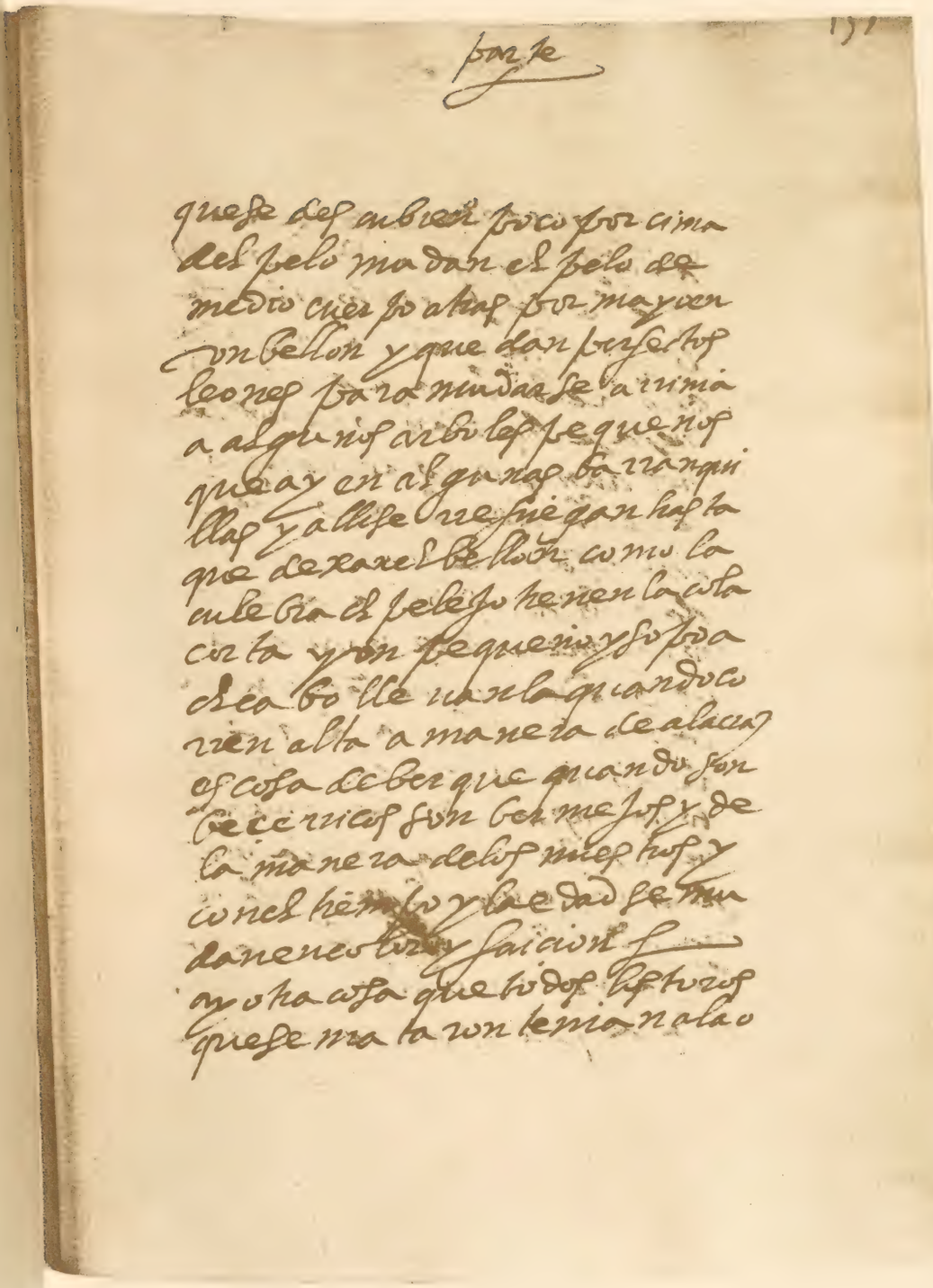

F PAGES OF CASTAÑEDA'S RELACION
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pues querer contar la façion de los toros tambien es de admirar que ningun cauallo ubo a los principios que los biese de cara que no huyese de su bista porque ellos tienen el rrostro ancho y corto de ojo a ojo dos palmos de frente los ojos salidos por el lado que yendo huyendo ben a quien los sigue tienen barbas como cabrones muy grandes quando huyen lleuan la cabeca baxa la barba arrastrando por el suelo del medio cuerpo para atras son señidos el pelo muy merino como de ouejas muy finas y de la sinta para adelante el pelo muy largo de faicion de leon raspante y una grã corcoba mayor que de camello los cuernos cortos y gordos que se descubren poco por cima del pelo mudan el pelo de medio cuerpo atras por mayo en un bellon y quedan perfectos leones para mudarse arrimã a algunos arboles pequeños que ay en algunas barranquillas y alli se rrefriegan hasta que dexan el bellon como la culebra el pelejo tienen la cola corta y un pequeño y sopo a el cabo lleuan la quando corren alta a manera de alacrã es cosa de ber que quando son beçerricos son bermejos y de la manera de los nuestros y con el tiempo y la edad se mudan en color y faiçion.

ay otra cosa que todos los toros que se mataron tenian a la oreja isquierda hendida teniendolas sanas quando chiquitos este fue un secreto que no se pudo alcançar la causa de ello de la lana segun la finesa se harian buenos paños aunque no de colores por ser ella de color de buriel.

otra cosa es de notar que andan los toros sin bacas en tanto numero que no ay quien los pueda numerar y tam apartados de las uacas que desde donde començamos a ber toros jasta adonde començamos a ber uacas auia mas de quarenta leguas y la tierra adonde andaban era tan llana y esconbrada que por do quiera que los mirasen se bia el cielo por entre las piernas de suerte que si estaban algo lejos pareçian escombrados pinos que juntaban las copas por lo alto y si un solo toro estaba pareçia quatro pinos y por serca que estubiese no se podia mirando por encima ber tierra de la otra parte causaba todo esto ser la tierra tam redonda que do quiera que un hombre se ponia pareçia que estaba en la cumbre y uia el çielo a el rededor de si a tiro de ballesta y por poca cosa que se le ponia delante le quitaba la uista de la tierra.

otras cosas se bieron que por no ser de tanta calidad no las escribo ni hago de ellas minçion aunque no parece es de callar el tener como tienen en beneraçion en algunas partes de los poblados de altos la señal de la cruz por que en acuco en una fuente que estaba en lo llano tenian una cruz de dos palmos de alto de gordor de un dedo hecha de palo con su peña de una uara de quadro y muchos palitos adornados de plumas a el rededor y muchas flores secas desmenuçadas.

en tutahaco en un sepulcro fuera del pueblo parecia aber se enterrado en el frescamente alguien estaua otra cruz a la cabeçera de dos palitos atados con hilo de algodon y flores desmenusadas secas yo digo que a mi pareçer por alguna uia tienen alguna lunbre de cruz de christo nuestro redentor y podria ser por la uia de la india de do ellos proçeden.

Capitulo nono que trata el rumbo que llebo el campo y como se podria yr a buscar otra uia que mas derecha fuese abiendo de boluer aquella tierra.

mucho quisiera yo agora que para dar a entender lo que quiero deçir ubiera en mi alguna parte de cosmografia o jumetria para que pudiera tantear o compasar la bentaja que puede aber y ay si otra uez saliesen de la nueba españa gentes en demanda de aquella tierra en yr alla por el riñon de la tierra o seguir el camino quel campo llebo pero ayudandome la graçia del señor dire lo que alcanso dandolo a entender lo mejor que a mi sea posible.

ya me pareçe que se tiene entendido quel portugues campo fue el soldado que se escapo quando los de quiuira mataron a fray juan de padilla el quel uino a salir a la nueba españa por panuco abiendo andado por la tierra de los llanos hasta que uino atrabesar la cordillera de la mar del norte dexando siempre la tierra que descubrio don hernando de soto sobre mano isquierda porque este hombre nunca bio el rio del espiritu santo y quando bino acabar de atrabesar la cordillera de la mar del norte cayo sobre panuco de manera que si no se pusiera a demandar por la mar del norte ubiera de salir por la comarca de la marca o tierra de los sacatecas de que ya agora se tiene lumbre.

y para aber de boluer en demanda de quiuira seria aquella uia harto mejor y mas derecha pues ay guias en la nueba españa de las que binieron con el portugues aunque digo que seria mejor y mas derecho por la tierra de los guachichules arrimandose siempre a la cordillera de la mar del sur porque es mas poblada y abria bastimento porque engolfarse en la tierra llana seria perderse por la gran anchura que tiene y ser esteril de comidas aunque sea berdad que dando en las uacas no se pasaria mucha necesidad y esto es solamente para yr en demanda de quiuira y de aquellos pueblos que decia el indio que llemauan turco porque yr por donde fue el campo de franco uasques coronado el grandissimo rodeo porque salen de mexico a el poniente siento y diez leguas y despues a el nordeste cien leguas y a el norte docientas y sinquenta y todo esto es hasta los barrancos de las uacas y con aber andado ochoçientas y sinquenta leguas por rumbo derecho no se an desbiado de mexico quatro sientas leguas si es querer yr a la tierra de tiguex para desde alli bolber a el poniente en demanda de la tierra de la india a se de lleuar el camino quel campo llebo porque aunque se quiera tomar otro camino no lo ay que no da lugar el ancon de mar que entra por esta costa adentro hacia el norte sino es que se ubiese de hacer armada de mar que fuese atrabesando este ancon de mar a desembarcar en el paraje de la isla de negros y por alli entrar la tierra adentro atrabesando la cordillera en busca de la tierra do proçeden los de tiguex o de otras gentes que tengan aquella poliçia porque aber de entrar por tierra de la florida por la mar del norte ya se a uisto y conosido que quantas jornadas por alli se an hecho an sido infeliçes y no bien afortunadas allende de ques la tierra de aquella parte llena de cienegas y ahogadiça esteril y la mas mala que calienta el sol sino ban

a desembarcar pasado el rio del espiritu santo como hiço don hernando de soto y con todo me afirmo que aunque se pase mucho trabajo es lo mejor por la tierra que aya andado y se sepan los aguajes porque se lleuauan las cosas necesarias con mas façilidad y mas abundosamente y en las tierras nueuas los cauallos es lo mas neçesario y lo que mas haçe temer a los enemigos y los que son señores del campo tambien es temida el artilleria donde no saben el uso de ella y para poblados como los que franco uasques descubrio fuera buena alguna pieça de artilleria gruesa para derribar porque el no llebo sino uersillos menores y no hombre ingenioso para que hiciese un trabuco ni otra maquina que los atemorisas el qual es muy necesario.

digo pues que con la lunbre que el dia de oy se tiene de los rumbos que an corrido los nauios por esta costa de la mar del sur an andado descubriẽdo por esta parte de poniẽte y lo que se sabe de la mar del norte haçia la nuruega ques la costa de la florida arriba los que agora entrasen a descubrir por donde franco uasques entro y se hallasen en tierra de çibola o de tiguex bien sabrian a que parte auiã de yr en demanda de la tierra quel marques del ualle don hernando cortes buscaba y la buelta que da el ancon del tiçon para tomar el rumbo berdadero y esto bastara para dar fin a nuestra relaçion en todo lo demas probe a aquel poderoso señor de todas las cosas dios omnipotente quel sabe el como y quando estas tierras seran descubiertas y para quien esta guardada esta buena uentura.

laus deo.

Acabose de tresladar sabado a ueinte y seis de otubre de mill y quinientos y nouẽta y seis anos en seuilla.

TRANSLATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF CASTAÑEDA

Account of the Expedition to Cibola which took place in the year 1540, in which all those settlements, their ceremonies and customs, are described. Written by Pedro de Castañeda, of Najera.[1]

PREFACE

To me it seems very certain, my very noble lord, that it is a worthy ambition for great men to desire to know and wish to preserve for posterity correct information concerning the things that have happened in distant parts, about which little is known. I do not blame those inquisitive persons who, perchance with good intentions, have many times troubled me not a little with their requests that I clear up for them some doubts which they have had about different things that have been commonly related concerning the events and occurrences that took place during the expedition to Cibola, or the New Land, which the good viceroy—may he be with God in His glory[2]—Don Antonio de Mendoza, ordered and arranged, and on which he sent Francisco Vazquez de Coronado as captain-general. In truth, they have reason for wishing to know the truth, because most people very often make things of which they have heard, and about which they have perchance no knowledge, appear either greater or less than they are. They make nothing of those things that amount to something, and those that do not they make so remarkable that they appear to be something impossible to believe. This may very well have been caused by the fact that, as that country was not permanently occupied, there has not been anyone who was willing to spend his time in writing about its peculiarities, because all knowledge was lost of that which it was not the pleasure of God—He alone knows the reason—that they should enjoy. In truth, he who wishes to employ himself thus in writing out the things that happened on the expedition, and the things that were seen in those lands, and the ceremonies and customs of the natives, will have matter enough to test his judgment, and I believe that the result can not fail to be an account which, describing only the truth, will be so remarkable that it will seem incredible.

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[1] There were several representatives of the family of Castañeda among the Spaniards in America as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, but the only possible mention of this Pedro, of the Biscayan town of Najera, which I have seen outside of the present document, is the following item from a Relacion de los pesos de oro que están señalados por indios vacos á los conquistadores de Nueva España y á sus hijos, cuyos nombres se expresan (año 1554), in Pacheco y Cardenas, Doc. de Indias, xiv, 206: "A los nueve hijos de Pero Franco, conquistador, é su mujer, que son: María de Acosta, madre de todos, Pero Francisco de Castañeda, Juana de Castañeda, Inés de Castañeda, Francisco de Castañeda, Lorenzo Franco, Marta de Castañeda, Anton de Vargas y Juana de Castañeda, les están señalados de entretenimiento en cada un año duzientos y setenta pesos. CCLXX."

[2] Mendoza died in Lima, July 21, 1552.

And besides, I think that the twenty years and more since that expedition took place have been the cause of some stories which are related. For example, some make it an uninhabitable country, others have it bordering on Florida, and still others on Greater India, which does not appear to be a slight difference. They are unable to give any basis upon which to found their statements. There are those who tell about some very peculiar animals, who are contradicted by others who were on the expedition, declaring that there was nothing of the sort seen. Others differ as to the limits of the provinces and even in regard to the ceremonies and customs, attributing what pertains to one people to others. All this has had a large part, my very noble lord, in making me wish to give now, although somewhat late, a short general account for all those who pride themselves on this noble curiosity, and to save myself the time taken up by these solicitations. Things enough will certainly be found here which are hard to believe. All or the most of these were seen with my own eyes, and the rest is from reliable information obtained by inquiry of the natives themselves. Understanding as I do that this little work would be nothing in itself, lacking authority, unless it were favored and protected by a person whose authority would protect it from the boldness of those who, without reverence, give their murmuring tongues liberty, and knowing as I do how great are the obligations under which I have always been, and am, to your grace, I humbly beg to submit this little work to your protection. May it be received as from a faithful retainer and servant. It will be divided into three parts, that it may be better understood. The first will tell of the discovery and the armament or army that was made ready, and of the whole journey, with the captains who were there; the second, of the villages and provinces which were found, and their limits, and ceremonies and customs, the animals, fruits, and vegetation, and in what parts of the country these are; the third, of the return of the army and the reasons for abandoning the country, although these were insufficient, because this is the best place there is for discoveries—the marrow of the land in these western parts, as will be seen. And after this has been made plain, some remarkable things which were seen will be described at the end, and the way by which one might more easily return to discover that better land which we did not see, since it would be no small advantage to enter the country through the land which the Marquis of the Valley, Don Fernando Cortes, went in search of under the Western star, and which cost him no small sea armament. May it please our Lord to so favor me that with my slight knowledge and small abilities I may be able by relating the truth to make my little work pleasing to the learned and wise readers, when it has been accepted by your grace. For my intention is not to gain the fame of a good composer or rhetorician, but I desire to give a faithful account and to do this slight service to your grace, who will, I hope, receive it as from a faithful servant and soldier, who took part in

it. Although not in a polished style, I write that which happened—that which I heard, experienced, saw, and did.

I always notice, and it is a fact, that for the most part when we have something valuable in our hands, and deal with it without hindrance, we do not value or prize it as highly as if we understood how much we would miss it after we had lost it, and the longer we continue to have it the less we value it; but after we have lost it and miss the advantages of it, we have a great pain in the heart, and we are all the time imagining and trying to find ways and means by which to get it back again. It seems to me that this has happened to all or most of those who went on the expedition which, in the year of our Savior Jesus Christ 1540, Francisco Vazquez Coronado led in search of the Seven Cities. Granted that they did not find the riches of which they had been told, they found a place in which to search for them and the beginning of a good country to settle in, so as to go on farther from there. Since they came back from the country which they conquered and abandoned, time has given them a chance to understand the direction and locality in which they were, and the borders of the good country they had in their hands, and their hearts weep for having lost so favorable an opportunity. Just as men see more at the bullfight when they are upon the seats than when they are around in the ring,[1] now when they know and understand the direction and situation in which they were, and see, indeed, that they can not enjoy it nor recover it, now when it is too late they enjoy telling about what they saw, and even of what they realize that they lost, especially those who are now as poor as when they went there. They have never ceased their labors and have spent their time to no advantage. I say this because I have known several of those who came back from there who amuse themselves now by talking of how it would be to go back and proceed to recover that which is lost, while others enjoy trying to find the reason why it was discovered at all. And now I will proceed to relate all that happened from the beginning.

FIRST PART.

Chapter 1, which treats of the way we first came to know about the Seven Cities, and of how Nuño de Guzman made an expedition to discover them.

In the year 1530 Nuño de Guzman, who was President of New Spain,[2] had in his possession an Indian, a native of the valley or valleys of Oxitipar, who was called Tejo by the Spaniards. This Indian said he was the son of a trader who was dead, but that when he was a little boy his father had gone into the back country with fine feathers to trade for ornaments, and that when he came back he brought a large amount of gold and silver, of which there is a good deal in that country. He

[1] Ternaux renders this: "C'est ainsi que l'homme qui se place derrière la barrière qui, dans les courses des taureaux, sépare le spectateur des combattants, voit bien mieux la position dans laquelle il se trouvait lorsqu'il combattait, qu'alors même qu'il était dans la carrière."

[2] President, or head, of the Audiencia, the administrative and judicial board which governed the province.

went with him once or twice, and saw some very large villages, which he compared to Mexico and its environs. He had seen seven very large towns which had streets of silver workers. It took forty days to go there from his country, through a wilderness in which nothing grew, except some very small plants about a span high. The way they went was up through the country between the two seas, following the northern direction. Acting on this information, Nuño de Guzman got together nearly 400 Spaniards and 20,000 friendly Indians of New Spain, and, as he happened to be in Mexico, he crossed Tarasca, which is in the province of Michoacan, so as to get into the region which the Indian said was to be crossed toward the North sea, in this way getting to the country which they were looking for, which was already named "The Seven Cities."[1] He thought, from the forty days of which the Tejo had spoken, that it would be found to be about 200 leagues, and that they would easily be able to cross the country. Omitting several things that occurred on this journey, as soon as they had reached the province of Culiacan, where his government ended, and where the New Kingdom of Galicia is now, they tried to cross the country, but found the difficulties very great, because the mountain chains which are near that sea are so rough that it was impossible, after great labor, to find a passageway in that region. His whole army had to stay in the district of Culiacan for so long on this account that some rich men who were with him, who had possessions in Mexico, changed their minds, and every day became more anxious to return. Besides this, Nuño de Guzman received word that the Marquis of the Valley, Don Fernando Cortes, had come from Spain with his new title,[2] and with great favors and estates, and as Nuño de Guzman had been a great rival of his at the time he was president,[3] and had done much damage to his property and to that of his friends, he feared that Don Fernando Cortes would want to pay him back in the same way, or worse. So he decided to establish the town of Culiacan there and to go back with the other men, without doing anything more. After his return from this expedition, he settled at Xalisco, where the city of Compostela is situated, and at Tonala, which is called Guadalaxara,[4] and now this is the New Kingdom of Galicia. The guide they had, who was called Tejo, died about this time, and thus the name of these Seven Cities and the search for them remains until now, since they have not been discovered.[5]

[1] The Segunda Relacion Anónima de la Jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman, 1529, in Icazbelceta's Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, vol. ii, p. 303, also implies that the name of the "Seven Cities" had already been given to the country which he was trying to discover.

[2] Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca y Capitan General de la Nueva España y de la Costa del Sur.

[3] Guzman had presided over the trial of Cortes, who was in Spain at the time, for the murder of his first wife seven years previously (October, 1522). See Zaragoza's edition of Suarez de Peralta's Tratado, p. 315.

[4] The name was changed in 1540.

[5] The best discussion of the stories of the Seven Caves and the Seven Cities is in Bandelier's Contributions, p. 9, ff.

Chapter 2, of how Francisco Vazquez Coronado came to be governor, and the second account which Cabeza de Vaca gave.

Eight years after Nuño de Guzman made this expedition, he was put in prison by a juez de residencia,[1] named the licentiate Diego de la Torre, who came from Spain with sufficient powers to do this.[2] After the death of the judge, who had also managed the government of that country himself, the good Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, appointed as governor of that province Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, a gentleman from Salamanca, who had married a lady in the city of Mexico, the daughter of Alonso de Estrada, the treasurer and at one time governor of Mexico, and the son, most people said, of His Catholic Majesty Don Ferdinand, and many stated it as certain. As I was saying, at the time Francisco Vazquez was appointed governor, he was traveling through New Spain as an official visitor, and in this way he gained the friendship of many worthy men who afterward went on his expedition with him. It happened that just at this time three Spaniards, named Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, and a negro, who had been lost on the expedition which Pamfilo de Narvaez led into Florida, reached Mexico.[3] They came out through Culiacan, having crossed the country from sea to sea, as anyone who wishes may find out for himself by an account which this same Cabeza de Vaca wrote and dedicated to Prince Don Philip, who is now King of Spain and our sovereign.[4] They gave the good Don Antonio de Mendoza an account of some large and powerful villages, four and five stories high, of which they had heard a great deal in the countries they had crossed, and other things very different from what turned out to be the truth. The noble viceroy communicated this to the new governor, who gave up the visits he had in hand, on account of this, and hurried his departure for his government, taking with him the negro who had come [with Cabeza de Vaca] with the three friars of the order of Saint Francis, one of whom was named Friar Marcos of Nice, a regular priest, and another Friar Daniel, a lay brother, and the other Friar Antonio de Santa Maria. When he reached the province of Culiacan he sent the friars just mentioned and the negro, who was named Stephen, off in search of that country, because Friar Marcos offered to go and see it, because he had been in Peru at the time Don Pedro de Alvarado went there overland. It seems that, after the friars I have mentioned and the negro had started, the negro did not get on well with the friars, because he took the women that were given him and collected turquoises, and got together a stock of everything. Besides, the Indians in those places through which they went got along with the negro better, because they had seen him before. This was the reason he was sent

[1] A judge appointed to investigate the accounts and administration of a royal official.

[2] A full account of the licentiate de la Torre and his administration is given by Mota Padilla (ed. Icazbalceta, pp. 103–106). He was appointed juez March 17, 1536, and died during 1538.

[3] They appeared in New Spain in April, 1536, before Coronado's appointment. Castañeda may be right in the rest of his statement.

[4] This account has been translated by Buckingham Smith. See Bibliography for the full title.

on ahead to open up the way and pacify the Indians, so that when the others came along they had nothing to do except to keep an account of the things for which they were looking.

Chapter 3, of how they killed the negro Stephen at Cibola, and Friar Marcos returned in flight.

After Stephen had left the friars, he thought he could get all the reputation and honor himself, and that if he should discover those settlements with such famous high houses, alone, he would be considered bold and courageous. So he proceeded with the people who had followed him, and succeeded in crossing the wilderness which lies between the country he had passed through and Cibola. He was so far ahead of the friars that, when these reached Chichilticalli, which is on the edge of the wilderness, he was already at Cibola, which is 80 leagues beyond. It is 220 leagues from Culiacan to the edge of the wilderness, and 80 across the desert, which makes 300, or perhaps 10 more or less. As I said, Stephen reached Cibola loaded with the large quantity of turquoises they had given him and several pretty women who had been given him. The Indians who accompanied him carried his things. These had followed him from all the settlements he had passed, believing that under his protection they could traverse the whole world without any danger. But as the people in this country were more intelligent than those who followed Stephen, they lodged him in a little hut they had outside their village, and the older men and the governors heard his story and took steps to find out the reason he had come to that country. For three days they made inquiries about him and held a council. The account which the negro gave them of two white men who were following him, sent by a great lord, who knew about the things in the sky, and how these were coming to instruct them in divine matters, made them think that he must be a spy or a guide from some nations who wished to come and conquer them, because it seemed to them unreasonable to say that the people were white in the country from which he came and that he was sent by them, he being black. Besides these other reasons, they thought it was hard of him to ask them for turquoises and women, and so they decided to kill him. They did this, but they did not kill any of those who went with him, although they kept some young fellows and let the others, about 60 persons, return freely to their own country. As these, who were badly scared, were returning in flight, they happened to come upon the friars in the desert 60 leagues from Cibola, and told them the sad news, which frightened them so much that they would not even trust these folks who had been with the negro, but opened the packs they were carrying and gave away everything they had except the holy vestments for saying mass. They returned from here by double marches, prepared for anything, without seeing any more of the country except what the Indians told them.

Chapter 4, of how the noble Don Antonio de Mendoza made an expedition to discover Cibola.

After Francisco Vazquez Coronado had sent Friar Marcos of Nice and his party on the search already related, he was engaged in Culiacan about some business that related to his government, when he heard an account of a province called Topira,[1] which was to the north of the country of Culiacan. He started to explore this region with several of the conquerors and some friendly Indians, but he did not get very far, because the mountain chains which they had to cross were very difficult. He returned without finding the least signs of a good country, and when he got back, he found the friars who had just arrived, and who told such great things about what the negro Stephen had discovered and what they had heard from the Indians, and other things they had heard about the South sea and islands and other riches, that, without stopping for anything, the governor set off at once for the City of Mexico, taking Friar Marcos with him, to tell the viceroy about it. He made the things seem more important by not talking about them to anyone except his particular friends, under promise of the greatest secrecy, until after he had reached Mexico and seen Don Antonio de Mendoza. Then he began to announce that they had really found the Seven Cities, which Nuño de Guzman had tried to find, and for the conquest of which he had collected a force. The noble viceroy arranged with the friars of the order of Saint Francis so that Friar Marcos was made father provincial, as a result of which the pulpits of that order were filled with such accounts of marvels and wonders that more than 300 Spaniards and about 800 natives of New Spain collected in a few days.[2] There were so many men of such high quality among the Spaniards, that such a noble body was never collected in the Indies, nor so many men of quality in such a small body, there being 300 men. Francisco Vazquez Coronado, governor of New Galicia, was captain-general, because he had been the author of it all. The good viceroy Don Antonio did this because at this time Francisco Vazquez was his closest and most intimate friend, and because he considered him to be wise, skillful, and intelligent, besides being a gentleman. Had he paid more attention and regard to the position in which he was placed and the charge over which he was placed, and less to the estates he left behind in New Spain, or, at least, more to the honor he had and might secure from having such gentlemen under his command, things would not have turned out as they did. When this narrative is ended, it will be seen that he did not know how to keep his position nor the government that he held.

[1] Bandelier (Contributions, p. 104) says this was Topia, in Durango, a locality since noted for its rich mines.

[2] Mota Padilla, xxii, 2, p. 111: "Determinó el virey lograr la ocasion de la mucha gente noble que habia en México, que como corcho sobre el agua reposado, se andaba sin tener qué hacer ni en qué ocuparse, todos atenidos á que el virey les hiciese algunas mercedes, y á que los vecinos de México les sustentasen á sus mesas; y asi, le fué fácil aprestar mas de trescientos hombres, los mas de á caballo, porque ya se criaban muchos; dióles á treinta pesos y prometioles repartimientos en la tierra que se poblase, y mas cuando se afirmaba haber un cerro de plata y otras minas."

Chapter 5, concerning the captains who went to Cibola.

When the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, saw what a noble company had come together, and the spirit and good will with which they had all presented themselves, knowing the worth of these men, he would have liked very well to make every one of them captain of an army; but as the whole number was small he could not do as he would have liked, and so he appointed the captains and officers, because it seemed to him that if they were appointed by him, as he was so well obeyed and beloved, nobody would find fault with his arrangements. After everybody had heard who the general was, he made Don Pedro de Tovar ensign general, a young gentleman who was the son of Don Fernando de Tovar, the guardian and lord high steward of the Queen Doña Juana, our demented mistress—may she be in glory—and Lope de Samaniego, the governor of the arsenal at Mexico,[1] a gentleman fully equal to the charge, army-master. The captains were Don Tristan de Arellano; Don Pedro de Guevara, the son of Don Juan de Guevara and nephew of the Count of Oñate; Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas; Don Rodrigo Maldonado, brother-in-law of the Duke of the Infantado; Diego Lopez, alderman of Seville, and Diego Gutierres, for the cavalry. All the other gentlemen were placed under the flag of the general, as being distinguished persons, and some of them became captains later, and their appointments were confirmed by order of the viceroy and by the general, Francisco Vazquez. To name some of them whom I happen to remember, there were Francisco de Barrionuevo, a gentleman from Granada; Juan de Saldivar, Francisco de Ovando, Juan Gallego, and Melchior Diaz—a captain who had been mayor of Culiacan, who, although he was not a gentleman, merited the position he held. The other gentlemen, who were worthy substitutes, were Don Alonso Manrique de Lara; Don Lope de Urrea, a gentleman from Aragon; Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, Luis Ramirez de Vargas, Juan de Sotomayor, Francisco Gorbalan, the commissioner Riberos, and other gentlemen, men of high quality, whom I do not now recall.[2] The infantry captain was Pablo de Melgosa of Burgos, and of the artillery, Hernando de Alvarado of the mountain district. As I say, since then I have forgotten the names of many good fellows. It would be well if I could name some of them, so that it might be clearly seen what cause I had for saying that they had on this expedition the most brilliant company ever collected in the Indies to go in search of new lands. But they were unfortunate in having a captain who left in New Spain estates and a pretty wife, a noble and excellent lady, which were not the least causes for what was to happen.

[1] See Mendoza's letter to the King, regarding Samaniego's position.

[2] Mota Padilla, xxii, iii, p. 112, mentions among those who had commands on the expedition D. Diego de Guevara and Diego Lopez de Cardenas. The second error may be due to the presence of another Diego Lopez in the party.

Chapter 6, of how all the companies collected in Compostela and set off on the journey in good order.

When the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had fixed and arranged everything as we have related, and the companies and captaincies had been arranged, he advanced a part of their salaries from the chest of His Majesty to those in the army who were in greatest need. And as it seemed to him that it would be rather hard for the friendly Indians in the country if the army should start from Mexico, he ordered them to assemble at the city of Compostela, the chief city in the New Kingdom of Galicia, 110 leagues from Mexico, so that they could begin their journey there with everything in good order. There is nothing to tell about what happened on this trip, since they all finally assembled at Compostela by shrove-tide, in the year (fifteen hundred and) forty-one.[1] After the whole force had left Mexico, he ordered Don Pedro de Alarcon to set sail with two ships that were in the port of La Natividad on the South sea coast, and go to the port of Xalisco to take the baggage which the soldiers were unable to carry,[2] and thence to sail along the coast near the army, because he had understood from the reports that they would have to go through the country near the seacoast, and that we could find the harbors by means of the rivers, and that the ships could always get news of the army, which turned out afterward to be false, and so all this stuff was lost, or, rather, those who owned it lost it, as will be told farther on. After the viceroy had completed all his arrangements, he set off for Compostela, accompanied by many noble and rich men. He kept the New Year of (fifteen hundred and) forty-one at Pasquaro, which is the chief place in the bishopric of Michoacan, and from there he crossed the whole of New Spain, taking much pleasure in enjoying the festivals and great receptions which were given him, till he reached Compostela, which is, as I have said, 110 leagues. There he found the whole company assembled, being well treated and entertained by Christobal de Oñate, who had the whole charge of that government for the time being. He had had the management of it and was in command of all that region when Francisco Vazquez was made governor.[3] All were very glad when he arrived, and he made an examination of the company and found all those whom we have mentioned. He assigned the captains to their companies, and after this was done, on the next day, after they had all heard mass, captains and soldiers together, the viceroy made them a very eloquent short speech, telling them of the fidelity they owed to their general and showing them clearly the benefits which this expedition might afford, from the conversion of those peoples as well as in the profit of those who should conquer the territory, and the advan-

[1] The correct date is 1540. Castañeda carries the error throughout the narrative.

[2] See the instructions given by Mendoza to Alarcon, in Buckingham Smith's Florida, p. 1. The last of them reads: "Llevareys ciertas cossas que doña Beatriz de Strada embia para el Capitan General su marido, y mandareys que en ello y en lo que mas llevaredes para algunos de los soldados que con él estan que os ayan recomendado amigos ó parientes suyos haya buen recaudo."

[3] See the writings of Tello and Mota Padilla concerning Oñate. Much of the early prosperity of New Galicia—what there was of it—seems to have been due to Oñate's skillful management.

tage to His Majesty and the claim which they would thus have on his favor and aid at all times. After he had finished, they all, both captains and soldiers, gave him their oaths upon the Gospels in a Missal that they would follow their general on this expedition and would obey him in everything he commanded them, which they faithfully performed, as will be seen. The next day after this was done, the army started off with its colors flying. The viceroy, Don Antonio, went with them for two days, and there he took leave of them, returning to New Spain with his friends.[1]

Chapter 7, of how the army reached Chiametla, and the killing of the army-master, and the other things that happened up to the arrival at Culiacan.

After the viceroy Don Antonio left them, the army continued its march. As each one was obliged to transport his own baggage and

[1] The following sections from the Fragmento de la Visita hecha á don Antonio de Mendoza, printed in Icazbalceta's Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, ii, 72, add something to the details of the departure of the expedition:

"199. Item, si saben &c. que la gente que salió de la villa de S. Miguel de Culuacan, que es el postrer lugar de Galicia de la Nueva España, para ir en descubrimiento de la tierra nueva de Cíbola con el capitan general Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, fueron hasta doscientos y cincuenta españoles de á caballo, los cuales así para sus personas, como para su carruaje, armas, y bastimentos, y municiones, y otras cosas necesarias para el dicho viaje, llevaron mas de mill caballos y acémilas, y así lo dirán los testigos, porque lo vieron y hallaron presentes, y fueron al dicho viaje: digan lo que saben &c.

"200. Item, . . . que asimismo con la dicha gente española salieron de la dicha villa de S. Miguel de Culuacan hasta trescientos indios, poco mas ó menos, los cuales fueron de su voluntad á servir en la dicha jornada, y el dicho visorey les mandó socorrer, y se les socorrió con dineros y provisiones, y á los que eran casados y dejaban acá sus mujeres les proveyó de lo necesario para su sustentamiento, y esto es público y notorio, . . .

"201. Item, . . . que el dicho visorey proveyó para la gente que fué al dicho descubrimiento, demas de los socorros que les hizo en dineros, y caballos, y armas y otras cosas, les dió mucha cantidad de ganados vacunos y ovejunos, sin otra mucha cantidad de ganados que llevaban los capitanes y soldados, que bastaron para proveerse todo el tiempo que estuvieron al dicho descubrimiento; y asimismo el dicho visorey les dió mucha cantidad de rescates que llevaba á cargo el fator de S. M., para que con ellos comprasen maiz y las otras cosas de bastimentos de la tierra por do pasasen, porque no se hiciese molestia á los indios: . . .

"202. Item, . . . que el dicho visorey mandó y encargó al dicho capitan general tuviese especial cuidado que los indios que desta tierra iban á servir en el dicho descubrimiento, fuesen bien tratados y proveidos de lo que hubiesen menester, y los que se quisiesen volver no fuesen detenidos, antes los enviase ricos y contentos, y el dicho general así lo hizo y cumplió, . . .

"203. Item, si saben que por razon de los dichos caballos y carruaje que llevaron los capitanes y españoles, los indios fueron reservados de llevar cargas de los capitanes y españoles, y si algunos llevaron, seria de su comida, y ropa y bastimentos, como otros españoles lo hacian, que cargaban sus caballos y sus personas de bastimentos, . . .

"204. Item, . . . que de todos los dichos indios que fueron á servir en la dicha jornada, murieron tan solamente hasta veinte ó treinta personas, y si mas murieran, los testigos lo vieran y supieran: . . .

"205. Item, . . . que todos los tamemes que los indios dieron, . . . se les pagó muy á su contento á los indios, por mandado del dicho visorey:" . . .

The evidence of the Informacion, which was taken at Compostela just after the army departed, is so suggestive that I have translated the most valuable portions in full at the end of this memoir.

Mota Padilla, xxii, 3, p. 112: . . . "habiendo llegado la comitiva á Compostela hizo el gobernador reseña de la gente y halló doscientos y sesenta hombres de á caballo con lanzas, espadas y otras armas manuales, y algunos con cotas, celadas y barbotes, unas de hierro y otras de cuero de vaca crudio, y los caballos con faldones de manta de la tierra; sesenta infantes, ballesteros y arcabuceros, y otros con espadas y rodelas: dividió la gente en ocho compañias. . . . Repartida, pues, la gente de esta suerte, con mas de mil caballos sin acémilas, y otros de carga con seis pedreros, pólvora y municion, y mas de mil indios amigos é indias de servicio, vaqueros y pastores de ganado mayor y menor."

all did not know how to fasten the packs, and as the horses started off fat and plump, they had a good deal of difficulty and labor during the first few days, and many left many valuable things, giving them to anyone who wanted them, in order to get rid of carrying them. In the end necessity, which is all powerful, made them skillful, so that one could see many gentlemen become carriers, and anybody who despised this work was not considered a man. With such labors, which they then thought severe, the army reached Chiametla, where it was obliged to delay several days to procure food. During this time the army-master, Lope de Samaniego, went off with some soldiers to find food, and at one village, a crossbowman having entered it indiscreetly in pursuit of the enemies, they shot him through the eye and it passed through his brain, so that he died on the spot.[1] They also shot five or six of his companions before Diego Lopez, the alderman from Seville, since the commander was dead, collected the men and sent word to the general. He put a guard in the village and over the provisions. There was great confusion in the army when this news became known. He was buried here. Several sorties were made, by which food was obtained and several of the natives taken prisoners. They hanged those who seemed to belong to the district where the army-master was killed.

It seems that when the general Francisco Vazquez left Culiacan with Friar Marcos to tell the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza the news, as already related, he left orders for Captain Melchior Diaz and Juan de Saldivar to start off with a dozen good men from Culiacan and verify what Friar Marcos had seen and heard. They started and went as far as Chichilticalli, which is where the wilderness begins, 220 leagues from Culiacan, and there they turned back, not finding anything important. They reached Chiametla just as the army was ready to leave, and reported to the general. Although the bad news was kept as secret as possible, some things leaked out which did not seem to add luster to the facts.[2] Friar Marcos, noticing that some were feeling disturbed, cleared away these clouds, promising that what they would see should be good, and that the army was on the way to a country where their hands would be filled, and in this way he quieted them so that they appeared well satisfied. From there the army marched to Culiacan, making some detours into the country to seize provisions. They were two leagues from the town of Culiacan at Easter vespers, when the

[1] The account which Mota Padilla gives, cap. xxii, sec. 4, p. 112, is much clearer and more specific than the somewhat confused text of Castañeda. He says: "Á Chametla . . . hallaron la tierra alzada, de suerte que fué preciso entrar á la sierra en busca de maiz, y por cabo el maese de campo, Lopez de Samaniego; internáronse en la espesura de un monte, en donde un soldado que inadvertidamente se apartó, fué aprehendido por los indios, dió voces, á las que, como vigilante, acudió el maese de campo, y libró del peligro al soldado, y pareciéndole estar seguro, alzó la vista á tiempo que de entre unos matorrales se le disparó una flecha, que entrándole por un ojo, le atravesó el cerebro. . . . Samaniego (era) uno de los mas esforzados capitanes y amado de todos; enterróse en una ramada, de donde despues sus huesos fueron trasladados á Compostela."

[2] Compare the Spanish text.—The report of Diaz is incorporated in the letter from Mendoza to the King, translated herein. This letter seems to imply that Diaz stayed at Chichilticalli; but if such was his intention when writing the report to Mendoza, he must have changed his mind and returned with Saldivar as far as Chiametla.

inhabitants came out to welcome their governor and begged him not to enter the town till the day after Easter.

Chapter 8, of how the army entered the town of Culiacan and the reception it received, and other things which happened before the departure.

When the day after Easter came, the army started in the morning to go to the town and, as they approached, the inhabitants of the town came out on to an open plain with foot and horse drawn up in ranks as if for a battle, and having its seven bronze pieces of artillery in position, making a show of defending their town. Some of our soldiers were with them. Our army drew up in the same way and began a skirmish with them, and after the artillery on both sides had been fired they were driven back, just as if the town had been taken by force of arms, which was a pleasant demonstration of welcome, except for the artilleryman who lost a hand by a shot, from having ordered them to fire before he had finished drawing out the ramrod. After the town was taken, the army was well lodged and entertained by the townspeople, who, as they were all very well-to-do people, took all the gentlemen and people of quality who were with the army into their own apartments, although they had lodgings prepared for them all just outside the town. Some of the townspeople were not ill repaid for this hospitality, because all had started with fine clothes and accouterments, and as they had to carry provisions on their animals after this, they were obliged to leave their fine stuff, so that many preferred giving it to their hosts instead of risking it on the sea by putting it in the ship that had followed the army along the coast to take the extra baggage, as I have said. After they arrived and were being entertained in the town, the general, by order of the viceroy Don Antonio, left Fernandarias de Saabedra, uncle of Hernandarias de Saabedra, count of Castellar, formerly mayor of Seville, as his lieutenant and captain in this town. The army rested here several days, because the inhabitants had gathered a good stock of provisions that year and each one shared his stock very gladly with his guests from our army. They not only had plenty to eat here, but they also had plenty to take away with them, so that when the departure came they started off with more than six hundred loaded animals, besides the friendly Indians and the servants—more than a thousand persons. After a fortnight had passed, the general started ahead with about fifty horsemen and a few foot soldiers and most of the Indian allies, leaving the army, which was to follow him a fortnight later, with Don Tristan de Arellano in command as his lieutenant.

At this time, before his departure, a pretty sort of thing happened to the general, which I will tell for what it is worth. A young soldier named Trugillo (Truxillo) pretended that he had seen a vision while he was bathing in the river which seemed to be something extraordinary,[1]

[1]Compare the Spanish text for this whole paragraph. Ternaux renders this clause "feignant d'être très-effrayé."

so that he was brought before the general, whom he gave to understand that the devil had told him that if he would kill the general, he could marry his wife, Doña Beatris, and would receive great wealth and other very fine things. Friar Marcos of Nice preached several sermons on this, laying it all to the fact that the devil was jealous of the good which must result from this journey and so wished to break it up in this way. It did not end here, but the friars who were in the expedition wrote to their convents about it, and this was the reason the pulpits of Mexico proclaimed strange rumors about this affair.

The general ordered Truxillo to stay in that town and not to go on the expedition, which was what he was after when he made up that falsehood, judging from what afterward appeared to be the truth. The general started off with the force already described to continue his journey, and the army followed him, as will be related.

Chapter 9, of how the army started from Culiacan and the arrival of the general at Cibola and of the army at Señora and of other things that happened.

The general, as has been said, started to continue his journey from the valley of Culiacan somewhat lightly equipped, taking with him the friars, since none of them wished to stay behind with the army. After they had gone three days, a regular friar who could say mass, named Friar Antonio Victoria, broke his leg, and they brought him back from the camp to have it doctored. He stayed with the army after this, which was no slight consolation for all. The general and his force crossed the country without trouble, as they found everything peaceful, because the Indians knew Friar Marcos and some of the others who had been with Melchior Diaz when he went with Juan de Saldibar to investigate. After the general had crossed the inhabited region and came to Chichilticalli, where the wilderness begins, and saw nothing favorable, he could not help feeling somewhat downhearted, for, although the reports were very fine about what was ahead, there was nobody who had seen it except the Indians who went with the negro, and these had already been caught in some lies. Besides all this, he was much affected by seeing that the fame of Chichilticalli was summed up in one tumble-down house without any roof, although it appeared to have been a strong place at some former time when it was inhabited, and it was very plain that it had been built by a civilized and warlike race of strangers who had come from a distance. This building was made of red earth. From here they went on through the wilderness, and in fifteen days came to a river about 8 leagues from Cibola, which they called Red river,[1] because its waters were muddy and reddish. In this river they found mullets like those of Spain. The first Indians from that country were seen here—two of them, who ran away to give the news. During

[1] Bandelier, in his Gilded Man, identifies this with Zuñi river. The Rio Vermejo of Jaramillo is the Little Colorado or Colorado Chiquito.

the night following the next day, about 2 leagues from the village, some Indians in a safe place yelled so that, although the men were ready for anything, some were so excited that they put their saddles on hind-side before; but these were the new fellows. When the veterans had mounted and ridden round the camp, the Indians fled. None of them could be caught because they knew the country.

The next day they entered the settled country in good order, and when they saw the first village, which was Cibola, such were the curses that some hurled at Friar Marcos that I pray God may protect him from them.

It is a little, unattractive village, looking as if it had been crumpled all up together. There are mansions in New Spain which make a better appearance at a distance.[1] It is a village of about 200 warriors, is three and four stories high, with the houses small and having only a few rooms, and without a courtyard. One yard serves for each section. The people of the whole district had collected here, for there are seven villages in the province, and some of the others are even larger and stronger than Cibola. These folks waited for the army, drawn up by divisions in front of the village. When they refused to have peace on the terms the interpreters extended to them, but appeared defiant, the Santiago[2] was given, and they were at once put to flight. The Spaniards then attacked the village, which was taken with not a little difficulty, since they held the narrow and crooked entrance. During the attack they knocked the general down with a large stone, and would have killed him but for Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and Hernando de Alvarado, who threw themselves above him and drew him away, receiving the blows of the stones, which were not few. But the first fury of the Spaniards could not be resisted, and in less than an hour they entered the village and captured it. They discovered food there, which was the thing they were most in need of.[3] After this the whole province was at peace.[4]

[1] Mota Padilla, p. 113: "They reached Tzibola, which was a village divided into two parts, which were encircled in such a way as to make the village round, and the houses adjoining three and four stories high, with doors opening on a great court or plaza, leaving one or two doors in the wall, so as to go in and out. In the middle of the plaza there is a hatchway or trapdoor, by which they go down to a subterranean hall, the roof of which was of large pine beams, and a little hearth in the floor, and the walls plastered. The Indian men stayed there days and nights playing (or gaming) and the women brought them food; and this was the way the Indians of the neighboring villages lived."

[2] The war cry or "loud invocation addressed to Saint James before engaging in battle with the Infidels."—Captain John Stevens' Dictionary.

[3] Compare the translation of the Traslado de las Nuevas herein. There are some striking resemblances between that account and Castañeda's narrative.

[4] Gomara, Hist. Indias, cap. ccxiii, ed. 1554: "Llegando a Sibola requirieron a los del pueblo que los recibiessen de paz; ca no yuan a les hazer mal, sino muy gran bien, y prouecho, y que les diessen comida, ca lleuauan falta de ella. Ellos respondieron que no querian, pues yuan armados, y en son de les dar guerra: que tal semblante mostrauan. Assi que cõbatieron el pueblo los nuestros, defendieron lo gran rato ochocientos hombres, que dentro estauan: descalabraron a Francisco Vazquez, capitan general del exercito, y a otros muchos Españoles: mas al cabo se salieron huyendo. Entraron los nuestros y nombraron la Granada, por amor del virrey, q̃ es natural dela de España. Es Sibola de hasta doziẽtas casas de tierra y madera tosca, altas quatro y cinco sobrados, y las puertas como escotillones de nao, suben a ellos con escaleras de palo, que quitan de noche y en tiempos de guerra. Tiene delante cada casa una cueua, donde como en estufa, se recogen los inuiernos, que son largas, y de muchas

The army which had stayed with Don Tristan de Arellano started to follow their general, all loaded with provisions, with lances on their shoulders, and all on foot, so as to have the horses loaded. With no slight labor from day to day, they reached a province which Cabeza de Vaca had named Hearts (Corazones), because the people here offered him many hearts of animals.[1] He founded a town here and named it San Hieronimo de los Corazones (Saint Jerome of the Hearts). After it had been started, it was seen that it could not be kept up here, and so it was afterward transferred to a valley which had been called Señora.[2] The Spaniards call it Señora, and so it will be known by this name.

From here a force went down the river to the seacoast to find the harbor and to find out about the ships. Don Rodrigo Maldonado, who was captain of those who went in search of the ships, did not find them, but he brought back with him an Indian so large and tall that the best man in the army reached only to his chest. It was said that other Indians were even taller on that coast. After the rains ceased the army went on to where the town of Señora was afterward located, because there were provisions in that region, so that they were able to wait there for orders from the general.

About the middle of the month of October,[3] Captains Melchior Diaz and Juan Gallego came from Cibola, Juan Gallego on his way to New Spain and Melchior Diaz to stay in the new town of Hearts, in command of the men who remained there. He was to go along the coast in search of the ships.

Chapter 10, of how the army started from the town of Señora, leaving it inhabited, and how it reached Cibola, and of what happened to Captain Melchior Diaz on his expedition in search of the ships and how he discovered the Tison (Firebrand) river.

After Melchior Diaz and Juan Gallego had arrived in the town of Señora, it was announced that the army was to depart for Cibola; that Melchior Diaz was to remain in charge of that town with 80 men; that Juan Gallego was going to New Spain with messages for the viceroy, and that Friar Marcos was going back with him, because he did not think it was safe for him to stay in Cibola, seeing that his report had

nieues. Aunque no esta mas de 37½ grados de la Equinocial: que sino fuesse por las montañas, seria del temple de Sevilla. Las famosas siete ciudades de fray Marcos de Niça, que estan en espacio de seys leguas, ternan obra de 4,000 hombres. Las riquezas de su reyno es no tener que comer, ni que vestir, durãdo la nieve siete meses."

Oviedo, Historia, vol. iii, lib. xxxv, cap. vi, p. 610 (ed. 1853), says of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions: "Pues passadas las sierras ques dicho, llegaron estos quatro chripstianos . . . á tres pueblos que estaban juntos é pequeños, en que avia hasta veynte casas en ellos, las quales eran como las passadas é juntas, . . . á este pueblo, ó mejor diçiendo pueblos juntos, nombraron los chripstianos la *Villa de los Coraçones*, porque les dieron allí más de seysçientos coraçones de venados escalados é secos." Cabeza de Vaca describes this place in his Naufragios, p. 172 of Smith's translation.

[1] It is possible that the persistent use of the form Señora, Madame, for the place Sonora, may be due to the copyists, although it is as likely that the Spanish settlers made the change in their common parlance.

[3] This should be September. See the next chapter; also the Itinerary.

turned out to be entirely false, because the kingdoms that he had told about had not been found, nor the populous cities, nor the wealth of gold, nor the precious stones which he had reported, nor the fine clothes, nor other things that had been proclaimed from the pulpits. When this had been announced, those who were to remain were selected and the rest loaded their provisions and set off in good order about the middle of September on the way to Cibola, following their general.

Don Tristan de Arellano stayed in this new town with the weakest men, and from this time on there was nothing but mutinies and strife, because after the army had gone Captain Melchior Diaz took 25 of the most efficient men, leaving in his place one Diego de Alcaraz, a man unfitted to have people under his command. He took guides and went toward the north and west in search of the seacoast. After going about 150 leagues, they came to a province of exceedingly tall and strong men—like giants. They are naked and live in large straw cabins built underground like smoke houses, with only the straw roof above ground. They enter these at one end and come out at the other. More than a hundred persons, old and young, sleep in one cabin.[1] When they carry anything, they can take a load of more than three or four hundredweight on their heads. Once when our men wished to fetch a log for the fire, and six men were unable to carry it, one of these Indians is reported to have come and raised it in his arms, put it on his head alone, and carried it very easily.[2] They eat bread cooked in the ashes, as big as the large two-pound loaves of Castile. On account of the great cold, they carry a firebrand (tison) in the hand when they go from one place to another, with which they warm the other hand and the body as well, and in this way they keep shifting it every now and then.[3] On this account the large river which is in that country was called Rio del Tison (Firebrand river). It is a very great river and is more than 2 leagues wide at its mouth; here it is half a league across. Here the

[1]Bandelier, in his Final Report, vol. i, p. 108, suggests the following from the Relacion of Padre Sedelmair, S. J., 1746, which he quotes from the manuscript: "Sus rancherías, por grandes de gentío que sean, se reducen á una ó dos casas, con techo de terrado y zacate, armadas sobre muchos horcones por pilares con viguelos de unos á otros, y bajas, tan capaces que caben en cada una mas de cien personas, con tres divisiones, la primera una enramada del tamaño de la casa y baja para dormir en el verano, luego la segunda division como sala, y la tercera como alcoba, donde por el abrigo meten los viejos y viejas, muchachitos y muchachitas, escepto los pimas que viven entre ellos, que cada familia tiene su choza aparte." These were evidently the ancestors of the Yuman Indians of Arizona.

[2]Fletcher, in The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, p. 131, (ed. 1854) tells a similar story of some Indians whom Drake visited on the coast of California: "Yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging, carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together." Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii, p. 158, describes an attempt to catch one of these Indians: "Quiso el capitan [Melchior Diaz] remitir á un indio, porque el virey viese su corpulencia y hallando á un mancebo, trataron de apresarlo; mas hizo tal resistencia, que entre quatro españoles no pudieron amarrarlo, y daba tales gritos, que los obligaron á dejarlo, por no indisponer los ánimos de aquellos indios."

[3]Father Sedelmair, in his Relacion, mentions this custom of the Indians. (See Bandelier, Final Report, vol. i, p. 108): "Su frazada en tiempo de frio es un tizon encendido que aplicándole á la boca del estómago caminan por las mañanas, y calentando ya el sol como á las ocho tiran los tizones, que por muchos que hayan tirado por los caminos, pueden ser guias de los caminantes; de suerte que todos estos rios pueden llarmarse rios del Tizon, nombre que algunas mapas ponen á uno solo."

captain heard that there had been ships at a point three days down toward the sea. When he reached the place where the ships had been, which was more than 15 leagues up the river from the mouth of the harbor, they found written on a tree: "Alarcon reached this place; there are letters at the foot of this tree." He dug up the letters and learned from them how long Alarcon had waited for news of the army and that he had gone back with the ships to New Spain, because he was unable to proceed farther, since this sea was a bay, which was formed by the Isle of the Marquis,[1] which is called California, and it was explained that California was not an island, but a point of the mainland forming the other side of that gulf.

After he had seen this, the captain turned back to go up the river, without going down to the sea, to find a ford by which to cross to the other side, so as to follow the other bank. After they had gone five or six days, it seemed to them as if they could cross on rafts. For this purpose they called together a large number of the natives, who were waiting for a favorable opportunity to make an attack on our men, and when they saw that the strangers wanted to cross, they helped make the rafts with all zeal and diligence, so as to catch them in this way on the water and drown them or else so divide them that they could not help one another. While the rafts were being made, a soldier who had been out around the camp saw a large number of armed men go across to a mountain, where they were waiting till the soldiers should cross the river. He reported this, and an Indian was quietly shut up, in order to find out the truth, and when they tortured him he told all the arrangements that had been made. These were, that when our men were crossing and part of them had got over and part were on the river and part were waiting to cross, those who were on the rafts should drown those they were taking across and the rest of their force should make an attack on both sides of the river. If they had had as much discretion and courage as they had strength and power, the attempt would have succeeded.

When he knew their plan, the captain had the Indian who had confessed the affair killed secretly, and that night he was thrown into the river with a weight, so that the Indians would not suspect that they were found out. The next day they noticed that our men suspected them, and so they made an attack, shooting showers of arrows, but when the horses began to catch up with them and the lances wounded them without mercy and the musketeers likewise made good shots, they had to leave the plain and take to the mountain, until not a man of them was to be seen. The force then came back and crossed all right, the Indian allies and the Spaniards going across on the rafts and the horses swimming alongside the rafts, where we will leave them to continue their journey.[2]

[1] Cortes.

[2] Mota Padilla, sec. xxxii, p. 158, says: Melchior Dias paso el rio del Tison "en unos cestos grandes que los indios tienen aderezados con un betun que no les pasa el agua, y asidos de él cuatro ó seis indios, lo llevan nadando, . . . á lo que ayudaron tambien las indias."

To relate how the army that was on its way to Cibola got on: Everything went along in good shape, since the general had left everything peaceful, because he wished the people in that region to be contented and without fear and willing to do what they were ordered. In a province called Vacapan there was a large quantity of prickly pears, of which the natives make a great deal of preserves.[1] They gave this preserve away freely, and as the men of the army ate much of it, they all fell sick with a headache and fever, so that the natives might have done much harm to the force if they had wished. This lasted regularly twenty-four hours. After this they continued their march until they reached Chichilticalli. The men in the advance guard saw a flock of sheep one day after leaving this place. I myself saw and followed them. They had extremely large bodies and long wool; their horns were very thick and large, and when they run they throw back their heads and put their horns on the ridge of their back. They are used to the rough country, so that we could not catch them and had to leave them.[2]

Three days after we entered the wilderness we found a horn on the bank of a river that flows in the bottom of a very steep, deep gully, which the general had noticed and left there for his army to see, for it was six feet long and as thick at the base as a man's thigh. It seemed to be more like the horn of a goat than of any other animal. It was something worth seeing. The army proceeded and was about a day's march from Cibola when a very cold tornado came up in the afternoon, followed by a great fall of snow, which was a bad combination for the carriers. The army went on till it reached some caves in a rocky ridge, late in the evening. The Indian allies, who were from New Spain, and for the most part from warm countries, were in great danger. They felt the coldness of that day so much that it was hard work the next day taking care of them, for they suffered much pain and had to be carried on the horses, the soldiers walking. After this labor the army reached Cibola, where their general was waiting for them, with their quarters all ready, and here they were reunited, except some captains and men who had gone off to discover other provinces.

Chapter 11, of how Don Pedro de Tovar discovered Tusayan or Tutahaco[3] *and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas saw the Firebrand river and the other things that had happened.*

While the things already described were taking place, Cibola being at peace, the General Francisco Vazquez found out from the people of the

[1] The Zunis make a similar sort of preserves from the fruit of the tuna and the yucca. See Cushing in The Millstone, Indianapolis, July, 1884, pp. 108–109.

[2] Compare the Spanish text for this whole description. Mota Padilla, sec. xxii, 6, p. 113, says: "Chichilticali (que quiere decir casa colorada, por una que estaba en él embarrada con tierra colorada, que llaman almagre); aquí se hallaron pinos con grandes piñas de piñones muy buenos; y mas adelante, en la cima de unas peñas, se hallaron cabezas de carneros de grandes cuernos, y algunos dijeron haber visto tres ó cuatro carneros de aquellos, y que eran muy ligeros (de estos animales se han visto en el Catay, que es la Tartaria.)"

[3] Compare chapter 13. These two groups of pueblos were not the same.

province about the provinces that lay around it, and got them to tell their friends and neighbors that Christians had come into the country, whose only desire was to be their friends, and to find out about good lands to live in, and for them to come to see the strangers and talk with them. They did this, since they know how to communicate with one another in these regions, and they informed him about a province with seven villages of the same sort as theirs, although somewhat different. They had nothing to do with these people. This province is called Tusayan. It is twenty-five leagues from Cibola. The villages are high and the people are warlike.

The general had sent Don Pedro de Tovar to these villages with seventeen horsemen and three or four foot soldiers. Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan friar, who had been a fighting man in his youth, went with them. When they reached the region, they entered the country so quietly that nobody observed them, because there were no settlements or farms between one village and another and the people do not leave the villages except to go to their farms, especially at this time, when they had heard that Cibola had been captured by very fierce people, who traveled on animals which ate people. This information was generally believed by those who had never seen horses, although it was so strange as to cause much wonder. Our men arrived after nightfall and were able to conceal themselves under the edge of the village, where they heard the natives talking in their houses. But in the morning they were discovered and drew up in regular order, while the natives came out to meet them, with bows, and shields, and wooden clubs, drawn up in lines without any confusion. The interpreter was given a chance to speak to them and give them due warning, for they were very intelligent people, but nevertheless they drew lines and insisted that our men should not go across these lines toward their village.[1] While they were talking, some men acted as if they would cross the lines, and one of the natives lost control of himself and struck a horse a blow on the cheek of the bridle with his club. Friar Juan, fretted by the time that was being wasted in talking with them, said to the captain: "To tell the truth, I do not know why we came here." When the men heard this, they gave the Santiago so suddenly that they ran down many Indians and the others fled to the town in confusion. Some indeed did not have a chance to do this, so quickly did the people in the village come out with presents, asking for peace.[2] The captain ordered his force to collect, and, as the natives did not do any more harm, he and those who were with him found a place to establish their headquarters near the village. They had dismounted here when the natives came peacefully, saying that they had come to give in the submission of the whole province and that they wanted him to be friends with them and to accept the presents which they gave him.

[1] Compare the lines which the Hopi or Moki Indians still mark with sacred meal during their festivals, as described by Dr Fewkes in his "Few Summer Ceremonials," in vol. ii of the Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology.

[2] Compare the Spanish text.

This was some cotton cloth, although not much, because they do not make it in that district. They also gave him some dressed skins and corn meal, and pine nuts and corn and birds of the country. Afterward they presented some turquoises, but not many. The people of the whole district came together that day and submitted themselves, and they allowed him to enter their villages freely to visit, buy, sell, and barter with them.

It is governed like Cibola, by an assembly of the oldest men. They have their governors and generals. This was where they obtained the information about a large river, and that several days down the river there were some people with very large bodies.

As Don Pedro de Tovar was not commissioned to go farther, he returned from there and gave this information to the general, who dispatched Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with about twelve companions to go to see this river. He was well received when he reached Tusayan and was entertained by the natives, who gave him guides for his journey. They started from here loaded with provisions, for they had to go through a desert country before reaching the inhabited region, which the Indians said was more than twenty days' journey. After they had gone twenty days they came to the banks of the river, which seemed to be more than 3 or 4 leagues above the stream which flowed between them.[1] This country was elevated and full of low twisted pines, very cold, and lying open toward the north, so that, this being the warm season, no one could live there on account of the cold. They spent three days on this bank looking for a passage down to the river, which looked from above as if the water was 6 feet across, although the Indians said it was half a league wide. It was impossible to descend, for after these three days Captain Melgosa and one Juan Galeras and another companion, who were the three lightest and most agile men, made an attempt to go down at the least difficult place, and went down until those who were above were unable to keep sight of them. They returned about 4 oclock in the afternoon, not having succeeded in reaching the bottom on account of the great difficulties which they found, because what seemed to be easy from above was not so, but instead very hard and difficult. They said that they had been down about a third of the way and that the river seemed very large from the place which they reached, and that from what they saw they thought the Indians had given the width correctly. Those who stayed above had estimated that some huge rocks on the sides of the cliffs seemed to be about as tall as a man, but those who went down swore that when they reached these rocks they were bigger than the great tower of Seville. They did not go farther up the river, because they could not get water. Before this they had had to go a league or two inland every day late in the evening in order to find water, and the guides said that if they should go four days farther it would not be possible

[1] Compare the Spanish text. Ternaux translates it: "Les bords sont tellement élevés qu'ils croyaient être à trois ou quatre lieues en l'air."

to go on, because there was no water within three or four days, for when they travel across this region themselves they take with them women loaded with water in gourds, and bury the gourds of water along the way, to use when they return, and besides this, they travel in one day over what it takes us two days to accomplish.

This was the Tison (Firebrand) river, much nearer its source than where Melchior Diaz and his company crossed it. These were the same kind of Indians, judging from what was afterward learned. They came back from this point and the expedition did not have any other result. On the way they saw some water falling over a rock and learned from the guides that some bunches of crystals which were hanging there were salt. They went and gathered a quantity of this and brought it back to Cibola, dividing it among those who were there. They gave the general a written account of what they had seen, because one Pedro de Sotomayor had gone with Don Garcia Lopez as chronicler for the army. The villages of that province remained peaceful, since they were never visited again, nor was any attempt made to find other peoples in that direction.

Chapter 12, of how people came from Cicuye to Cibola to see the Christians, and how Hernando de Alvarado went to see the cows.

While they were making these discoveries, some Indians came to Cibola from a village which was 70 leagues east of this province, called Cicuye. Among them was a captain who was called Bigotes (Whiskers) by our men, because he wore a long mustache. He was a tall, well-built young fellow, with a fine figure. He told the general that they had come in response to the notice which had been given, to offer themselves as friends, and that if we wanted to go through their country they would consider us as their friends. They brought a present of tanned hides and shields and head-pieces, which were very gladly received, and the general gave them some glass dishes and a number of pearls and little bells which they prized highly, because these were things they had never seen. They described some cows which, from a picture that one of them had painted on his skin, seemed to be cows, although from the hides this did not seem possible, because the hair was woolly and snarled so that we could not tell what sort of skins they had. The general ordered Hernando de Alvarado to take 20 companions and go with them, and gave him a commission for eighty days, after which he should return to give an account of what he had found.[1]

Captain Alvarado started on this journey and in five days reached a village which was on a rock called Acuco[2] having a population of about 200 men. These people were robbers, feared by the whole country

[1]The report of Alvarado, translated herein, is probably the official account of what he accomplished.

[2]In regard to the famous rock fortress of Acoma see Bandelier's Introduction, p. 14, and his Final Report, vol. i, p. 133. The Spaniards called it by a name resembling that which they heard applied to it in Zuñi-Cibola. The true Zuñi name of Acoma, on the authority of Mr F. W. Hodge, is Hákukia; that of the Acoma people, Hákukwe.

round about. The village was very strong, because it was up on a rock out of reach, having steep sides in every direction, and so high that it was a very good musket that could throw a ball as high. There was only one entrance by a stairway built by hand, which began at the top of a slope which is around the foot of the rock. There was a broad stairway for about 200 steps, then a stretch of about 100 narrower steps, and at the top they had to go up about three times as high as a man by means of holes in the rock, in which they put the points of their feet, holding on at the same time by their hands. There was a wall of large and small stones at the top, which they could roll down without showing themselves, so that no army could possibly be strong enough to capture the village. On the top they had room to sow and store a large amount of corn, and cisterns to collect snow and water. These people came down to the plain ready to fight, and would not listen to any arguments. They drew lines on the ground and determined to prevent our men from crossing these, but when they saw that they would have to fight they offered to make peace before any harm had been done. They went through their forms of making peace, which is to touch the horses and take their sweat and rub themselves with it, and to make crosses with the fingers of the hands. But to make the most secure peace they put their hands across each other, and they keep this peace inviolably. They made a present of a large number of [turkey-] cocks with very big wattles, much bread, tanned deerskins, pine [piñon] nuts, flour [corn meal], and corn.

From here they went to a province called Triguex,[1] three days distant. The people all came out peacefully, seeing that Whiskers was with them. These men are feared throughout all those provinces. Alvarado sent messengers back from here to advise the general to come and winter in this country. The general was not a little relieved to hear that the country was growing better. Five days from here he came to Cicuye,[2] a very strong village four stories high. The people came out from the village with signs of joy to welcome Hernando de Alvarado and their captain, and brought them into the town with drums and pipes something like flutes, of which they have a great many. They made many presents of cloth and turquoises, of which there are quantities in that region. The Spaniards enjoyed themselves here for several days and talked with an Indian slave, a native of the country toward Florida, which is the region Don Fernando de Soto discovered. This fellow said that there were large settlements in the farther part of that country. Hernando de Alvarado took him to guide them to the cows; but he told them so many and such great things about the wealth of gold and silver in his country that they did not care about looking for cows, but returned after they had seen some few, to report the rich news to the general.

[1] An error for Tiguex, at or near the present Bernalillo. Simpson located this near the mouth of the river Puerco, southeast of Acoma, but I follow Bandelier, according to whom Alvarado pursued a northeasterly direction from Acoma. See his Introduction, p. 30, and Final Report, vol. i, p. 129.

[2] Pecos. Besides his Final Report, vol. i, p. 127, see Bandelier's Report on the Pecos Ruins.

They called the Indian "Turk," because he looked like one.[1] Meanwhile the general had sent Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas to Tiguex with men to get lodgings ready for the army, which had arrived from Señora about this time, before taking them there for the winter; and when Hernando de Alvarado reached Tiguex, on his way back from Cicuye, he found Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas there, and so there was no need for him to go farther. As it was necessary that the natives should give the Spaniards lodging places, the people in one village had to abandon it and go to others belonging to their friends, and they took with them nothing but themselves and the clothes they had on. Information was obtained here about many towns up toward the north, and I believe that it would have been much better to follow this direction than that of the Turk, who was the cause of all the misfortunes which followed.

Chapter 13, of how the general went toward Tutahaco with a few men and left the army with Don Tristan, who took it to Tiguex.

Everything already related had happened when Don Tristan de Arellano reached Cibola from Señora. Soon after he arrived, the general, who had received notice of a province containing eight villages, took 30 of the men who were most fully rested and went to see it, going from there directly to Tiguex with the skilled guides who conducted him. He left orders for Don Tristan de Arellano to proceed to Tiguex by the direct road, after the men had rested twenty days. On this journey, between one day when they left the camping place and midday of the third day, when they saw some snow-covered mountains, toward which they went in search of water, neither the Spaniards nor the horses nor the servants drank anything. They were able to stand it because of the severe cold, although with great difficulty. In eight days they reached Tutahaco,[2] where they learned that

[1]The account which Mota Padilla (cap. xxxii, 5, p. 161) gives of the Turk and his stories is very significant: Alvarado "halló un indio en aquellos llanos quien le dijo, mas por señas que por voces, ser de una provincia que distaba treinta soles, la cual se llamaba Copala, y al indio se le puso por nombre el Turco, por ser muy moreno, apersonado y de buena disposicion; y les dijo tantas cosas de aquella provincia, que los puso en admiracion, y en especial que habia tanta cantidad de oro, que no solo podian cargar los caballos, sino carros; que habia una laguna en la que navegaban canoas, y que las del cacique tenian argollas de oro; y para que se explicase, le mostraban plata, y decia que no, sino como un anillo que vió de oro: decia que á su cacique lo sacaban en andas á las guerras, y que cuando queria, les quitaban los bozales á unos lebreles que despedazaban á los enemigos; que tenian una casa muy grande, adonde todos acudian á servirle; que en las puertas tenian mantas de algodon."

Gomara, Indias, cap. cexiiii, adds some details: "Viendo la poca gente, y muestra de riqueza, dieron los soldados muy pocas gracias a los frayles, que conellos yuan, y que loauan aquella tierra de Sibola: y por no boluer a Mexico sin hazer algo, ni las manos vazias, acordaron de passar adelante, que les dezian ser mejor tierra. Assi que fueron a Acuco, lugar sobre vn fortissimo peñol, y desde alli fue don Garci lopez de Cardenas con su compañia de cauallos a la mar, y Francisco Vazquez con los de mas a Tiguex, que esta ribera de vn gran rio. Alli tuuieron nueua de Axa, y Quiuira: donde dezian, que estaua vn Rey, dicho por nombre Tatarrax, barbudo, canos, y rico, que ceñia vn bracamarte, que rezaua en horas, que adoraua vna cruz de oro, y vna ymagen de muger, Señora Del cielo. Mucho alegro, y sostuuo esta nueua al exercito, aunque algunos la tuuieron por falsa, y echadiza de frayles. Determinaron yr alla con intencion de inuernar en tierra tan rica como se sonaua."

[2]Coronado probably reached the Rio Grande near the present Isleta. Jaramillo applies this name to Acoma, and perhaps he is more correct, if we ought to read it Tutahaio, since the Tiguas (the inhabitants of Isleta, Sandia, Taos, and Picuris pueblos) call Acoma Tuthea-uáy, according to Bandelier, Gilded Man, p. 211.

there were other towns down the river. These people were peaceful. The villages are terraced, like those at Tiguex, and of the same style. The general went up the river from here, visiting the whole province, until he reached Tiguex, where he found Hernando de Alvarado and the Turk. He felt no slight joy at such good news, because the Turk said that in his country there was a river in the level country which was 2 leagues wide, in which there were fishes as big as horses, and large numbers of very big canoes, with more than 20 rowers on a side, and that they carried sails, and that their lords sat on the poop under awnings, and on the prow they had a great golden eagle. He said also that the lord of that country took his afternoon nap under a great tree on which were hung a great number of little gold bells, which put him to sleep as they swung in the air. He said also that everyone had their ordinary dishes made of wrought plate, and the jugs and bowls were of gold. He called gold acochis. For the present he was believed, on account of the ease with which he told it and because they showed him metal ornaments and he recognized them and said they were not gold, and he knew gold and silver very well and did not care anything about other metals.

The general sent Hernando de Alvarado back to Cicuye to demand some gold bracelets which this Turk said they had taken from him at the time they captured him. Alvarado went, and was received as a friend at the village, and when he demanded the bracelets they said they knew nothing at all about them, saying the Turk was deceiving him and was lying. Captain Alvarado, seeing that there were no other means, got the captain Whiskers and the governor to come to his tent, and when they had come he put them in chains. The villagers prepared to fight, and let fly their arrows, denouncing Hernando de Alvarado, and saying that he was a man who had no respect for peace and friendship. Hernando de Alvarado started back to Tiguex, where the general kept them prisoners more than six months. This began the want of confidence in the word of the Spaniards whenever there was talk of peace from this time on, as will be seen by what happened afterward.

Chapter 14, of how the army went from Cibola to Tiguex and what happened to them on the way, on account of the snow.

We have already said that when the general started from Cibola, he left orders for Don Tristan de Arellano to start twenty days later. He did so as soon as he saw that the men were well rested and provided with food and eager to start off to find their general. He set off with his force toward Tiguex, and the first day they made their camp in the best, largest, and finest village of that (Cibola) province.[1] This is the only village that has houses with seven stories. In this village certain houses are used as fortresses; they are higher than the others and set

[1] This was Matsaki, at the northwestern base of Thunder mountain, about 18 miles from Hawikuh, where the advance force had encamped.

up above them like towers, and there are embrasures and loopholes in them for defending the roofs of the different stories, because, like the other villages, they do not have streets, and the flat roofs are all of a height and are used in common. The roofs have to be reached first, and these upper houses are the means of defending them. It began to snow on us there, and the force took refuge under the wings of the village, which extend out like balconies, with wooden pillars beneath, because they generally use ladders to go up to those balconies, since they do not have any doors below.

The army continued its march from here after it stopped snowing, and as the season had already advanced into December, during the ten days that the army was delayed, it did not fail to snow during the evenings and nearly every night, so that they had to clear away a large amount of snow when they came to where they wanted to make a camp. The road could not be seen, but the guides managed to find it, as they knew the country. There are junipers and pines all over the country, which they used in making large brushwood fires, the smoke and heat of which melted the snow from 2 to 4 yards all around the fire. It was a dry snow, so that although it fell on the baggage and covered it for half a man's height it did not hurt it. It fell all night long, covering the baggage and the soldiers and their beds, piling up in the air, so that if anyone had suddenly come upon the army nothing would have been seen but mountains of snow. The horses stood half buried in it. It kept those who were underneath warm instead of cold. The army passed by the great rock of Acuco, and the natives, who were peaceful, entertained our men well, giving them provisions and birds, although there are not many people here, as I have said. Many of the gentlemen went up to the top to see it, and they had great difficulty in going up the steps in the rock, because they were not used to them, for the natives go up and down so easily that they carry loads and the women carry water, and they do not seem even to touch their hands, although our men had to pass their weapons up from one to another.

From here they went on to Tiguex, where they were well received and taken care of, and the great good news of the Turk gave no little joy and helped lighten their hard labors, although when the army arrived we found the whole country or province in revolt, for reasons which were not slight in themselves, as will be shown, and our men had also burnt a village the day before the army arrived, and returned to the camp.[1]

Chapter 15, of why Tiguex revolted, and how they were punished, without being to blame for it.

It has been related how the general reached Tiguex, where he found Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and Hernando de Alvarado, and how he

[1]The Spanish manuscript is very confusing throughout this chapter. As usual, Ternaux passes over most of the passages which have given trouble, omitting what he could not guess.

sent the latter back to Cicuye, where he took the captain Whiskers and the governor of the village, who was an old man, prisoners. The people of Tiguex did not feel well about this seizure. In addition to this, the general wished to obtain some clothing to divide among his soldiers, and for this purpose he summoned one of the chief Indians of Tiguex, with whom he had already had much intercourse and with whom he was on good terms, who was called Juan Aleman by our men, after a Juan Aleman[1] who lived in Mexico, whom he was said to resemble. The general told him that he must furnish about three hundred or more pieces of cloth, which he needed to give his people. He said that he was not able to do this, but that it pertained to the governors; and that besides this, they would have to consult together and divide it among the villages, and that it was necessary to make the demand of each town separately. The general did this, and ordered certain of the gentlemen who were with him to go and make the demand; and as there were twelve villages, some of them went on one side of the river and some on the other. As they were in very great need, they did not give the natives a chance to consult about it, but when they came to a village they demanded what they had to give, so that they could proceed at once. Thus these people could do nothing except take off their own cloaks and give them to make up the number demanded of them. And some of the soldiers who were in these parties, when the collectors gave them some blankets or cloaks which were not such as they wanted, if they saw any Indian with a better one on, they exchanged with him without more ado, not stopping to find out the rank of the man they were stripping, which caused not a little hard feeling.

Besides what I have just said, one whom I will not name, out of regard for him, left the village where the camp was and went to another village about a league distant, and seeing a pretty woman there he called her husband down to hold his horse by the bridle while he went up; and as the village was entered by the upper story, the Indian supposed he was going to some other part of it. While he was there the Indian heard some slight noise, and then the Spaniard came down, took his horse, and went away. The Indian went up and learned that he had violated, or tried to violate, his wife, and so he came with the important men of the town to complain that a man had violated his wife, and he told how it happened. When the general made all the soldiers and the persons who were with him come together, the Indian did not recognize the man, either because he had changed his clothes or for whatever other reason there may have been, but he said that he could tell the horse, because he had held his bridle, and so he was taken to the stables, and found the horse, and said that the master of the horse must be the man. He denied doing it, seeing that he had not been recognized, and it may be that the Indian was mistaken in the horse;

[1] Dutch Jack, perhaps.

anyway, he went off without getting any satisfaction.[1] The next day one of the Indians, who was guarding the horses of the army, came running in, saying that a companion of his had been killed, and that the Indians of the country were driving off the horses toward their villages. The Spaniards tried to collect the horses again, but many were lost, besides seven of the general's mules.[2]

The next day Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas went to see the villages and talk with the natives. He found the villages closed by palisades and a great noise inside, the horses being chased as in a bull fight and shot with arrows. They were all ready for fighting. Nothing could be done, because they would not come down onto the plain and the villages are so strong that the Spaniards could not dislodge them. The general then ordered Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas to go and surround one village with all the rest of the force. This village was the one where the greatest injury had been done and where the affair with the Indian woman occurred. Several captains who had gone on in advance with the general, Juan de Saldivar and Barrionuevo and Diego Lopez and Melgosa,[3] took the Indians so much by surprise that they gained the upper story, with great danger, for they wounded many of our men from within the houses. Our men were on top of the houses in great danger for a day and a night and part of the next day, and they made some good shots with their crossbows and muskets. The horsemen on the plain with many of the Indian allies from New Spain smoked them out from the cellars[4] into which they had broken, so that they begged for peace.[5] Pablo de Melgosa and Diego Lopez, the alderman from Seville, were left on the roof and answered the Indians with the same signs they were making for peace, which was to make a cross. They then put down their arms and received pardon. They were taken to the tent of Don Garcia, who, according to what he said, did not know about the peace and thought that they had given themselves up of their own accord because they had been conquered. As he had been ordered by the general not to take them alive, but to make an example of them so that the other natives would fear the Spaniards, he ordered 200 stakes to be prepared at once to burn them alive.

[1] The instructions which Mendoza gave to Alarcon show how carefully the viceroy tried to guard against any such trouble with the natives. Buckingham Smith's Florida, p. 4: "Iten: si poblaredes en alguna parte, no sea entre los yndios, sino apartado dellos, y mandareys que ningun español ni otra persona de las vuestras vaya al lugar ni á las cassas de los yndios sino fuere con expressa licencia vuestra, y al que lo contrario hiziere castigalle eys muy asperamente, y la licencia aveys de dalla las vezes que fuere necessario para alguna cossa que convenga y á personas de quien vos esteys confiado que no hará cossa mal hecha, y estad muy advertido en guardar esta orden, porque es cossa que conviene mas de lo que vos podeys pensar."

[2] Espejo, Relacion del Viaje, 1584 (Pacheco y Cardenas, Doc. de Indias, vol. xv, p. 175), says that at Puala (Tiguex) pueblo, "hallamos relacion muy verdadera; que estubo en esta provincia Francisco Vazquez Coronado y le mataron en ella nueve soldados y cuarenta caballos, y que por este respeto habia asolado la gente de un pueblo desta provincia, y destos nos dieron razon los naturales destos pueblos por señas que entendimos."

[3] Ternaux says Diego Lopez Melgosa, and when Melgosa's name appears again he has it Pablo Lopez Melgosa.

[4] Evidently the underground, or partially underground, ceremonial chambers or kivas.

[5] Compare the Spanish text.

Nobody told him about the peace that had been granted them, for the soldiers knew as little as he, and those who should have told him about it remained silent, not thinking that it was any of their business. Then when the enemies saw that the Spaniards were binding them and beginning to roast them, about a hundred men who were in the tent began to struggle and defend themselves with what there was there and with the stakes they could seize. Our men who were on foot attacked the tent on all sides, so that there was great confusion around it, and then the horsemen chased those who escaped. As the country was level, not a man of them remained alive, unless it was some who remained hidden in the village and escaped that night to spread throughout the country the news that the strangers did not respect the peace they had made, which afterward proved a great misfortune. After this was over, it began to snow, and they abandoned the village and returned to the camp just as the army came from Cibola.[1]

Chapter 16, of how they besieged Tiguex and took it and of what happened during the siege.

As I have already related, it began to snow in that country just after they captured the village, and it snowed so much that for the next two months it was impossible to do anything except to go along the roads to advise them to make peace and tell them that they would be pardoned and might consider themselves safe, to which they replied that they did not trust those who did not know how to keep good faith after they had once given it, and that the Spaniards should remember that they were keeping Whiskers prisoner and that they did not keep their word when they burned those who surrendered in the village. Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas was one of those who went to give this notice. He started out with about 30 companions and went to the village of Tiguex to talk with Juan Aleman. Although they were hostile, they talked with him and said that if he wished to talk with them he must dismount and they would come out and talk with him about a peace, and

[1]Gomara, cap. ccxiiii, gives the following account of these events: "Fueronse los Indios vna noche y amanecieron muertos treynta cauallos, que puso temor al exercito. Caminando, quemaron vn lugar, y en otro que acometieron, les mataron ciertos Españoles, y hirieron cinquenta cauallos, y metieron dentro los vezinos a Francisco de Ouãdo, herido, o muerto, para comer, y sacrificar, a lo que pensaron, o quiça para mejor ver, que hombres eran los Españoles, ca no se hallo por alli rastro de sacrificio humano. Pusieron cerco los nuestros al lugar, pero no lo pudieron tomar en mas de quarenta, y cinco dias. Beuian nieue los cercados por falta de agua, y viendose perdidos, hizieron vna hoguera, echaron en ella sus mãtas, plumajes, Turquesas, y cosas preciadas, porque no las gozassen aquellos estrangeros. Salieron en esquadron, con los niños, y mugeres en medio, para abrir camino por fuerça, y saluarse: mas pocos escaparon de las espadas, y cauallos, y de vn rio q̃ cerca estaua. Murieron en la pelea siete Españoles y quedarón heridos ochẽta, y muchos cauallos, porq̃ veays quanto vale la determinacion en la necessidad. Muchos Indios se boluieron al pueblo, con la gente menuda, y se defendieron hasta que se les puso fuego. Elose tanto aquel rio estãdo en siete y treynta grados de la Equinocial, que sufria passar encima hombres a cauallo, y cauallos con carga. Dura la nieve medio año. Ay en aq̃lla ribera melones, y algodon blanco, y colorado, de que hazen muy mas anchas mantas, que en otras partes de Indias."

Mota Padilla, xxxii, 6, p. 161: "Esta accion se tuvo en España por mala, y con razon, porque fué una crueldad considerable; y habiendo el maese de campo, García Lopez pasado á España á heredar un mayorazgo, estuvo preso en una fortaleza por este cargo."

that if he would send away the horsemen and make his men keep away, Juan Aleman and another captain would come out of the village and meet him. Everything was done as they required, and then when they approached they said that they had no arms and that he must take his off. Don Garcia Lopez did this in order to give them confidence, on account of his great desire to get them to make peace. When he met them, Juan Aleman approached and embraced him vigorously, while the other two who had come with him drew two mallets[1] which they had hidden behind their backs and gave him two such blows over his helmet that they almost knocked him senseless. Two of the soldiers on horseback had been unwilling to go very far off, even when he ordered them, and so they were near by and rode up so quickly that they rescued him from their hands, although they were unable to catch the enemies because the meeting was so near the village that of the great shower of arrows which were shot at them one arrow hit a horse and went through his nose. The horsemen all rode up together and hurriedly carried off their captain, without being able to harm the enemy, while many of our men were dangerously wounded.[2] They then withdrew, leaving a number of men to continue the attack. Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas went on with a part of the force to another village about half a league distant, because almost all the people in this region had collected into these two villages. As they paid no attention to the demands made on them except by shooting arrows from the upper stories with loud yells, and would not hear of peace, he returned to his companions whom he had left to keep up the attack on Tiguex. A large number of those in the village came out and our men rode off slowly, pretending to flee, so that they drew the enemy on to the plain, and then turned on them and caught several of their leaders. The rest collected on the roofs of the village and the captain returned to his camp.

After this affair the general ordered the army to go and surround the village. He set out with his men in good order, one day, with several scaling ladders. When he reached the village, he encamped his force near by, and then began the siege; but as the enemy had had several days to provide themselves with stores, they threw down such quantities of rocks upon our men that many of them were laid out, and they wounded nearly a hundred with arrows, several of whom afterward died on account of the bad treatment by an unskillful surgeon who was with the army. The siege lasted fifty days, during which time several

[1] Wooden warclubs shaped like potato-mashers.

[2] Mota Padilla, xxxii, 7, p. 161, describes this encounter: "D. García pasó al pueblo mayor á requerir al principal cacique, que se llamaba D. Juan Loman, aunque no estaba bautizado, y se dejó ver por los muros sin querer bajar de paz, y á instancias de D. García, ofreció salirle á hablar, como dejase el caballo y espada, porque tenia mucho miedo; y en esta conformidad, desmontó D. García del caballo, entrególe con la espada á sus soldados, á quienes hizo retirar, y acercándose á los muros, luego que Juan Loman se afrontó, se abrazó de él, y al punto, entre seis indios que habia dejado apercibidos, lo llevaron en peso y lo entraran en el pueblo si la puerta no es pequeña, por lo que en ella hizo hincapié, y pudo resistir hasta que llegaron soldados de á caballo, que le defendieron. Quisieron los indios hacer alguna crueldad con dicho D. García, por lo que intentaron llevarlo vivo, que si los indios salen con macanas ó porras que usaban, le quitan la vida."

assaults were made. The lack of water was what troubled the Indians most. They dug a very deep well inside the village, but were not able to get water, and while they were making it, it fell in and killed 30 persons. Two hundred of the besieged died in the fights. One day when there was a hard fight, they killed Francisco de Obando, a captain who had been army-master all the time that Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas was away making the discoveries already described, and also Francisco Pobares, a fine gentleman. Our men were unable to prevent them from carrying Francisco de Obando inside the village, which was regretted not a little, because he was a distinguished person, besides being honored on his own account, affable and much beloved, which was noticeable.[1] One day, before the capture was completed, they asked to speak to us, and said that, since they knew we would not harm the women and children, they wished to surrender their women and sons, because they were using up their water. It was impossible to persuade them to make peace, as they said that the Spaniards would not keep an agreement made with them. So they gave up about a hundred persons, women and boys, who did not want to leave them. Don Lope de Urrea[2] rode up in front of the town without his helmet and received the boys and girls in his arms, and when all of these had been surrendered, Don Lope begged them to make peace, giving them the strongest promises for their safety. They told him to go away, as they did not wish to trust themselves to people who had no regard for friendship or their own word which they had pledged. As he seemed unwilling to go away, one of them put an arrow in his bow ready to shoot, and threatened to shoot him with it unless he went off, and they warned him to put on his helmet, but he was unwilling to do so, saying that they would not hurt him as long as he stayed there. When the Indian saw that he did not want to go away, he shot and planted his arrow between the fore feet of the horse, and then put another arrow in his bow and repeated that if he did not go away he would really shoot him. Don Lope put on his helmet and slowly rode back to where the horsemen were, without receiving any harm from them. When they saw that he was really in safety, they began to shoot arrows in showers, with loud yells and cries. The general did not want to make an assault that day, in order to see if they could be brought in some way to make peace, which they would not consider.

Fifteen days later they decided to leave the village one night, and did so, taking the women in their midst. They started about the fourth watch, in the very early morning, on the side where the cavalry was.[3] The alarm was given by those in the camp of Don Rodrigo

[1] But see the Spanish. Ternaux translates it: "Les Indiens parvinrent à s'emparer de (d'Obando) et l'emmenèrent vivant dans leur village, . . . car c'était un homme distingué qui, par sa vertu et son affabilité, s'était fait aimer de tout le monde."

[2] Ternaux substituted the name of Don Garci-Lopez for that of Don Lope throughout this passage.

[3] Compare the Spanish text. Ternaux: "Ils prirent le parti d'abandonner le village pendant la nuit: ils se mirent donc en route: les femmes marchaient au milieu d'eux. Quand ils furent arrivés à un endroit où campait don Rodrigo Maldonado, les sentinelles donnèrent l'alarme."

Maldonado. The enemy attacked them and killed one Spaniard and a horse and wounded others, but they were driven back with great slaughter until they came to the river, where the water flowed swiftly and very cold. They threw themselves into this, and as the men had come quickly from the whole camp to assist the cavalry, there were few who escaped being killed or wounded. Some men from the camp went across the river next day and found many of them who had been overcome by the great cold. They brought these back, cured them, and made servants of them. This ended that siege, and the town was captured, although there were a few who remained in one part of the town and were captured a few days later.[1]

Two captains, Don Diego de Guevara and Juan de Saldivar, had captured the other large village after a siege. Having started out very early one morning to make an ambuscade in which to catch some warriors who used to come out every morning to try to frighten our camp, the spies, who had been placed where they could see when they were coming, saw the people come out and proceed toward the coun-

[1] There is much additional information of the siege and capture of Tiguex in the account given by Mota Padilla, xxxii, 8, p. 161: "Habiéndose puesto el cerco, estuvieron los indios rebeldes á los requerimientos, por lo que se intentó abrir brecha, y rota la argamasa superficial, se advirtió que el centro del muro era de palizada, troncos y mimbres bien hincados en la tierra, por lo que resistian los golpes que daban con unas malas barras, en cuyo tiempo hacian de las azoteas mucho daño en los nuestros con las piedras y con la flechas por las troneras; y quoriendo un soldado tapar con lodo una tronera de donde se hacia mucho daño, por un ojo le entraron una flecha, de que cayó muerto: llamábase Francisco Pobares; y á otro que se llamaba Juan Paniagua, muy buen cristiano y persona noble, le dieron otro flechazo en el párpado de un ojo, y publicaba que á la devocion del rosario, que siempre rezaba, debió la vida; otro soldado, llamado Francisco de Ovando, se entró de bruzas por una portañuela, y apenas hubo asomado la cabeza, cuando le asieron y le tiraron para adentro, quitándole la vida: púsose una escala por donde á todo trance subieron algunos; pero con arte, los indios tenian muchas piezas á cielo descubierto, para que se no comunicasen; y como á cortas distancias habia torrecillas con muchas saeteras y troneras, hacian mucho daño, de suerte que hirieron mas de sesenta, de los que murieron tres: un fulano Carbajal, hermano de Hernando Trejo, quien fué despues teniente de gobernador por Francisco de Ibarra, en Chametla: tambien murió un vizcaino, llamado Alonso de Castañeda, y un fulano Benitez; y esto fué por culpa de ellos, pues ya que habia pocas armas de fuego con que ofender, pudieron haber pegado fuego á los muros, pues eran de troncones y palizadas con solo el embarrado de tierra.

"9. Viendo el gobernador el poco efecto de su invasion, mandó se tocase á recoger, con ánimo de rendirlos por falta de agua, ya que no por hambre, porque sabia tenian buenas trojes de maiz. Trataron de curar los heridos, aunque se enconaron, y se cicatrizaban; y segun se supo, era la causa el que en unas vasijas de mimbre encerraban los indios víboras, y con las flechas las tocaban para que mordiesen las puntas y quedasen venenosas; y habiéndose mantenido algun tiempo, cuando se esperaba padeciesen falta de agua, comenzó á nevar, con cuya nieve se socorrieron y mantuvieron dos meses, en los que intentaron los nuestros muchos desatinos: el uno fué formar unos ingenios con unos maderos, que llamaban vaivenes, y son los antiguos arietes con que se batian las fortalezas en tiempo que no se conocia la pólvora; mas no acertaron: despues, por falta de artillería, intentaron hacer unos cañones de madera bien liados de cordeles á modo de cohetes; mas tampoco sirvió; y no arbitraron el arrimar leña á los muros y prenderles fuego: á mi ver entiendo que la crueldad con que quitaron la vida á los ciento y treinta gandules, los hizo indignos del triunfo; y así, en una noche los sitiados salieron y se pusieron en fuga, dejando á los nuestros burlados y sin cosa de provecho que lograsen por despojos de la plaza sitiada y se salieron los indios con su valeroso hecho.

"10. Por la parte que salieron estaban de centinelas dos soldados poco apercibidos, de los cuales el uno no pareció, y el otro fué hallado con el corazon atravesado con una flecha; y traido el cuerpo, le pusieron junto á la lumbrada comun del campo; y cuando volvieron los soldados, que intentaron el alcance de los indios, al desmontar uno de ellos del caballo, le pisó la boca al miserable, y se atribuyó su fatal muerte á haber sido renegador y blasfemo. Luego que amaneció, se trató de reconocer el pueblo, y entrando, se halló abastecido pero sin agua, y se reconoció un pozo profundo en la plaza que aquellos indios abrieron en busca de agua, y por no encontrarla, se resolvieron á la fuga, que consiguieron." . . .

try. The soldiers left the ambuscade and went to the village and saw the people fleeing. They pursued and killed large numbers of them. At the same time those in the camp were ordered to go over the town, and they plundered it, making prisoners of all the people who were found in it, amounting to about a hundred women and children. This siege ended the last of March, in the year '42.[1] Other things had happened in the meantime, which would have been noticed, but that it would have cut the thread. I have omitted them, but will relate them now, so that it will be possible to understand what follows.

Chapter 17, of how messengers reached the army from the valley of Señora and how Captain Melchior Diaz died on the expedition to the Firebrand river.

We have already related how Captain Melchior Diaz crossed the Firebrand river on rafts, in order to continue his discoveries farther in that direction. About the time the siege ended, messengers reached the army from the city of San Hieronimo with letters from Diego de Alarcon,[2] who had remained there in the place of Melchior Diaz. These contained the news that Melchior Diaz had died while he was conducting his search, and that the force had returned without finding any of the things they were after. It all happened in this fashion:

After they had crossed the river they continued their search for the coast, which here turned back toward the south, or between south and east, because that arm of the sea enters the land due north and this river, which brings its waters down from the north, flowing toward the south, enters the head of the gulf. Continuing in the direction they had been going, they came to some sand banks of hot ashes which it was impossible to cross without being drowned as in the sea. The ground they were standing on trembled like a sheet of paper, so that it seemed as if there were lakes underneath them. It seemed wonderful and like something infernal, for the ashes to bubble up here in several places. After they had gone away from this place, on account of the danger they seemed to be in and of the lack of water, one day a greyhound belonging to one of the soldiers chased some sheep which they were taking along for food. When the captain noticed this, he threw his lance at the dog while his horse was running, so that it stuck up in the ground, and not being able to stop his horse he went over the lance so that it nailed him through the thighs and the iron came out behind, rupturing his bladder. After this the soldiers turned back with their captain, having to fight every day with the Indians, who had remained hostile. He lived about twenty days, during which they proceeded with great difficulty on account of the necessity of carrying him.[3] They

[1] Ternaux translated this, "à la fin de 1542." Professor Haynes corrected the error in a note in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, vol. ii, p. 491, saying that "it is evident that the siege must have been concluded early in 1541."

[2] Should be Alcaraz.

[3] Mota Padilla's account of the death of Diaz is translated in the Introduction.

returned in good order without losing a man, until he died, and after that they were relieved of the greatest difficulty. When they reached Señora, Alcaraz dispatched the messengers already referred to, so that the general might know of this and also that some of the soldiers were ill disposed and had caused several mutinies, and that he had sentenced two of them to the gallows, but they had afterward escaped from the prison.

When the general learned this, he sent Don Pedro de Tovar to that city to sift out some of the men. He was accompanied by messengers whom the general sent to Don Antonio de Mendoza the viceroy, with an account of what had occurred and with the good news given by the Turk. When Don Pedro de Tovar arrived there, he found that the natives of that province had killed a soldier with a poisoned arrow, which had made only a very little wound in one hand. Several soldiers went to the place where this happened to see about it, and they were not very well received. Don Pedro de Tovar sent Diego de Alcaraz with a force to seize the chiefs and lords of a village in what they call the Valley of Knaves (de los Vellacos), which is in the hills. After getting there and taking these men prisoners, Diego de Alcaraz decided to let them go in exchange for some thread and cloth and other things which the soldiers needed. Finding themselves free, they renewed the war and attacked them, and as they were strong and had poison, they killed several Spaniards and wounded others so that they died on the way back. They retired toward the town, and if they had not had Indian allies from the country of the Hearts, it would have gone worse with them. They got back to the town, leaving 17 soldiers dead from the poison. They would die in agony from only a small wound, the bodies breaking out with an insupportable pestilential stink. When Don Pedro de Tovar saw the harm done, and as it seemed to them that they could not safely stay in that city, he moved 40 leagues toward Cibola into the valley of Suya, where we will leave them, in order to relate what happened to the general and his army after the siege of Tiguex.

Chapter 18, of how the general managed to leave the country in peace so as to go in search of Quivira, where the Turk said there was the most wealth.

During the siege of Tiguex the general decided to go to Cicuye and take the governor with him, in order to give him his liberty and to promise them that he would give Whiskers his liberty and leave him in the village, as soon as he should start for Quivira. He was received peacefully when he reached Cicuye, and entered the village with several soldiers. They received their governor with much joy and gratitude. After looking over the village and speaking with the natives[1] he returned

[1] Compare the Spanish text. Ternaux: "Le général le rétablit dans sa dignité, examina le pays, et retourna au camp."

to his army, leaving Cicuye at peace, in the hope of getting back their captain Whiskers.

After the siege was ended, as we have already related, he sent a captain to Chia, a fine village with many people, which had sent to offer its submission. It was 4 leagues distant to the west of the river. They found it peaceful and gave it four bronze cannon, which were in poor condition, to take care of. Six gentlemen also went to Quirix, a province with seven villages. At the first village, which had about a hundred inhabitants, the natives fled, not daring to wait for our men; but they headed them off by a short cut, riding at full speed, and then they returned to their houses in the village in perfect safety, and then told the other villagers about it and reassured them. In this way the entire region was reassured, little by little, by the time the ice in the river was broken up and it became possible to ford the river and so to continue the journey. The twelve villages of Tiguex, however, were not repopulated at all during the time the army was there, in spite of every promise of security that could possibly be given to them.

And when the river, which for almost four months had been frozen over so that they crossed the ice on horseback, had thawed out, orders were given for the start for Quivira, where the Turk said there was some gold and silver, although not so much as in Arche and the Guaes. There were already some in the army who suspected the Turk, because a Spaniard named Servantes,[1] who had charge of him during the siege, solemnly swore that he had seen the Turk talking with the devil in a pitcher of water, and also that while he had him under lock so that no one could speak to him, the Turk had asked him what Christians had been killed by the people at Tiguex. He told him "nobody," and then the Turk answered: "You lie; five Christians are dead, including a captain." And as Cervantes knew that he told the truth, he confessed it so as to find out who had told him about it, and the Turk said he knew it all by himself and that he did not need to have anyone tell him in order to know it. And it was on account of this that he watched him and saw him speaking to the devil in the pitcher, as I have said.

While all this was going on, preparations were being made to start from Tiguex. At this time people came from Cibola to see the general, and he charged them to take good care of the Spaniards who were coming from Señora with Don Pedro de Tovar. He gave them letters to give to Don Pedro, informing him what he ought to do and how he should go to find the army, and that he would find letters under the crosses which the army would put up along the way. The army left Tiguex on the 5th of May[2] and returned to Cicuye, which, as I have said, is twenty-five marches, which means leagues, from there, taking Whiskers with them. Arrived there, he gave them their captain, who already went about freely with a guard. The village was very glad to see him, and the people were peaceful and offered food. The governor and

[1] Or Cervantes, as Ternaux spells it.

[2] Coronado says, in his letter of October 20, that he started April 23.

Whiskers gave the general a young fellow called Xabe, a native of Quivira, who could give them information about the country. This fellow said that there was gold and silver, but not so much of it as the Turk had said. The Turk, however, continued to declare that it was as he had said. He went as a guide, and thus the army started off from here.

Chapter 19, of how they started in search of Quivira and of what happened on the way.

The army started from Cicuye, leaving the village at peace and, as it seemed, contented, and under obligations to maintain the friendship because their governor and captain had been restored to them. Proceeding toward the plains, which are all on the other side of the mountains, after four days' journey they came to a river with a large, deep current, which flowed down toward Cicuye, and they named this the Cicuye river.[1] They had to stop here to make a bridge so as to cross it. It was finished in four days, by much diligence and rapid work, and as soon as it was done the whole army and the animals crossed. After ten days more they came to some settlements of people who lived like Arabs and who are called Querechos in that region. They had seen the cows for two days. These folks live in tents made of the tanned skins of the cows. They travel around near the cows, killing them for food. They did nothing unusual when they saw our army, except to come out of their tents to look at us, after which they came to talk with the advance guard, and asked who we were. The general talked with them, but as they had already talked with the Turk, who was with the advance guard, they agreed with what he had said. That they were very intelligent is evident from the fact that although they conversed by means of signs they made themselves understood so well that there was no need of an interpreter.[2] They said that there was a very large river over toward where the sun came from, and that one could go along this river through an inhabited region for ninety days without a break from settlement to settlement. They said that the first of these settlements was called Haxa, and that the river was more than a league wide and that there were many canoes on it. These folks started off from here next day with a lot of dogs which dragged their possessions. For two days, during which the army marched in the same direction as that in which they had come from the settlements—that is, between north and east, but more toward the north[3]—they saw

[1]The Rio Pecos. The bridge, however, was doubtless built across the upper waters of the Canadian.

[2]There is an elaborate account of the sign language of the Indians, by Garrick Mallery, in the first annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1879-80.

[3]Mota Padilla, xxxiii, 3, p. 165, says: "Hasta allí caminaron los nuestros, guiados por el Turco para el Oriente, con mucha inclinacion al Norte, y desde entónces los guió vía recta al Oriente; y habiendo andado tres jornadas, hubo de hacer alto el gobernador para conferir sobre si seria acertado dejarse llevar de aquel indio, habiendo mudado de rumbo, en cuyo intermedio un soldado, ó por travesura, ó por hacer carne, se apartó, y aunque lo esperaron, no se supo mas de él; y á dos jornadas que anduvieron, guiados todavía del indio, pasaron una barranca profunda, que fué la primera quiebra que vieron de la tierra desde Tigües." Compare the route of the expedition in the Introduction, and also in the translation of Jaramillo.

other roaming Querechos and such great numbers of cows that it already seemed something incredible. These people gave a great deal of information about settlements, all toward the east from where we were. Here Don Garcia broke his arm and a Spaniard got lost who went off hunting so far that he was unable to return to the camp, because the country is very level. The Turk said it was one or two days to Haya (Haxa). The general sent Captain Diego Lopez with ten companions lightly equipped and a guide to go at full speed toward the sunrise for two days and discover Haxa, and then return to meet the army, which set out in the same direction next day. They came across so many animals that those who were on the advance guard killed a large number of bulls. As these fled they trampled one another in their haste until they came to a ravine. So many of the animals fell into this that they filled it up, and the rest went across on top of them. The men who were chasing them on horseback fell in among the animals without noticing where they were going. Three of the horses that fell in among the cows, all saddled and bridled, were lost sight of completely.

As it seemed to the general that Diego Lopez ought to be on his way back, he sent six of his companions to follow up the banks of the little river, and as many more down the banks, to look for traces of the horses at the trails to and from the river. It was impossible to find tracks in this country, because the grass straightened up again as soon as it was trodden down. They were found by some Indians from the army who had gone to look for fruit. These got track of them a good league off, and soon came up with them. They followed the river down to the camp, and told the general that in the 20 leagues they had been over they had seen nothing but cows and the sky. There was another native of Quivira with the army, a painted Indian named Ysopete. This Indian had always declared that the Turk was lying, and on account of this the army paid no attention to him, and even now, although he said that the Querechos had consulted with him, Ysopete was not believed.[1]

The general sent Don Rodrigo Maldonado, with his company, forward from here. He traveled four days and reached a large ravine like those of Colima,[2] in the bottom of which he found a large settlement of people. Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had passed through this place, so that they presented Don Rodrigo with a pile of tanned skins and other things, and a tent as big as a house, which he directed them to keep until the army came up. He sent some of his companions to guide the army to that place, so that they should not get lost, although he had been making piles of stones and cow dung for the army to follow. This was the way in which the army was guided by the advance guard.

[1] Compare the Spanish. Ternaux: "Mais cette fois on n'avait pas voulu le croire; les Querechos ayant rapporté la même chose que le Turc."

[2] Ternaux read this Coloma. The reference is clearly to the district of Colima in western Mexico, where one of the earliest Spanish settlements was made.

When the general came up with the army and saw the great quantity of skins, he thought he would divide them among the men, and placed guards so that they could look at them. But when the men arrived and saw that the general was sending some of his companions with orders for the guards to give them some of the skins, and that these were going to select the best, they were angry because they were not going to be divided evenly, and made a rush, and in less than a quarter of an hour nothing was left but the empty ground.

The natives who happened to see this also took a hand in it. The women and some others were left crying, because they thought that the strangers were not going to take anything, but would bless them as Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had done when they passed through here. They found an Indian girl here who was as white as a Castilian lady, except that she had her chin painted like a Moorish woman. In general they all paint themselves in this way here, and they decorate their eyes.

Chapter 20, of how great stones fell in the camp, and how they discovered another ravine, where the army was divided into two parts.

While the army was resting in this ravine, as we have related, a tempest came up one afternoon with a very high wind and hail, and in a very short space of time a great quantity of hailstones, as big as bowls, or bigger, fell as thick as raindrops, so that in places they covered the ground two or three spans or more deep. And one hit the horse—or I should say, there was not a horse that did not break away, except two or three which the negroes protected by holding large sea nets over them, with the helmets and shields which all the rest wore;[1] and some of them dashed up on to the sides of the ravine so that they got them down with great difficulty. If this had struck them while they were upon the plain, the army would have been in great danger of being left without its horses, as there were many which they were not able to cover.[2] The hail broke many tents, and battered many helmets, and wounded many of the horses, and broke all the crockery of the army, and the gourds, which was no small loss, because they do not have any crockery in this region. They do not make gourds, nor sow corn, nor eat bread, but instead raw meat—or only half cooked—and fruit.

[1] The Spanish text is very confused. Ternaux says: "Les chevaux rompirent leurs liens et s'échappèrent tous à l'exception de deux ou trois qui furent retenus par des nègres qui avaient pris des casques et des boucliers pour se mettre à l'abri. Le vent en enleva d'autres et les colla contre les parois du ravin."

[2] Mota Padilla, xxxiii, 3, p. 165: "A la primera barranca. . . . á las tres de la tarde hicieron alto, y repentinamente un recio viento les llevó una nube tan cargada, que causó horror el granizo, que despedia tan gruesos como nueces, huevos de gallina y de ánsares, de suerte que era necesario arrodelarse para la resistencia; los caballos dieron estampida y se pusieron en fuga, y no se pudieran hallar si la barranca no los detiene; las tiendas que se habian armado quedaron rotas, y quebradas todas las ollas, cazuelas, comales y demas vasijas; y afligidos con tan varios sucesos, determinaron en aquel dia que fué el de Ascension del Señor de 541, que el ejército se volviese á Tigües á reparar, como que era tierra abastecida de todo."

From here the general sent out to explore the country,[1] and they found another settlement four days from there[2] . . . The country was well inhabited, and they had plenty of kidney beans and prunes like those of Castile, and tall vineyards. These village settlements extended for three days. This was called Cona. Some Teyas,[3] as these people are called, went with the army from here and traveled as far as the end of the other settlements with their packs of dogs and women and children, and then they gave them guides to proceed to a large ravine where the army was. They did not let these guides speak with the Turk, and did not receive the same statements from these as they had from the others. These said that Quivira was toward the north, and that we would not find any good road thither. After this they began to believe Ysopete. The ravine which the army had now reached was a league wide from one side to the other, with a little bit of a river at the bottom, and there were many groves of mulberry trees near it, and rosebushes with the same sort of fruit that they have in France. They made verjuice from the unripe grapes at this ravine, although there were ripe ones.[4] There were walnuts and the same kind of fowls as in New Spain, and large quantities of prunes like those of Castile. During this journey a Teya was seen to shoot a bull right through both shoulders with an arrow, which would be a good shot for a musket. These people are very intelligent; the women are well made and modest. They cover their whole body. They wear shoes and buskins made of tanned skin. The women wear cloaks over their small under petticoats, with sleeves gathered up at the shoulders, all of skin, and some wore something like little sanbenitos[5] with a fringe, which reached half-way down the thigh over the petticoat.

The army rested several days in this ravine and explored the country. Up to this point they had made thirty-seven days' marches, traveling

[1]Herrera, Historia General, dec. vi, lib. ix, cap. xi, xii, vol. iii, p. 206, ed. 1728: "La relacion que este Indio hacia, de la manera con que se governaban en vna Provincia mas adelante, llamada Harae, i juzgandose, que era imposible que alli dexase de haver algunos Christianos perdidos del Armada de Panfilo de Narvaez, Francisco Vazquez acordò de escrivir vna Carta, i la embiò con el Indio fiel de aquellos dos, porque el que havia de quedar, siempre le llevaron de Retaguarda, porque el bueno no le viese. . . . Embiada la Carta, dando cuenta de la jornada que hacia el Exercito, i adonde havia llegado, pidiendo aviso, i relacion de aquella Tierra, i llamando aquellos Christianos, si por caso los huviese, ò que avisasen de lo que havian menester para salir de cautiverio."

[2]A manera de alixares. The margin reads Alexeres, which I can not find in the atlases. The word means threshing floor, whence Ternaux: "autres cabanes semblables à des bruyères (alixares)."

[3]Bandelier suggests that the name may have originated in the Indian exclamation, Texia! Texia!—friends! friends!—with which they first greeted the Spaniards.

[4]Ternaux: "il y avait des vignes, des mûriers et des rosiers (*rosales*), dont le fruit que l'on trouve en France, sert en guise de verjus; il y en avait de mûr."

[5]Captain John Stevens's New Dictionary says the sanbenito was "the badge put upon converted Jews brought out by the Inquisition, being in the nature of a scapula or a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind, with a large Saint Andrews cross on it, red and yellow. The name corrupted from Saco Benito, answerable to the sackcloth worn by penitents in the primitive church." Robert Tomson, in his Voyage into Nova Hispania, 1555, in Hakluyt, iii, 536, describes his imprisonment by the Holy Office in the city of Mexico: "We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S. Benito vpon his backe, which is a halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middest, and cast ouer a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the middest of euery flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on vpon the same, and that is called S. Benito."

6 or 7 leagues a day. It had been the duty of one man to measure and count his steps. They found that it was 250 leagues to the settlements.[1] When the general Francisco Vazquez realized this, and saw that they had been deceived by the Turk heretofore, and as the provisions were giving out and there was no country around here where they could procure more, he called the captains and ensigns together to decide on what they thought ought to be done. They all agreed that the general should go in search of Quivira with thirty horsemen and half a dozen foot-soldiers, and that Don Tristan de Arellano should go back to Tiguex with all the army. When the men in the army learned of this decision, they begged their general not to leave them to conduct the further search, but declared that they all wanted to die with him and did not want to go back. This did not do any good, although the general agreed to send messengers to them within eight days saying whether it was best for them to follow him or not, and with this he set off with the guides he had and with Ysopete. The Turk was taken along in chains.

Chapter 21, of how the army returned to Tiguex and the general reached Quivira.

The general started from the ravine with the guides that the Teyas had given him. He appointed the alderman Diego Lopez his army-master, and took with him the men who seemed to him to be most efficient, and the best horses. The army still had some hope that the general would send for them, and sent two horsemen, lightly equipped and riding post, to repeat their petition.

The general arrived—I mean, the guides ran away during the first few days and Diego Lopez had to return to the army for guides, bringing orders for the army to return to Tiguex to find food and wait there for the general. The Teyas, as before, willingly furnished him with new guides. The army waited for its messengers and spent a fortnight here, preparing jerked beef to take with them. It was estimated that during this fortnight they killed 500 bulls. The number of these that were there without any cows was something incredible. Many fellows were lost at this time who went out hunting and did not get back to the army for two or three days, wandering about the country as if they were crazy, in one direction or another, not knowing how to get back where they started from, although this ravine extended in either direction so that they could find it.[2] Every night they took account of who was missing, fired guns and blew trumpets and beat drums and built great fires, but yet some of them went off so far and wandered about so much that all this did not give them any help, although it helped others. The only way was to go back where they had killed an animal and start from there in one direction and another until

[1] The Tiguex country is often referred to as the region where the settlements were. Ternaux says "depuis Tiguex jusqu'au dernier village."

[2] Compare the Spanish text.

they struck the ravine or fell in with somebody who could put them on the right road. It is worth noting that the country there is so level that at midday, after one has wandered about in one direction and another in pursuit of game, the only thing to do is to stay near the game quietly until sunset, so as to see where it goes down, and even then they have to be men who are practiced to do it. Those who are not, had to trust themselves to others.

The general followed his guides until he reached Quivira, which took forty-eight days' marching, on account of the great detour they had made toward Florida.[1] He was received peacefully on account of the guides whom he had. They asked the Turk why he had lied and had guided them so far out of their way. He said that his country was in that direction and that, besides this, the people at Cicuye had asked him to lead them off on to the plains and lose them, so that the horses would die when their provisions gave out, and they would be so weak if they ever returned that they could be killed without any trouble, and thus they could take revenge for what had been done to them. This was the reason why he had led them astray, supposing that they did not know how to hunt or to live without corn, while as for the gold, he did not know where there was any of it. He said this like one who had given up hope and who found that he was being persecuted, since they had begun to believe Ysopete, who had guided them better than he had, and fearing lest those who were there might give some advice by which some harm would come to him. They garroted him, which pleased Ysopete very much, because he had always said that Ysopete was a rascal and that he did not know what he was talking about and had always hindered his talking with anybody. Neither gold nor silver nor any trace of either was found among these people. Their lord wore a copper plate on his neck and prized it highly.

The messengers whom the army had sent to the general returned, as I said, and then, as they brought no news except what the alderman had delivered, the army left the ravine and returned to the Teyas, where they took guides who led them back by a more direct road. They readily furnished these, because these people are always roaming over this country in pursuit of the animals and so know it thoroughly. They keep their road in this way: In the morning they notice where the sun rises and observe the direction they are going to take, and then shoot an arrow in this direction. Before reaching this they shoot another over it, and in this way they go all day toward the water where they are to end the day. In this way they covered in 25 days

[1] Herrera, Historia General, dec. vi, lib. ix, cap. xii, vol. iii, p. 206 (ed. 1728): "Los treinta Caballos fueron en busca de la Tierra poblada, i hallaron buenos Pueblos, fundados junto à Buenos Arroios, que van à dàr al Rio Grande, que pasaron. Anduvieron cinco, ò seis dias por estos Pueblos, llegaron à lo vltimo de Quivira, que decian los Indios ser mucho, i hallaron vn Rio de mas Agua, i poblacion que los otros; i preguntando que si adelante havia otra cosa, dixeron, que de Quivira no havia sino Harae, i que era de la misma manera en Poblaciones, i tamaño. . . . Embiòse à llamar al Señor, el qual era vn Hombre grande, y de grandes miembros, de buena proporcion, llevò docientos Hombres desnudos, i mal cubiertas sus carnes, llevaban Arcos, i Flechas, i Plumas en las cabeças." Compare Jaramillo's statement and Coronado's letter, as discussed in the introduction.

what had taken them 37 days going, besides stopping to hunt cows on the way. They found many salt lakes on this road, and there was a great quantity of salt. There were thick pieces of it on top of the water bigger than tables, as thick as four or five fingers. Two or three spans down under water there was salt which tasted better than that in the floating pieces, because this was rather bitter. It was crystalline. All over these plains there were large numbers of animals like squirrels and a great number of their holes. On its return the army reached the Cicuye river more than 30 leagues below there—I mean below the bridge they had made when they crossed it, and they followed it up to that place. In general, its banks are covered with a sort of rose bushes, the fruit of which tastes like muscatel grapes.[1] They grow on little twigs about as high up as a man. It has the parsley leaf. There were unripe grapes and currants (?)[2] and wild marjoram. The guides said this river joined that of Tiguex more than 20 days from here, and that its course turned toward the east. It is believed that it flows into the mighty river of the Holy Spirit (Espiritu Santo), which the men with Don Hernando de Soto discovered in Florida. A painted Indian woman ran away from Juan de Saldibar and hid in the ravines about this time, because she recognized the country of Tiguex where she had been a slave. She fell into the hands of some Spaniards who had entered the country from Florida to explore it in this direction. After I got back to New Spain I heard them say that the Indian told them that she had run away from other men like them nine days, and that she gave the names of some captains; from which we ought to believe that we were not far from the region they discovered, although they said they were more than 200 leagues inland. I believe the land at that point is more than 600 leagues across from sea to sea.

As I said, the army followed the river up as far as Cicuye, which it found ready for war and unwilling to make any advances toward peace or to give any food to the army. From there they went on to Tiguex where several villages had been reinhabited, but the people were afraid and left them again.

Chapter 22, of how the general returned from Quivira and of other expeditions toward the North.

After Don Tristan de Arellano reached Tiguex, about the middle of July, in the year '42,[3] he had provisions collected for the coming winter. Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo was sent up the river toward the north with several men. He saw two provinces, one of which was called Hemes and had seven villages, and the other Yuqueyunque.[4] The inhabitants of Hemes came out peaceably and furnished provisions. At Yuqueyunque the whole nation left two very fine villages which

[1] Ternaux: "les rives, qui sont couvertes d'une plante dont le fruit ressemble au raisin muscat."
[2] Compare the Spanish text; Ternaux omits this sentence.
[3] Castañeda's date is, as usual, a year later than the actual one.
[4] Yuge-uing-ge, as Bandelier spells it, is the aboriginal name of a former Tewa village, the site of which is occupied by the hamlet of Chamita, opposite San Juan. The others are near by.

they had on either side of the river entirely vacant, and went into the mountains, where they had four very strong villages in a rough country, where it was impossible for horses to go. In the two villages there was a great deal of food and some very beautiful glazed earthenware with many figures and different shapes. Here they also found many bowls full of a carefully selected shining metal with which they glazed the earthenware. This shows that mines of silver would be found in that country if they should hunt for them.

There was a large and powerful river, I mean village, which was called Braba, 20 leagues farther up the river, which our men called Valladolid.[1] The river flowed through the middle of it. The natives crossed it by wooden bridges, made of very long, large, squared pines. At this village they saw the largest and finest hot rooms or estufas that there were in the entire country, for they had a dozen pillars, each one of which was twice as large around as one could reach and twice as tall as a man. Hernando de Alvarado visited this village when he discovered Cicuye. The country is very high and very cold. The river is deep and very swift, without any ford. Captain Barrionuevo returned from here, leaving the province at peace.

Another captain went down the river in search of the settlements which the people at Tutahaco had said were several days distant from there. This captain went down 80 leagues and found four large villages which he left at peace. He proceeded until he found that the river sank into the earth, like the Guadiana in Estremadura.[2] He did not go on to where the Indians said that it came out much larger, because his commission did not extend for more than 80 leagues march. After this captain got back, as the time had arrived which the captain had set for his return from Quivira, and as he had not come back, Don Tristan selected 40 companions and, leaving the army to Francisco de Barrionuevo, he started with them in search of the general. When he reached Cicuye the people came out of the village to fight, which detained him there four days, while he punished them, which he did by firing some volleys into the village. These killed several men, so that they did not come out against the army, since two of their principal men had been killed on the first day. Just then word was brought that the general was coming, and so Don Tristan had to stay there on this account also, to keep the road open.[3] Everybody welcomed the general on his arrival, with great joy. The Indian Xabe, who was the young fellow who had been given to the general at Cicuye when he started off in search of Quivira, was with Don Tristan de Arellano and when he learned that the gen-

[1] Taos, or Te-uat-ha. See Bandelier's Final Report, vol. i, p. 123, for the identification of these places.

[2] This rendering, doubtless correct, is due to Ternaux. The Guadiana, however, reappears above ground some time before it begins to mark the boundary of the Spanish province of Estremadura. The Castañeda family had its seat in quite the other end of the peninsula.

[3] Mota Padilla, xxxiii, 4., p. 165: "Al cabo de dos meses, poco mas ó ménos, volvió con su gente el general á Tigües, y dieron razon que habiendo caminado mas de cien leguas. · · · Quivira se halló ser un pueblo de hasta cien casas."

eral was coming he acted as if he was greatly pleased, and said, "Now when the general comes, you will see that there is gold and silver in Quivira, although not so much as the Turk said." When the general arrived, and Xabe saw that they had not found anything, he was sad and silent, and kept declaring that there was some. He made many believe that it was so, because the general had not dared to enter into the country on account of its being thickly settled and his force not very strong, and that he had returned to lead his army there after the rains, because it had begun to rain there already, as it was early in August when he left. It took him forty days to return, traveling lightly equipped. The Turk had said when they left Tiguex that they ought not to load the horses with too much provisions, which would tire them so that they could not afterward carry the gold and silver, from which it is very evident that he was deceiving them.

The general reached Cicuye with his force and at once set off for Tiguex, leaving the village more quiet, for they had met him peaceably and had talked with him. When he reached Tiguex, he made his plans to pass the winter there, so as to return with the whole army, because it was said that he brought information regarding large settlements and very large rivers, and that the country was very much like that of Spain in the fruits and vegetation and seasons. They were not ready to believe that there was no gold there, but instead had suspicions that there was some farther back in the country, because, although this was denied, they knew what the thing was and had a name for it among themselves—acochis. With this we end this first part, and now we will give an account of the provinces.

SECOND PART, WHICH TREATS OF THE HIGH VILLAGES AND PROVINCES AND OF THEIR HABITS AND CUSTOMS, AS COLLECTED BY PEDRO DE CASTAÑEDA, NATIVE OF THE CITY OF NAJARA.

Laus Deo.

It does not seem to me that the reader will be satisfied with having seen and understood what I have already related about the expedition, although that has made it easy to see the difference between the report which told about vast treasures, and the places where nothing like this was either found or known. It is to be noted that in place of settlements great deserts were found, and instead of populous cities villages of 200 inhabitants and only 800 or 1,000 people in the largest. I do not know whether this will furnish grounds for pondering and considering the uncertainty of this life. To please these, I wish to give a detailed account of all the inhabited region seen and discovered by this expedition, and some of their ceremonies and habits, in accordance with what we came to know about them, and the limits within which each province falls, so that hereafter it may be possible to understand in what direction Florida lies and in what direction Greater India; and

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y enojan : finalmente es animal feo y fiero de roſtro,y cuerpo. Huyẽ de los los cauallos por ſu mala catadura,o por nunca los auer viſto. No tienen ſus dueños otra riqueza , ni hazienda , dellos comen,beuen,viſten,calçan , y hazen muchas coſas de los cueros,caſas,calçado,veſtido y ſogas:delos hueſſos,punçones:delos neruios,y pelos, hilo:de los cuernos,buches,y bexigas , vaſos:delas boñigas,lumbre:y delas terneras , odres , en que traen y tienen agua : hazen en fin tantas coſas dellos quantas han meneſter , o quantas las baſtan para ſu biuienda. Ay tambien otros animales, tan grandes como cauallos,que por tener cuernos , y lana fina,los llaman carneros,y dizen , que cada cuerno peſa dos arrouas. Ay tambien grandes perros, que

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this land of New Spain is part of the mainland with Peru, and with Greater India or China as well, there not being any strait between to separate them. On the other hand, the country is so wide that there is room for these vast deserts which lie between the two seas, for the coast of the North sea beyond Florida stretches toward the Bacallaos[1] and then turns toward Norway, while that of the South sea turns toward the west, making another bend down toward the south almost like a bow and stretches away toward India, leaving room for the lands that border on the mountains on both sides to stretch out in such a way as to have between them these great plains which are full of cattle and many other animals of different sorts, since they are not inhabited, as I will relate farther on. There is every sort of game and fowl there, but no snakes, for they are free[2] from these. I will leave the account of the return of the army to New Spain until I have shown what slight occasion there was for this. We will begin our account with the city of Culiacan, and point out the differences between the one country and the other, on account of which one ought to be settled by Spaniards and the other not. It should be the reverse, however, with Christians, since there are intelligent men in one, and in the other wild animals and worse than beasts.

Chapter 1, of the province of Culiacan and of its habits and customs.

Culiacan is the last place in the New Kingdom of Galicia, and was the first settlement made by Nuño de Guzman when he conquered this kingdom. It is 210 leagues west of Mexico. In this province there are three chief languages, besides other related dialects. The first is that of the Tahus, who are the best and most intelligent race. They are now the most settled and have received the most light from the faith. They worship idols and make presents to the devil of their goods and riches, consisting of cloth and turquoises. They do not eat human flesh nor sacrifice it. They are accustomed to keep very large snakes, which they venerate. Among them there are men dressed like women who marry other men and serve as their wives. At a great festival they consecrate the women who wish to live unmarried, with much singing and dancing,[3] at which all the chiefs of the locality gather and dance naked, and after all have danced with her they put her in a hut that has been decorated for this event and the chiefs adorn her with clothes and bracelets of fine turquoises, and then the chiefs go in one by one to lie with her, and all the others who wish, follow them. From this time on these women can not refuse anyone who pays them a certain amount agreed on for this. Even if they take husbands, this does not exempt them from obliging anyone who pays them. The greatest festivals are on market days. The custom is for the husbands to buy the women

[1] The Newfoundland region.

[2] Ternaux's rendering. Compare the Spanish text.

[3] Compare the Spanish. Several words in the manuscript are not very clear. Ternaux omits them, as usual.

whom they marry, of their fathers and relatives at a high price, and then to take them to a chief, who is considered to be a priest, to deflower them and see if she is a virgin; and if she is not, they have to return the whole price, and he can keep her for his wife or not, or let her be consecrated, as he chooses. At these times they all get drunk.

The second language is that of the Pacaxes, the people who live in the country between the plains and the mountains. These people are more barbarous. Some of them who live near the mountains eat human flesh.[1] They are great sodomites, and have many wives, even when these are sisters. They worship painted and sculptured stones, and are much given to witchcraft and sorcery.

The third language is that of the Acaxes, who are in possession of a large part of the hilly country and all of the mountains They go hunting for men just as they hunt animals. They all eat human flesh, and he who has the most human bones and skulls hung up around his house is most feared and respected. They live in settlements and in very rough country, avoiding the plains. In passing from one settlement to another, there is always a ravine in the way which they can not cross, although they can talk together across it.[2] At the slightest call 500 men collect, and on any pretext kill and eat one another. Thus it has been very hard to subdue these people, on account of the roughness of the country, which is very great.

Many rich silver mines have been found in this country. They do not run deep, but soon give out. The gulf of the sea begins on the coast of this province, entering the land 250 leagues toward the north and ending at the mouth of the Firebrand (Tizon) river. This country forms its eastern limit, and California the western. From what I have been told by men who had navigated it, it is 30 leagues across from point to point, because they lose sight of this country when they see the other. They say the gulf is over 150 leagues broad (or deep), from shore to shore. The coast makes a turn toward the south at the Firebrand river, bending down to California, which turns toward the west, forming that peninsula which was formerly held to be an island, because it was a low sandy country. It is inhabited by brutish, bestial, naked people who eat their own offal. The men and women couple like animals, the female openly getting down on all fours.

Chapter 2, of the province of Petlatlan and all the inhabited country as far as Chichilticalli.

Petlatlan is a settlement of houses covered with a sort of mats made of *plants*.[3] These are collected into villages, extending along a river from the mountains to the sea. The people are of the same race and

[1] Omitted by Ternaux, who (p. 151) calls these the Pacasas.

[2] Compare the Spanish text. Ternaux (p. 152) renders: "Ils ont soin de bâtir leurs villages de manière à ce qu'ils soient séparés les uns des autres par des ravins impossibles à franchir," which is perhaps the meaning of the Spanish.

[3] Ternaux, p. 156: "couvertes en nattes de glaïeul." The Spanish manuscript is very obscure.

habits as the Culuacanian Tahues. There is much sodomy among them. In the mountain district there is a large population and more settlements. These people have a somewhat different language from the Tahues, although they understand each other. It is called Petlatlan because the houses are made of petates or palm-leaf mats.[1] Houses of this sort are found for more than 240 leagues in this region, to the beginning of the Cibola wilderness. The nature of the country changes here very greatly, because from this point on there are no trees except the pine,[2] nor are there any fruits except a few tunas,[3] mesquites,[4] and pitahayas.[5]

Petlatlan is 20 leagues from Culiacan, and it is 130 leagues from here to the valley of Señora. There are many rivers between the two, with settlements of the same sort of people—for example, Sinoloa, Boyomo, Teocomo, Yaquimi, and other smaller ones. There is also the Corazones or Hearts, which is in our possession, down the valley of Señora.[6]

Señora is a river and valley thickly settled by able-bodied people. The women wear petticoats of tanned deerskin, and little san benitos reaching half way down the body.[7] The chiefs of the villages go up on some little heights they have made for this purpose, like public criers, and there make proclamations for the space of an hour, regulating those things they have to attend to. They have some little huts for shrines, all over the outside of which they stick many arrows, like a hedgehog. They do this when they are eager for war. All about this province toward the mountains there is a large population in separate little provinces containing ten or twelve villages. Seven or eight of them, of which I know the names, are Comupatrico, Mochilagua, Arispa, and the Little Valley.[8] There are others which we did not see.

It is 40 leagues from Señora to the valley of Suya. The town of Saint Jerome (San Hieronimo) was established in this valley, where there was

[1] An account of these people is given in the Trivmphos, lib. 1, cap. ii, p. 6, Andres Perez de Ribas, S. J. "Estas [casas] hazian, vnas de varas de monte hincadas en tierra, entretexidas, y atadas con vejucos, que son vnas ramas como de çarçaparrilla, muy fuertes, y que duran mucho tiẽpo. Las paredes que haziã con essa barazon las afortauan con vna torta de barro, para que no las penetrasse el Sol, ni los vientos, cubriendo la casa con madera, y encima tierra, ó barro, con que hazian açotea, y con esso se contentauan. Otros hazian sus casas de petates q̃ es genero de esteras texidas de caña taxada." Bandelier found the Opata Indians living in houses made with "a slight foundation of cobblestones which supported a framework of posts standing in a thin wall of rough stones and mud, while a slanting roof of yucca or palm leaves covered the whole."—Final Report, pt. i, p. 58.

[2] The meaning of this sentence in the Spanish is not wholly clear. Ternaux, p. 156: "Cette manière de bâtir . . . change dans cet endroit probablement, parce qu'il n'y a plus d'arbres sans épines."

[3] The *Opuntia tuna* or prickly pear.

[4] *Prosopis juliflora.*

[5] *Cereus thurberii.*

[6] Sonora.

[7] Oviedo, Historia, vol. iii, p. 610 (ed. 1853): "Toda esta gente, dende las primeras casas del mahiz, andan los hombres muy deshonestos, sin se cobrir cosa alguna de sus personas; é las mugeres muy honestas, con unas sayas de cueros de venados hasta los piés, é con falda que detrás les arrastra alguna cosa, é abiertas por delante hasta el suelo y enlaçadas con unas correas. É traen debaxo, por donde están abiertas, una mantilla de algodon é otra ençima, é unas gorgueras de algodon, que les cubren todos los pechos."

[8] Ternaux, pp. 157–158: "une multitude de tribus à part, réunis en petites nations de sept ou huit, dix ou douze villages, ce sont: Upatrico, Mochila, Guagarispa, El Vallecillo, et d'autres qui son près des montagnes."

a rebellion later, and part of the people who had settled there were killed, as will be seen in the third part. There are many villages in the neighborhood of this valley. The people are the same as those in Señora and have the same dress and language, habits, and customs, like all the rest as far as the desert of Chichilticalli. The women paint their chins and eyes like the Moorish women of Barbary. They are great sodomites. They drink wine made of the pitahaya, which is the fruit of a great thistle which opens like the pomegranate. The wine makes them stupid. They make a great quantity of preserves from the tuna; they preserve it in a large amount of its sap without other honey. They make bread of the mesquite, like cheese, which keeps good for a whole year.[1] There are native melons in this country so large that a person can carry only one of them. They cut these into slices and dry them in the sun. They are good to eat, and taste like figs, and are better than dried meat; they are very good and sweet, keeping for a whole year when prepared in this way.[2]

In this country there were also tame eagles, which the chiefs esteemed to be something fine.[3] No fowls of any sort were seen in any of these villages except in this valley of Suya, where fowls like those of Castile were found. Nobody could find out how they came to be so far inland, the people being all at war with one another. Between Suya and Chichilticalli there are many sheep and mountain goats with very large bodies and horns. Some Spaniards declare that they have seen flocks of more than a hundred together, which ran so fast that they disappeared very quickly.

At Chichilticalli the country changes its character again and the spiky vegetation ceases. The reason is that the gulf reaches as far up as this place, and the mountain chain changes its direction at the same time that the coast does. Here they had to cross and pass through the mountains in order to get into the level country.

Chapter 3, of Chichilticalli and the desert, of Cibola, its customs and habits, and of other things.

Chichilticalli is so called because the friars found a house at this place which was formerly inhabited by people who separated from Cibola. It was made of colored or reddish earth.[4] The house was large and appeared to have been a fortress. It must have been destroyed by the people of the district, who are the most barbarous people that have yet been seen. They live in separate cabins and not in settlements. They live by hunt-

[1] Bandelier, Final Report, pt. i, p. 111, quotes from the Relaciones of Zárate-Salmeron, of some Arizona Indians: "Tambien tienen para su sustento Mescali que es conserva de raiz de maguey." The strong liquor is made from the root of the Mexican or American agave.

[2] These were doubtless cantaloupes. The southwestern Indians still slice and dry them in a manner similar to that here described.

[3] The Pueblo Indians, particularly the Zuñi and Hopi, keep eagles for their feathers, which are highly prized because of their reputed sacred character.

[4] Chichiltic-calli, a red object or house, according to Molina's Vocabulario Mexicano, 1555. Bandelier, Historical Introduction, p. 11, gives references to the ancient and modern descriptions. The location is discussed on page 387 of the present memoir.

LES SINGVLARITEZ

Toreau sauuage.

tre ceſte Floride & la riuiere de Palme ſe trouuent diuerſes eſpeces de beſtes monſtrueuſes: entre leſquelles lon peut voir vne eſpece de grands taureaux, por-

tans cornes longues ſeulement d'vn pié, & ſur le dos vne tumueur ou eminence, cõme vn chameau: le poil long par tout le corps, duquel la couleur s'approche fort de celle d'vne mule fauue, & encores l'eſt plus celuy qui eſt deſſoubs le mentõ. Lon en amena vne fois deux tous vifs en Eſpagne, de l'vn deſquels j'ay veu la peau & non autre choſe, & n'y peurent viure long temps. Ceſt animal ainſi que lon dit, eſt perpetuel ennemy du cheual, & ne le peut endurer pres de luy. De la Floride tirant au promontoire de Baxe, ſe trouue quelque petite riuiere, ou les eſclaues vont peſcher huitres, qui portent perles. Or depuis que ſommes venus iuſque là, que de toucher la collection des huitres, ne veux oublier par quel moyen les parles en ſont tirées, tant aux Indes

Cap de Baxe.

Huitres portans perles.

THE BUFFALO OF THEVET, 1558

ing. The rest of the country is all wilderness, covered with pine forests. There are great quantities of the pine nuts. The pines are two or three times as high as a man before they send out branches. There is a sort of oak with sweet acorns, of which they make cakes like sugar plums with dried coriander seeds. It is very sweet, like sugar. Watercress grows in many springs, and there are rosebushes, and pennyroyal, and wild marjoram.

There are barbels and picones,[1] like those of Spain, in the rivers of this wilderness. Gray lions and leopards were seen.[2] The country rises continually from the beginning of the wilderness until Cibola is reached, which is 85 leagues, going north. From Culiacan to the edge of the wilderness the route had kept the north on the left hand.

Cibola[3] is seven villages. The largest is called Maçaque.[4] The houses are ordinarily three or four stories high, but in Maçaque there are houses with four and seven stories. These people are very intelligent. They cover their privy parts and all the immodest parts with cloths made like a sort of table napkin, with fringed edges and a tassel at each corner, which they tie over the hips. They wear long robes of feathers and of the skins of hares, and cotton blankets.[5] The women wear blankets, which they tie or knot over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm out. These serve to cover the body. They wear a neat well-shaped outer garment of skin. They gather their hair over the two ears, making a frame which looks like an old-fashioned headdress.[6]

[1] Ternaux (p. 162) succeeded no better than I have in the attempt to identify this fish.

[2] Ternaux, p. 162: "A l'entrée du pays inhabité on rencontre une espèce de lion de couleur fauve." Compare the Spanish text. These were evidently the mountain lion and the wild cat.

[3] Albert S. Gatschet, in his Zwölf Sprachen, p. 106, says that this word is now to be found only in the dialect of the pueblo of Isleta, under the form sibúlodá, buffalo.

[4] Matsaki, the ruins of which are at the northwestern base of Thunder mountain. See Bandelier's Final Report, pt. i, p. 133, and Hodge, First Discovered City of Cibola.

[5] The mantles of rabbit hair are still worn at Moki, but those of turkey plumes are out of use altogether. See Bandelier's Final Report, pt. i, pp. 37 and 158. They used also the fiber of the yucca and agave for making clothes.

[6] J. G. Owens, Hopi Natal Ceremonies, in Journal of American Archæology and Ethnology, vol. ii, p. 165 *n.*, says: "The dress of the Hopi [Moki, or Tusayan] women consists of a black blanket about 3½ feet square, folded around the body from the left side. It passes under the left arm and over the right shoulder, being sewed together on the right side, except a hole about 3 inches long near the upper end through which the arm is thrust. This is belted in at the waist by a sash about 3 inches wide. Sometimes, though not frequently, a shirt is worn under this garment, and a piece of muslin, tied together by two adjacent corners, is usually near by, to be thrown over the shoulders. Most of the women have moccasins, which they put on at certain times."

Gomara, ccxiii, describes the natives of Sibola: "Hazen con todo esso vnas mantillas de pieles de conejos, y liebres, y de venados, que algodon muy poco alcançan: calçan çapatos de cuero, y de inuierno vnas como botas hasta las rodillas. Las mugeres van vestidas de Metl hasta en pies, andan ceñidas, trençan los cabellos, y rodeanselos ala cabeça por sobre las orejas. La tierra es arenosa, y de poco fruto, creo q̃ por pereza dellos, pues donde siembran, lleua mayz, frisoles, calabaças, y frutas, y aun se crian en ella gallipauos, que no se hazen en todos cabos."

In his Relacion de Viaje, p. 173, Espejo says of Zuñi: "en esta provincia se visten algunos de los naturales, de mantas de algodon y cueros de las vacas, y de gamuzas aderezadas; y las mantas de algodon las traen puestas al uso mexicano, eceto que debajo de partes vergonzosas traen unos paños de algodon pintados, y algunos dellos traen camisas, y las mugeres traen naguas de algodon y muchas dellas bordadas con hilo de colores, y encima una manta como la traen los indios mexicanos, y atada con un paño de manos como tohalla labrada, y se lo atan por la cintura con sus borlas, y las naguas son que sirven de faldas de camisa á raiz de las carnes, y esto cada una lo trae con la mas ventaja que puede; y todos, asi hombres como mujeres, andan calzados con zapatos y botas, las suelas de cuero

This country is a valley between rocky mountains. They cultivate corn, which does not grow very high. The ears start at the very foot, and each large fat stalk bears about 800 grains, something not seen before in these parts.[1] There are large numbers of bears in this province, and lions, wild-cats, deer, and otter. There are very fine turquoises, although not so many as was reported. They collect the pine nuts each year, and store them up in advance. A man does not have more than one wife. There are estufas or hot rooms in the villages, which are the courtyards or places where they gather for consultation. They do not have chiefs as in New Spain, but are ruled by a council of the oldest men.[2] They have priests who preach to them, whom they call papas.[3] These are the elders. They go up on the highest roof of the village and preach to the village from there, like public criers, in the morning while the sun is rising, the whole village being silent and sitting in the galleries to listen.[4] They tell them how they are to live, and I believe that they give certain commandments for them to keep, for there is no drunkenness among them nor sodomy nor sacrifices, neither do they eat human flesh nor steal, but they are usually at work. The estufas belong to the whole village. It is a sacrilege for the women to go into the estufas to sleep.[5] They make the cross as a sign of peace. They burn their dead, and throw the implements used in their work into the fire with the bodies.[6]

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de vacas, y lo de encima de cuero de venado aderezado; las mugeres traen el cabello muy peinado y bien puesto y con sus moldes que traen en la cabeza uno de una parte y otro de otra, á donde ponen el cabello con curiosidad sin traer nengun tocado en la cabeza."

Mota Padilla, xxxii, 4, p. 160: "Los indios son de buenas estaturas, las indias bien dispuestas: traen unas mantas blancas, que las cubren desde los hombros hasta los piés y por estar cerradas, tienen por donde sacar los brazos; asimismo, usan traer sobre las dichas otras mantas que se ponen sobre el hombro izquierdo, y el un cabo tercian por debajo del brazo derecho como capa: estiman en mucho los cabellos; y así, los traen muy peinados, y en una jícara de agua, se miran como en un espejo; pártense el cabello en dos trenzas, liadas con cintas de algodon de colores, y en cada lado de la cabeza forman dos ruedas ó círculos, que dentro de ellos rematan, y dejan la punta del cabello levantado como plumajes y en unas tablitas de hasta tres dedos, fijan con pegamentos unas piedras verdes que llaman chalchihuites, de que se dice hay minas, como tambien se dice las hubo cerca de Sombrerete, en un real de minas que se nombra Chalchihuites, por esta razon; . . . con dichas piedras forman sortijas que con unos palillos fijan sobre el cabello como ramillete: son las indias limpias, y se precian de no parecer mal."

[1] Ternaux, p. 164: "les épis partent presque tous du pied, et chaque épi a sept ou huit cents grains, ce que l'on n'avait pas encore vu aux Indes." The meaning of the Spanish is by no means clear, and there are several words in the manuscript which have been omitted in the translation.

[2] Ternaux, p. 164: "ni de conseils de vieillards."

[3] Papa in the Zuñi language signifies "elder brother," and may allude either to age or to rank.

[4] Dr J. Walter Fewkes, in his Few Summer Ceremonials at the Tusayan Pueblos, p. 7, describes the Dā'wā-wýmp-ki-yas, a small number of priests of the sun. Among other duties, they pray to the rising sun, whose course they are said to watch, and they prepare offerings to it.

Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii, 5, p. 160, says that at Cibola, "no se vió templo alguno, ni se les conoció ídolo, por lo que se tuvo entendido adoraban al sol y á la luna, lo que se confirmó, porque una noche que hubo un eclipse, alzaron todos mucha gritería."

[5] Ternaux, p. 165: "Les étuves sont rares dans ce pays. Ils regardent comme un sacrilége que les femmes entrent deux à la fois dans un endroit."

In his Few Summer Ceremonials at Tusayan, p. 6, Dr Fewkes says that "with the exception of their own dances, women do not take part in the secret kibva [estufa] ceremonials; but it can not be said that they are debarred entrance as assistants in making the paraphernalia of the dances, or when they are called upon to represent dramatizations of traditions in which women figure."

[6] Mr Frank Hamilton Cushing, in the Compte-rendu of the Congrès International des Americanistes, Berlin, 1888, pp. 171-172, speaking of the excavations of "Los Muertos" in southern Arizona,

It is 20 leagues to Tusayan, going northwest. This is a province with seven villages, of the same sort, dress, habits, and ceremonies as at Cibola. There may be as many as 3,000 or 4,000 men in the fourteen villages of these two provinces. It is 40 leagues or more to Tiguex, the road trending toward the north. The rock of Acuco, which we described in the first part, is between these.

Chapter 4, of how they live at Tiguex, and of the province of Tiguex and its neighborhood.

Tiguex is a province with twelve villages on the banks of a large, mighty river; some villages on one side and some on the other. It is a spacious valley two leagues wide, and a very high, rough, snow-covered mountain chain lies east of it. There are seven villages in the ridges at the foot of this—four on the plain and three situated on the skirts of the mountain.

There are seven villages 7 leagues to the north, at Quirix, and the seven villages of the province of Hemes are 40 leagues northwest. It is 40 leagues north or east to Acha,[1] and 4 leagues southeast to Tuta-

says: "All the skeletons, especially of adults [in the intramural burials], were, with but few exceptions, disposed with the heads to the east and slightly elevated as though resting on pillows, so as to face the west; and the hands were usually placed at the sides or crossed over the breast. With nearly all were paraphernalia, household utensils, articles of adornment, etc. This paraphernalia quite invariably partook of a sacerdotal character." In the pyral mounds outside the communal dwellings, "each burial consisted of a vessel, large or small, according to the age of the person whose thoroughly cremated remains it was designed to receive, together, ordinarily, with traces of the more valued and smaller articles of personal property sacrificed at the time of cremation. Over each such vessel was placed either an inverted bowl or a cover (roughly rounded by chipping) of potsherds, which latter, in most cases, showed traces of having been firmly cemented, by means of mud plaster, to the vessels they covered. Again, around each such burial were found always from two or three to ten or a dozen broken vessels, often, indeed, a complete set; namely, eating and drinking bowls, water-jar and bottle, pitcher, spheroidal food receptacle, ladles large and small, and cooking-pot. Sometimes, however, one or another of these vessels actually designed for sacrifice with the dead, was itself used as the receptacle of his or her remains. In every such case the vessel had been either punctured at the bottom or on one side, or else violently cracked—from Zuñi customs, in the process of 'killing' it." The remains of other articles were around, burned in the same fire.

Since the above note was extracted, excavations have been conducted by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes at the prehistoric Hopi pueblo of Sikyatki, an exhaustive account of which will be published in a forthcoming report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Sikyatki is located at the base of the First Mesa of Tusayan, about 3 miles from Hano. The house structures were situated on an elongated elevation, the western extremity of the village forming a sort of acropolis. On the northern, western, and southern slopes of the height, outside the village proper, cemeteries were found, and in these most of the excavations were conducted. Many graves were uncovered at a depth varying from 1 foot to 10 feet, but the skeletons were in such condition as to be practically beyond recovery. Accompanying these remains were hundreds of food and water vessels in great variety of form and decoration, and in quality of texture far better than any earthenware previously recovered from a pueblo people. With the remains of the priests there were found, in addition to the usual utensils, terra cotta and stone pipes, beads, prayer-sticks, quartz crystals, arrowpoints, stone and shell fetiches, sacred paint, and other paraphernalia similar to that used by the Hopi of today. The house walls were constructed of small, flat stones brought from the neighboring mesa, laid in adobe mortar and plastered with the same material. The rooms were invariably small, averaging perhaps 8 feet square, and the walls were quite thin. No human remains were found in the houses, nor were any evidences of cremation observed.

Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii, 5, p. 160, describes a funeral which was witnessed by the soldiers of Coronado's army: "en una ocasion vieron los españoles, que habiendo muerto un indio, armaron una grande balsa ó luminaria de leña, sobre que pusieron el cuerpo cubierto con una manta, y luego todos los del pueblo, hombres y mujeres, fueron poniendo sobre la cama de leña, pinole, calabazas, frijoles, atole, maiz tostado, y de lo demas que usaban comer, y dieron fuego por todas partes, de suerte que en breve todo se convirtió en cenizas con el cuerpo."

[1] The pueblo of Picuris.

haco, a province with eight villages. In general, these villages all have the same habits and customs, although some have some things in particular which the others have not.[1] They are governed by the opinions of the elders. They all work together to build the villages, the women being engaged in making the mixture and the walls, while the men bring the wood and put it in place.[2] They have no lime, but they make a mixture of ashes, coals, and dirt which is almost as good as mortar, for when the house is to have four stories, they do not make the walls more than half a yard thick. They gather a great pile of twigs of thyme and sedge grass and set it afire, and when it is half coals and ashes they throw a quantity of dirt and water on it and mix it all together. They make round balls of this, which they use instead of stones after they are dry, fixing them with the same mixture, which comes to be like a stiff clay. Before they are married the young men serve the whole village in general, and fetch the wood that is needed for use, putting it in a pile in the courtyard of the villages, from which the women take it to carry to their houses.

The young men live in the estufas, which are in the yards of the village.[3] They are underground, square or round, with pine pillars.

[1] Bandelier gives a general account of the internal condition of the Pueblo Indians, with references to the older Spanish writers, in his Final Report, pt. i, p. 135.

[2] Bandelier, Final Report, pt. i, p. 141, quotes from Benavides, Memorial, p. 43, the following account of how the churches and convents in the pueblo region were built: "los hã hecho tan solamẽte las mugeres, y los muchachos, y muchachas de la dotrina; porque entre estos naciones se vsa hazer las mugeres las paredes, y los hombres hilan y texen sus mantas, y van á la guerra, y a la caza, y si obligamos a algũ hombre á hazer pared, se corre dello, y las mugeres se rien."

Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii, p. 159: "estos pueblos [de Tigües y Tzibola] estaban murados . . . si bien se diferenciaban en que los pueblos de Tzibola son fabricados de pizarras unidas con argamasa de tierra; y los de Tigües son de una tierra güijosa, aunque muy fuerte; sus fábricas tienen las puertas para adentro del pueblo, y la entrada de estos muros son puertas pequeñas y se sube por unas escalerillas angostas, y se entra de ellas á una sala de terraplen, y por otra escalera se baja al plan de la poblacion."

Several days before Friar Marcos reached Chichilticalli, the natives, who were telling him about Cibola, described the way in which these lofty houses were built: "para dármelo á entender, tomaban tierra y ceniza, y echábanle agua, y señalábanme como ponian la piedra y como subian el edificio arriba, poniendo aquello y piedra hasta ponello en lo alto; preguntábales á los hombres de aquella tierra si tenian alas para subir aquellos sobrados; reíanse y señalábanme el escalera, tambien como la podria yo señalar, y tomaban un palo y ponianlo sobre la cabeza y decian que aquel altura hay de sobrado á sobrado." Relacion de Fray Marcos in Pacheco y Cardenas, Doc. de Indias, vol. iii, p. 339.

Lewis H. Morgan, in his Ruins of a Stone Pueblo, Peabody Museum Reports, vol. xii, p. 541, says: "Adobe is a kind of pulverized clay with a bond of considerable strength by mechanical cohesion. In southern Colorado, in Arizona, and New Mexico there are immense tracts covered with what is called adobe soil. It varies somewhat in the degree of its excellence. The kind of which they make their pottery has the largest per cent of alumina, and its presence is indicated by the salt weed which grows in this particular soil. This kind also makes the best adobe mortar. The Indians use it freely in laying their walls, as freely as our masons use lime mortar; and although it never acquires the hardness of cement, it disintegrates slowly . . . This adobe mortar is adapted only to the dry climate of southern Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, where the precipitation is less than 5 inches per annum . . . To the presence of this adobe soil, found in such abundance in the regions named, and to the sandstone of the bluffs, where masses are often found in fragments, we must attribute the great progress made by these Indians in house building."

[3] Bandelier discusses the estufas in his Final Report, pt. i, p. 144 ff., giving quotations from the Spanish writers, with his usual wealth of footnotes. Dr Fewkes, in his Zuñi Summer Ceremonials, says: "These rooms are semisubterranean (in Zuñi), situated on the first or ground floor, never, so far as I have seen, on the second or higher stories. They are rectangular or square rooms, built of stone, with openings just large enough to admit the head serving as windows, and still preserve the old form of entrance by ladders through a sky hole in the roof. Within, the estufas have bare walls and are unfurnished, but have a raised ledge about the walls, serving as seats."

THE BUFFALO OF DE BRY, 1595

Some were seen with twelve pillars and with four in the center as large as two men could stretch around. They usually had three or four pillars. The floor was made of large, smooth stones, like the baths which they have in Europe. They have a hearth made like the binnacle or compass box of a ship,[1] in which they burn a handful of thyme at a time to keep up the heat, and they can stay in there just as in a bath. The top was on a level with the ground. Some that were seen were large enough for a game of ball. When any man wishes to marry, it has to be arranged by those who govern. The man has to spin and weave a blanket and place it before the woman, who covers herself with it and becomes his wife.[2] The houses belong to the women, the estufas to the men. If a man repudiates his woman, he has to go to the estufa.[3] It is forbidden for women to sleep in the estufas, or to enter these for any purpose except to give their husbands or sons something to eat. The men spin and weave. The women bring up the children and prepare the food. The country is so fertile that they do not have to break up the ground the year round, but only have to sow the seed, which is presently covered by the fall of snow, and the ears come up under the snow. In one year they gather enough for seven. A very large number of cranes and wild geese and crows and starlings live on what is sown, and for all this, when they come to sow for another year, the fields are covered with corn which they have not been able to finish gathering.

There are a great many native fowl in these provinces, and cocks with great hanging chins.[4] When dead, these keep for sixty days, and longer in winter, without losing their feathers or opening, and without any bad smell, and the same is true of dead men.

The villages are free from nuisances, because they go outside to excrete, and they pass their water into clay vessels, which they empty

[1] The Spanish is almost illegible. Ternaux (pp. 169–170) merely says: "Au milieu est un foyer allumé."

[2] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii, p. 160: "En los casamientos [á Tigües] hay costumbre, que cuando un mozo da en servir á una doncella, la espera en la parte donde va á acarrear agua, y coge el cántaro, con cuya demostracion manifiesta á los deudos de ella, la voluntad de casarse: no tienen estos indios mas que una muger."

Villagra, Historia de la Nueva Mexico, canto xv, fol. 135:

Y tienen vna cosa aquestas gentes,
Que en saliendo las mozas de donzellas,
Son á todos comunes, sin escusa,
Con tal que se lo paguen, y sin paga,
Es vna vil bageza, tal delito,
Mas luego que se casan viuen castas,
Contenta cada qual con su marido,
Cuia costumbre, con la grande fuerça,
Que por naturaleza ya tenian,
Teniendo por certissimo nosotros,
Seguiamos tambien aquel camino,
Iuntaron muchas mantas bien pintadas,
Para alcançar las damas Castellanas,
Que mucho apetecieron y quisieron.

It is hoped that a translation of this poem, valuable to the historian and to the ethnologist, if not to the student of literature, may be published in the not distant future.

[3] This appears to be the sense of a sentence which Ternaux omits.

[4] The American turkey cocks.

at a distance from the village.[1] They keep the separate houses where they prepare the food for eating and where they grind the meal, very clean. This is a separate room or closet, where they have a trough with three stones fixed in stiff clay. Three women go in here, each one having a stone, with which one of them breaks the corn, the next grinds it, and the third grinds it again.[2] They take off their shoes, do up their hair, shake their clothes, and cover their heads before they enter the door. A man sits at the door playing on a fife while they grind, moving the stones to the music and singing together. They grind a large quantity at one time, because they make all their bread of meal soaked in warm water, like wafers. They gather a great quantity of brushwood and dry it to use for cooking all through the year. There are no fruits good to eat in the country, except the pine nuts. They have their preachers. Sodomy is not found among them. They do not eat human flesh nor make sacrifices of it. The people are not cruel, for they had Francisco de Ovando in Tiguex about forty days, after he was dead, and when the village was captured, he was found among their dead, whole and without any other wound except the one which killed him, white as snow, without any bad smell. I found out several things about them from one of our Indians, who had been a captive among them for a whole year. I asked him especially for the reason why the young women in that province went entirely naked, however cold it might be, and he told me that the virgins had to go around this way until they took a husband, and that they covered themselves after they had known man. The men here wear little shirts of tanned deerskin and their long robes over this. In all these provinces they have earthenware glazed with antimony and jars of extraordinary labor and workmanship, which were worth seeing.[3]

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[1] A custom still common at Zuñi and other pueblos. Before the introduction of manufactured dyes the Hopi used urine as a mordant.

[2] Mr Owens, in the Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology, vol. ii, p. 163 *n.*, describes these mealing troughs: "In every house will be found a trough about 6 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 8 inches deep, divided into three or more compartments. In the older houses the sides and partitions are made of stone slabs, but in some of the newer ones they are made of boards. Within each compartment is a stone (trap rock preferred) about 18 inches long and a foot wide, set in a bed of adobe and inclined at an angle of about 35°. This is not quite in the center of the compartment, but is set about 3 inches nearer the right side than the left, and its higher edge is against the edge of the trough. This constitutes the nether stone of the mill. The upper stone is about 14 inches long, 3 inches wide, and varies in thickness according to the fineness of the meal desired. The larger stone is called a máta and the smaller one a matáki. The woman places the corn in the trough, then kneels behind it and grasps the matáki in both hands. This she slides, by a motion from the back, back and forth over the máta. At intervals she releases her hold with her left hand and with it places the material to be ground upon the upper end of the máta. She usually sings in time to her grinding motion."

There is a more extended account of these troughs in Mindeleff's Pueblo Architecture, in the Eighth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 208. This excellent monograph, with its wealth of illustrations, is an invaluable introduction to any study of the southwestern village Indians.

Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii, 3, p. 159: "tienen las indias sus cocinas con mucho aseo, y en el moler el maiz se diferencian de las demas poblaciones [á Tigües], porque en una piedra mas áspera martajan el maiz, y pasa á la segunda y tercera, de donde le sacan en polvo como harina; no usan tortillas que son el pan de las indias y lo fabrican con primor, porque en unas ollas ponen á darle al maiz un cocimiento con una poca de cal, de donde lo sacan ya con el nombre de mixtamal."

[3] See W. H. Holmes, Pottery of the Ancient Pueblos, Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology; also his Illustrated Catalogue of a portion of the collections made during the field season of 1881, in the Third Annual Report. See p. 519 *n.*, regarding pottery found at Sikyatki.

Chapter 5, of Cicuye and the villages in its neighborhood, and of how some people came to conquer this country.

We have already said that the people of Tiguex and of all the provinces on the banks of that river were all alike, having the same ways of living and the same customs. It will not be necessary to say anything particular about them. I wish merely to give an account of Cicuye and some depopulated villages which the army saw on the direct road which it followed thither, and of others that were across the snowy mountains near Tiguex, which also lay in that region above the river.

Cicuye[1] is a village of nearly five hundred warriors, who are feared throughout that country. It is square, situated on a rock, with a large court or yard in the middle, containing the estufas. The houses are all alike, four stories high. One can go over the top of the whole village without there being a street to hinder. There are corridors going all around it at the first two stories, by which one can go around the whole village. These are like outside balconies, and they are able to protect themselves under these.[2] The houses do not have doors below, but they use ladders, which can be lifted up like a drawbridge, and so go up to the corridors which are on the inside of the village. As the doors of the houses open on the corridor of that story, the corridor serves as a street. The houses that open on the plain are right back of those that open on the court, and in time of war they go through those behind them. The village is inclosed by a low wall of stone. There is a spring of water inside, which they are able to divert.[3] The people of this village boast that no one has been able to conquer them and that they conquer whatever villages they wish. The people and their customs are like those of the other villages. Their virgins also go nude until they take husbands, because they say that if they do anything wrong then it will be seen, and so they do not do it. They do not need to be ashamed because they go around as they were born.

There is a village, small and strong, between Cicuye and the province of Quirix, which the Spaniards named Ximena,[4] and another village almost deserted, only one part of which is inhabited.[5] This was a large village, and judging from its condition and newness it appeared to have been destroyed. They called this the village of the granaries or silos, because large underground cellars were found here stored with corn. There was another large village farther on, entirely destroyed and

[1] Bandelier, in his Visit to Pecos, p. 114, n., states that the former name of the pueblo was Âquiu, and suggests the possibility of Castañeda having originally written Acuyé. The Relacion del Suceso, translated herein, has Acuique. As may be seen by examining the Spanish text, the Lenox manuscript copy of Castañeda spells the name of this village sometimes Cicuyc and sometimes Cicuye.

[2] Compare Bandelier's translation of this description, from Ternaux's text, in his Gilded Man, p. 206. See the accompanying illustrations, especially of Zuñi, which give an excellent idea of these terraces or "corridors" with their attached balconies.

[3] The spring was "still trickling out beneath a massive ledge of rocks on the west sill" when Bandelier sketched it in 1880.

[4] The former Tano pueblo of Galisteo, a mile and a half northeast of the present town of the same name, in Santa Fé county.

[5] According to Mota Padilla, this was called Coquite.

pulled down, in the yards of which there were many stone balls, as big as 12-quart bowls, which seemed to have been thrown by engines or catapults, which had destroyed the village. All that I was able to find out about them was that, sixteen years before, some people called Teyas,[1] had come to this country in great numbers and had destroyed these villages. They had besieged Cicuye but had not been able to capture it, because it was strong, and when they left the region, they had made peace with the whole country. It seems as if they must have been a powerful people, and that they must have had engines to knock down the villages. The only thing they could tell about the direction these people came from was by pointing toward the north. They usually call these people Teyas or brave men, just as the Mexicans say chichimecas or braves,[2] for the Teyas whom the army saw were brave. These knew the people in the settlements, and were friendly with them, and they (the Teyas of the plains) went there to spend the winter under the wings of the settlements. The inhabitants do not dare to let them come inside, because they can not trust them. Although they are received as friends, and trade with them, they do not stay in the villages over night, but outside under the wings. The villages are guarded by sentinels with trumpets, who call to one another just as in the fortresses of Spain.

There are seven other villages along this route, toward the snowy mountains, one of which has been half destroyed by the people already referred to. These were under the rule of Cicuye. Cicuye is in a little valley between mountain chains and mountains covered with large pine forests. There is a little stream which contains very good trout and otters, and there are very large bears and good falcons hereabouts.

Chapter 6, which gives the number of villages which were seen in the country of the terraced houses, and their population.

Before I proceed to speak of the plains, with the cows and settlements and tribes there, it seems to me that it will be well for the reader to know how large the settlements were, where the houses with stories, gathered into villages, were seen, and how great an extent of country they occupied.[3] As I say, Cibola is the first:

Cibola, seven villages.
Tusayan, seven villages.
The rock of Acuco, one.

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[1] These Indians were seen by Coronado during his journey across the plains. As Mr Hodge has suggested, they may have been the Comanches, who on many occasions are known to have made inroads on the pueblo of Pecos.

[2] Ternaux's rendering of the uncertain word teules in the Spanish text. Molina, in the Vocabulario Mexicano (1555), fol. 36, has "braue hombre . . . tlauele." Gomara speaks of the chichimecas in the quotation in the footnote on page 529. The term was applied to all wild tribes.

[3] Bandelier, Final Report, pt. i, p. 34: "With the exception of Acoma, there is not a single pueblo standing where it was at the time of Coronado, or even sixty years later, when Juan de Oñate accomplished the peaceable reduction of the New Mexican village Indians." Compare with the discussion in this part of his Final Report, Mr Bandelier's attempt to identify the various clusters of villages, in his Historical Introduction, pp. 22–24.

ON THE TERRACES AT ZUÑI

Tiguex, twelve villages.
Tutahaco,[1] eight villages.
These villages were below the river.
Quirix,[2] seven villages.
In the snowy mountains, seven villages.
Ximena,[3] three villages.
Cicuye, one village.
Hemes,[4] seven villages.
Aguas Calientes,[4] or Boiling Springs, three villages.
Yuqueyunque,[5] in the mountains, six villages.
Valladolid, called Braba,[6] one village.
Chia,[7] one village.

In all, there are sixty-six villages.[8] Tiguex appears to be in the center of the villages. Valladolid is the farthest up the river toward the northeast. The four villages down the river are toward the southeast, because the river turns toward the east.[9] It is 130 leagues—10 more or less—from the farthest point that was seen down the river to the farthest point up the river, and all the settlements are within this region. Including those at a distance, there are sixty-six villages in all, as I have said, and in all of them there may be some 20,000 men, which may be taken to be a fair estimate of the population of the villages. There are no houses or other buildings between one village and another, but where we went it is entirely uninhabited.[10] These people, since they are few, and their manners, government, and habits are so different from all the nations that have been seen and discovered in these western regions, must come from that part of Greater India, the coast of which lies to the west of this country, for they could have come down from that country, crossing the mountain chains and following down the river, settling in what seemed to them the best place.[11] As they multiplied, they have kept on making settlements until they lost the river when it buried itself underground, its course being in the direction of Florida. It comes down from the northeast, where they[12] could certainly have found signs of villages. He preferred, however, to follow the reports of

[1] For the location of this group of pueblos see page 492, note.

[2] The Queres district, now represented by Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Sia (Castañeda's Chia), and Cochiti. Acoma and Laguna, to the westward, belong to the same linguistic group. Laguna, however, is a modern pueblo.

[3] One of these was the Tano pueblo of Galisteo, as noted on page 523.

[4] The Jemes pueblo clusters in San Diego and Guadalupe canyons. See pl. LXX.

[5] The Tewa pueblo of Yugeuingge, where the village of Chamita, above Santa Fé, now stands.

[6] Taos.

[7] The Keres or Queres pueblo of Sia.

[8] As Ternaux observes, Castañeda mentions seventy-one. Sia may not have been the only village which he counted twice.

[9] The trend of the river in the section of the old pueblo settlements is really westward.

[10] Compare the Spanish text.

[11] The Tusayan Indians belong to the same linguistic stock as the Ute, Comanche, Shoshoni, Bannock, and others. The original habitat of the main body of these tribes was in the far north, although certain clans of the Tusayan people are of southern origin. See Powell, Indian Linguistic Families, 7th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 108.

[12] The Spaniards under Coronado. The translation does not pretend to correct the rhetoric or the grammar of the text.

the Turk, but it would have been better to cross the mountains where this river rises. I believe they would have found traces of riches and would have reached the lands from which these people started, which from its location is on the edge of Greater India, although the region is neither known nor understood, because from the trend of the coast it appears that the land between Norway and China is very far up.[1] The country from sea to sea is very wide, judging from the location of both coasts, as weil as from what Captain Villalobos discovered when he went in search of China by the sea to the west,[2] and from what has been discovered on the North sea concerning the trend of the coast of Florida toward the Bacallaos, up toward Norway.[3]

To return then to the proposition with which I began, I say that the settlements and people already named were all that were seen in a region 70 leagues wide and 130 long, in the settled country along the river Tiguex.[4] In New Spain there are not one but many establishments, containing a larger number of people. Silver metals were found in many of their villages, which they use for glazing and painting their earthenware.[5]

Chapter 7, which treats of the plains that were crossed, of the cows, and of the people who inhabit them.

We have spoken of the settlements of high houses which are situated in what seems to be the most level and open part of the mountains, since it is 150 leagues across before entering the level country between the two mountain chains which I said were near the North sea and the South sea, which might better be called the Western sea along this coast. This mountain series is the one which is near the South sea.[6] In order to show that the settlements are in the middle of the mountains, I will state that it is 80 leagues from Chichilticalli, where we began to cross this country, to Cibola; from Cibola, which is the first village, to Cicuye, which is the last on the way across, is 70 leagues; it is 30 leagues from Cicuye to where the plains begin. It may be we went across in an indirect or roundabout way, which would make it seem as if there was more country than if it had been crossed in a direct line, and it may be more difficult and rougher. This can not be known certainly, because the mountains change their direction above the bay at the mouth of the Firebrand (Tizon) river.

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[1] Ternaux, p. 184: "D'après la route qu'ils ont suivie, ils ont dû venir de l'extrémité de l'Inde orientale, et d'une partie très-inconnue qui, d'après la configuration des côtes, serait située très-avant dans l'intérieur des terres, entre la Chine et la Norwège."

[2] See the Carta escrita por Santisteban á Mendoza, which tells nearly everything that is known of the voyage of Villalobos. We can only surmise what Castañeda may have known about it.

[3] The Spanish text fully justifies Castañeda's statement that he was not skilled in the arts of rhetoric and geography.

[4] Compare the Spanish text. I here follow Ternaux's rendering.

[5] In a note Ternaux, p. 185, says: "Le [dernier] mot est illisible, mais comme l'auteur parle de certain émail que les Espagnols trouvèrent, . . . j'ai cru pouvoir hasarder cette interprétation." The word is legible enough, but the letters do not make any word for which I can find a meaning.

[6] More than once Castañeda seems to be addressing those about him where he is writing in Culiacan.

MIDDLE COURT AT ZUÑI

Now we will speak of the plains. The country is spacious and level, and is more than 400 leagues wide in the part between the two mountain ranges—one, that which Francisco Vazquez Coronado crossed, and the other that which the force under Don Fernando de Soto crossed, near the North sea, entering the country from Florida. No settlements were seen anywhere on these plains.

In traversing 250 leagues, the other mountain range was not seen, nor a hill nor a hillock which was three times as high as a man. Several lakes were found at intervals; they were round as plates, a stone's throw or more across, some fresh and some salt. The grass grows tall near these lakes; away from them it is very short, a span or less. The country is like a bowl, so that when a man sits down, the horizon surrounds him all around at the distance of a musket shot.[1] There are no groves of trees except at the rivers, which flow at the bottom of some ravines where the trees grow so thick that they were not noticed until one was right on the edge of them. They are of dead earth.[2] There are paths down into these, made by the cows when they go to the water, which is essential throughout these plains. As I have related in the first part, people follow the cows, hunting them and tanning the skins to take to the settlements in the winter to sell, since they go there to pass the winter, each company going to those which are nearest, some to the settlements at Cicuye,[3] others toward Quivira, and others to the settlements which are situated in the direction of Florida. These people are called Querechos and Teyas. They described some large settlements, and judging from what was seen of these people and from the accounts they gave of other places, there are a good many more of these people than there are of those at the settlements.[4] They have better figures, are better warriors, and are more feared. They travel like the Arabs, with their tents and troops of dogs loaded with poles[5] and having Moorish pack saddles with girths.[6] When the load gets disarranged, the dogs howl, calling some one to fix them right. These people eat raw flesh and drink blood. They do not eat human flesh. They are a kind people and not cruel. They are faithful friends. They are able to make themselves very well understood by means of signs. They dry the flesh in the sun, cutting it thin like a leaf, and when dry they grind it like meal to keep it and make a sort of sea soup of it to eat. A handful thrown into a pot swells up so as to increase very

[1] Ternaux omits all this, evidently failing completely in the attempt to understand this description of the rolling western prairies.

[2] Compare the Spanish. This also is omitted by Ternaux.

[3] Espejo, Relacion, p. 180: "los serranos acuden á servir á los de las poblaciones, y los de las poblaciones les llaman á estos, querechos; tratan y contratan con los de las poblaciones, llevandoles sal y caza, venados, conejos y liebres y gamuzas aderezadas y otros géneros de cosas, á trueque de mantas de algodon y otras cosas con que les satisfacen la paga el gobierno."

[4] Compare the Spanish.

[5] The well known travois of the plains tribes.

[6] Benavides: Memorial (1630), p. 74: "Y las tiendas las lleuan cargadas en requas de perros aparejados cõ sus en xalmillas, y son los perros medianos, y suelẽ lleuar quiniẽtos perros en vna requa vno delante de otro, y la gente lleua cargada su mercaduria, que trueca por ropa de algodon, y por otras cosas de q̃ carecen."

much. They season it with fat, which they always try to secure when they kill a cow.[1] They empty a large gut and fill it with blood, and carry this around the neck to drink when they are thirsty. When they open the belly of a cow, they squeeze out the chewed grass and drink the juice that remains behind, because they say that this contains the essence of the stomach. They cut the hide open at the back and pull it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick, with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it an edge with their own teeth. The quickness with which they do this is something worth seeing and noting.[2]

There are very great numbers of wolves on these plains, which go around with the cows. They have white skins. The deer are pied with white. Their skin is loose, so that when they are killed it can be pulled off with the hand while warm, coming off like pigskin.[3] The rabbits, which are very numerous, are so foolish that those on horseback killed them with their lances. This is when they are mounted among the cows. They fly from a person on foot.

Chapter 8, of Quivira, of where it is and some information about it.

Quivira is to the west of those ravines, in the midst of the country, somewhat nearer the mountains toward the sea, for the country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain chains. The country is well settled. Judging from what was seen on the borders of it, this country is very similar to that of Spain in the varieties of vegetation and fruits. There are plums like those of Castile, grapes, nuts, mulberries, oats, pennyroyal, wild marjoram, and large quantities of flax, but this does not do them any good, because they do not know how to use it.[4] The people are of almost the same sort and appearance as the Teyas. They have villages like those in New Spain. The houses are round, without a wall, and they have one story like a loft, under the roof, where they sleep and keep their belongings. The roofs

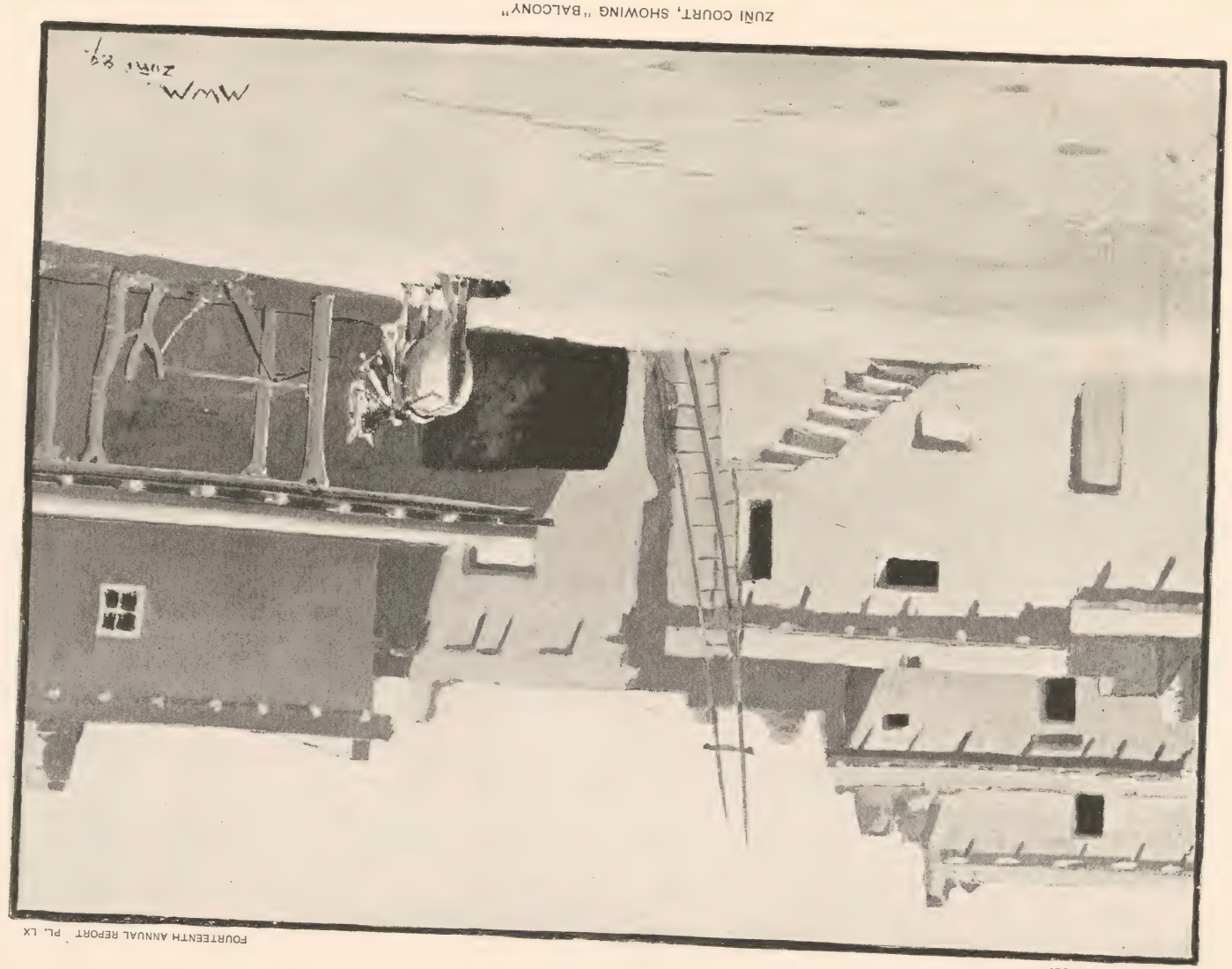
[1] Pemmican

[2] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii, 2, p. 165: "Habiendo andado cuatro jornadas por estos llanos, con grandes neblinas, advirtieron los soldados rastro como de picas de lanzas arrastradas por el suelo, y llevados por la curiosidad, le siguieron hasta dar con cincuenta gandules, que con sus familias, seguian unas manadas de dichas vacas, y en unos perrillos no corpulentos, cargaban unas varas y pieles, con las que formaban sus tiendas ó toritos, en donde se entraban para resistir el sol ó el agua. Los indios son de buena estatura, y no se supo si eran haraganes ó tenian pueblos; presumióse los tendrian, porque ninguna de las indias llevaba niño pequeño; andaban vestidas con unos faldellines de cuero de venado de la cintura para abajo, y del mismo cuero unos capisayos ó vizcainas, con que se cubren; traen unas medias calzas de cuero adobado y sandalias de cuero crudo: ellos andan desnudos, y cuando mas les aflige el frio, se cubren con cueros adobados; no usan, ni los hombres ni las mujeres, cabello largo, sino trasquilados, y de media cabeza para la frente rapados á navaja; usan por armas las flechas, y con los sesos de las mismas vacas benefician y adoban los cueros: llámanse cíbolos, y tienen mas ímpetu para embestir que los toros, aunque no tanta fortaleza; y en las fiestas reales que se celebraron en la ciudad de México por la jura de nuestro rey D. Luis I, hizo el conde de San Mateo de Valparaiso se llevase una cíbola para que se torease, y por solo verla se despobló México, por hallar lugar en la plaza, que le fué muy útil al tablajero aquel dia."

[3] Compare the Spanish. Omitted by Ternaux.

[4] Mr Savage, in the Transactions of the Nebraska Historical Society, vol. i, p. 198, shows how closely the descriptions of Castañeda, Jaramillo, and the others on the expedition, harmonize with the flora and fauna of his State.

ZUÑI COURT, SHOWING "BALCONY"



are of straw. There are other thickly settled provinces around it containing large numbers of men. A friar named Juan de Padilla remained in this province, together with a Spanish-Portuguese and a negro and a half-blood and some Indians from the province of Capothan,[1] in New Spain. They killed the friar because he wanted to go to the province of the Guas,[2] who were their enemies. The Spaniard escaped by taking flight on a mare, and afterward reached New Spain, coming out by way of Panuco. The Indians from New Spain who accompanied the friar were allowed by the murderers to bury him, and then they followed the Spaniard and overtook him. This Spaniard was a Portuguese, named Campo.[3]

The great river of the Holy Spirit (Espiritu Santo),[4] which Don Fernando de Soto discovered in the country of Florida, flows through this country. It passes through a province called Arache, according to the reliable accounts which were obtained here. The sources were not visited, because, according to what they said, it comes from a very distant country in the mountains of the South sea, from the part that sheds its waters onto the plains. It flows across all the level country and breaks through the mountains of the North sea, and comes out where the people with Don Fernando de Soto navigated it. This is more than 300 leagues from where it enters the sea. On account of this, and also because it has large tributaries, it is so mighty when it enters the sea that they lost sight of the land before the water ceased to be fresh.[5]

This country of Quivira was the last that was seen, of which I am able to give any description or information. Now it is proper for me to return and speak of the army, which I left in Tiguex, resting for the winter, so that it would be able to proceed or return in search of these settlements of Quivira, which was not accomplished after all, because it was

[1] Ternaux, p. 194, read this Capetlan.

[2] Ternaux, ibid., miscopied it Guyas.

[3] Herrera, Historia General, dec. vi, lib. ix, cap. xii, vol. iii, p. 207 (ed. 1730): "Toda esta Tierra [Quivira] tiene mejor aparencia, que ninguna de las mejores de Europa, porque no es mui doblada, sino de Lomas, Llanos, i Rios de hermosa vista, i buena para Ganados, pues la experiencia lo mostraba. Hallaronse Ciruelas de Castilla, entre coloradas, i verdes, de mui gentil sabor; entre las Vacas se hallò Lino, que produce la Tierra, mui perfecto, que como el Ganado no lo come, se queda por alli con sus cabeçuelas, i flor azul; i en algunos Arroios, se hallaron Vbas de buen gusto, Moras, Nueces, i otras Frutas; las Casas, que estos Indios tenian eran de Paja, muchas de ellas redondas, que la Paja llegaba hasta el suelo, i encima vna como Capilla, ò Garita, de donde se asomaban."

Gomara, cap. ccxiiii: "Esta Quiuira en quarenta grados, es tierra templada, de buenas aguas, de muchas yeruas, ciruelas, moras, nuezes, melones, y vuas, que maduran bien: no ay algodon, y visten cueros de vacas, y venados. Vieron por la costa naos, que trayan arcatrazes de oro, y de plata en las proas, cõ mercaderias, y pensaron ser del Catayo, y China, porq̃ señalauan auer navegado treynta dias. Fray Iuan de Padilla se quedo en Tiguex, con otro frayle Francisco, y torno a Quiuira, con hasta doze Indios de Mechuacan, y con Andres do Campo Portugues, hortelano de Francisco de Solis. Lleuo caualgaduras, y azemilas con prouision. Leuo ouejas, y gallinas de Castilla, y ornamentos para dezir missa. Los de Quiuira mataron a los frayles, y escapose el Portugues, con algunos Mechuacanes. El qual, aun que se libro entonces de la muerte, no se libro de catiuerio, porque luego le prendieron: mas de alli a diez meses, que fue esclauo, huyo con dos perros. Santiguaua por el camino con vna cruz, aque le ofrecian mucho, y do quiera que llegaua, le dauan limosna, aluergue, y de comer. Vino a tierra de Chichimecas, y aporto a Panuco."

[4] The Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

[5] This is probably a reminiscence of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative.

God's pleasure that these discoveries should remain for other peoples and that we who had been there should content ourselves with saying that we were the first who discovered it and obtained any information concerning it, just as Hercules knew the site where Julius Cæsar was to found Seville or Hispales. May the all-powerful Lord grant that His will be done in everything. It is certain that if this had not been His will Francisco Vazquez would not have returned to New Spain without cause or reason, as he did, and that it would not have been left for those with Don Fernando de Soto to settle such a good country, as they have done, and besides settling it to increase its extent, after obtaining, as they did, information from our army.[1]

Third Part, which describes what happened to Francisco Vazquez Coronado during the winter, and how he gave up the expedition and returned to New Spain.

Laus Deo.

Chapter 1, of how Don Pedro de Tovar came from Señora with some men, and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas started back to New Spain.

At the end of the first part of this book, we told how Francisco Vazquez Coronado, when he got back from Quivira, gave orders to winter at Tiguex, in order to return, when the winter was over, with his whole army to discover all the settlements in those regions. Don Pedro de Tovar, who had gone, as we related, to conduct a force from the city of Saint Jerome (San Hieronimo), arrived in the meantime with the men whom he had brought. He had not selected the rebels and seditious men there, but the most experienced ones and the best soldiers—men whom he could trust—wisely considering that he ought to have good men in order to go in search of his general in the country of the Indian called Turk. Although they found the army at Tiguex when they arrived there, this did not please them much, because they had come with great expectations, believing that they would find their general in the rich country of the Indian called Turk. They consoled themselves with the hope of going back there, and lived in anticipation of the pleasure of undertaking this return expedition, which the army would soon make to Quivira. Don Pedro de Tovar brought letters from New Spain, both from the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, and from individuals. Among these was one for Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, which informed him of the death of his brother, the heir, and summoned him to Spain to receive the inheritance. On this account he was given permission, and left Tiguex with several other persons who

[1] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii, 4, p. 166, gives his reasons for the failure of the expedition: "It was most likely the chastisement of God that riches were not found on this expedition, because, when this ought to have been the secondary object of the expedition, and the conversion of all those heathen their first aim, they bartered with fate and struggled after the secondary; and thus the misfortune is not so much that all those labors were without fruit, but the worst is that such a number of souls have remained in their blindness."

AFTER SKETCH BY W. L. METCALF, 1883

ZUÑI INTERIOR

received permission to go and settle their affairs. There were many others who would have liked to go, but did not, in order not to appear faint-hearted. During this time the general endeavored to pacify several villages in the neighborhood which were not well disposed, and to make peace with the people at Tiguex. He tried also to procure some of the cloth of the country, because the soldiers were almost naked and poorly clothed, full of lice, which they were unable to get rid of or avoid.

The general, Francisco Vazquez Coronado, had been beloved and obeyed by his captains and soldiers as heartily as any of those who have ever started out in the Indies. Necessity knows no law, and the captains who collected the cloth divided it badly, taking the best for themselves and their friends and soldiers, and leaving the rest for the soldiers, and so there began to be some angry murmuring on account of this. Others also complained because they noticed that some favored ones were spared in the work and in the watches and received better portions of what was divided, both of cloth and food. On this account it is thought that they began to say that there was nothing in the country of Quivira which was worth returning for, which was no slight cause of what afterward happened, as will be seen.

Chapter 2, of the general's fall, and of how the return to New Spain was ordered.

After the winter was over, the return to Quivira was announced, and the men began to prepare the things needed. Since nothing in this life is at the disposition of men, but all is under the ordination of Almighty God, it was His will that we should not accomplish this, and so it happened that one feast day the general went out on horseback to amuse himself, as usual,[1] riding with the captain Don Rodrigo Maldonado. He was on a powerful horse, and his servants had put on a new girth, which must have been rotten at the time, for it broke during the race and he fell over on the side where Don Rodrigo was, and as his horse passed over him it hit his head with its hoof, which laid him at the point of death, and his recovery was slow and doubtful.[2]

During this time, while he was in his bed,[3] Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, who had started to go to New Spain, came back in flight from Suya, because he had found that town deserted and the people and horses and cattle all dead. When he reached Tiguex and learned the sad news

[1] Or perhaps as Ternaux, p. 202, rendered it, "courir la bague."

[2] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii, 6, p. 166: "así el [gobernador] como los demas capitanes del ejército, debian estar tan ciegos de la pasion de la codicia de riquezas, que no trataban de radicarse poblando en aquel paraje que veian tan abastecido, ni de reducir á los indios ó instruirlos en algo de la fé, que es la que debian propagar: solo trataron de engordar sus caballos para lo que se ofreciese pasado el invierno; y andando adiestrando el gobernador uno que tenia muy brioso, se le fué la silla, y dando la boca en el suelo, quedó sin sentido, y aunque despues se recobró, el juicio le quedó diminuto, con lo cual trataron todos de desistir de la empresa." Gomara, cap. ccxiiii: "Cayo en Tiguex del cauallo Francisco Vazquez, y con el golpe salio de sentido, y deuaneaua: lo qual vnos tuuierõ por dolor, y otros por fingido, ca estauan mal con el, porque no poblaua."

[3] *Or*, During the time that he was confined to his bed, ...

that the general was near his end, as already related, they did not dare to tell him until he had recovered, and when he finally got up and learned of it, it affected him so much that he had to go back to bed again. He may have done this in order to bring about what he afterward accomplished, as was believed later. It was while he was in this condition that he recollected what a scientific friend of his in Salamanca had told him, that he would become a powerful lord in distant lands, and that he would have a fall from which he would never be able to recover. This expectation of death made him desire to return and die where he had a wife and children. As the physician and surgeon who was doctoring him, and also acted as a talebearer,[1] suppressed the murmurings that were going about among the soldiers, he treated secretly and underhandedly with several gentlemen who agreed with him. They set the soldiers to talking about going back to New Spain, in little knots and gatherings, and induced them to hold consultations about it, and had them send papers to the general, signed by all the soldiers, through their ensigns, asking for this. They all entered into it readily, and not much time needed to be spent, since many desired it already. When they asked him, the general acted as if he did not want to do it, but all the gentlemen and captains supported them, giving him their signed opinions, and as some were in this, they could give it at once, and they even persuaded others to do the same.[2] Thus they made it seem as if they ought to return to New Spain, because they had not found any riches, nor had they discovered any settled country out of which estates could be formed for all the army. When he had obtained their signatures, the return to New Spain was at once announced, and since nothing can ever be concealed, the double dealing began to be understood, and many of the gentlemen found that they had been deceived and had made a mistake. They tried in every way to get their signatures back again from the general, who guarded them so carefully that he did not go out of one room, making his sickness seem very much worse, and putting guards about his person and room, and at night about the floor on which he slept. In spite of all this, they stole his chest, and it is said that they did not find their signatures in it, because he kept them in his mattress; on the other hand, it is said that they did recover them. They asked the general to give them 60 picked men, with whom they would remain and hold the country until the viceroy could send them support, or recall them, or else that the general would leave them the army and pick out 60 men to go back with him. But the soldiers did not want to remain either way, some because they had turned their prow toward New Spain, and others because they saw clearly the trouble that would arise over who should have the command. The gentlemen, I do not know whether because they had sworn fidelity or because they

[1] Compare the Spanish. Ternaux, p. 203: "Le chirurgien qui le pansait et qui lui servait en même temps d'espion, l'avait averti du mécontentement des soldats."

[2] Compare the Spanish.

feared that the soldiers would not support them, did what had been decided on,[1] although with an ill-will, and from this time on they did not obey the general as readily as formerly, and they did not show any affection for him. He made much of the soldiers and humored them, with the result that he did what he desired and secured the return of the whole army.

Chapter 3, of the rebellion at Suya and the reasons the settlers gave for it.

We have already stated in the last chapter that Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas came back from Suya in flight, having found that country risen in rebellion. He told how and why that town was deserted, which occurred as I will relate. The entirely worthless fellows were all who had been left in that town, the mutinous and seditious men, besides a few who were honored with the charge of public affairs and who were left to govern the others. Thus the bad dispositions of the worthless secured the power, and they held daily meetings and councils and declared that they had been betrayed and were not going to be rescued, since the others had been directed to go through another part of the country, where there was a more convenient route to New Spain, which was not so, because they were still almost on the direct road. This talk led some of them to revolt, and they chose one Pedro de Avila as their captain. They went back to Culiacan, leaving the captain, Diego de Alcaraz, sick in the town of San Hieronimo, with only a small force. He did not have anyone whom he could send after them to compel them to return. They killed a number of people at several villages along the way. Finally they reached Culiacan, where Hernando Arias de Saabedra, who was waiting for Juan Gallego to come back from New Spain with a force, detained them by means of promises, so that Gallego could take them back. Some who feared what might happen to them ran away one night to New Spain. Diego de Alcaraz, who had remained at Suya with a small force, sick, was not able to hold his position, although he would have liked to, on account of the poisonous herb which the natives use. When these noticed how weak the Spaniards were, they did not continue to trade with them as they formerly had done. Veins of gold had already been discovered before this, but they were unable to work these, because the country was at war. The disturbance was so great that they did not cease to keep watch and to be more than usually careful.

The town was situated on a little river. One night all of a sudden[2] they saw fires which they were not accustomed to, and on this account they doubled the watches, but not having noticed anything during the whole night, they grew careless along toward morning, and the enemy entered the village so silently that they were not seen until they began to kill and plunder. A number of men reached the plain as well as

[1] Compare the Spanish text.

[2] Ternaux, p. 209: "à une heure très-avancée."

they could, but while they were getting out the captain was mortally wounded. Several Spaniards came back on some horses after they had recovered themselves and attacked the enemy, rescuing some, though only a few. The enemy went off with the booty, leaving three Spaniards killed, besides many of the servants and more than twenty horses.

The Spaniards who survived started off the same day on foot, not having any horses. They went toward Culiacan, keeping away from the roads, and did not find any food until they reached Corazones, where the Indians, like the good friends they have always been, provided them with food. From here they continued to Culiacan, undergoing great hardships. Hernandarias de Saabedra,[1] the mayor, received them and entertained them as well as he could until Juan Gallego arrived with the reinforcements which he was conducting, on his way to find the army. He was not a little troubled at finding that post deserted, when he expected that the army would be in the rich country which had been described by the Indian called Turk, because he looked like one.

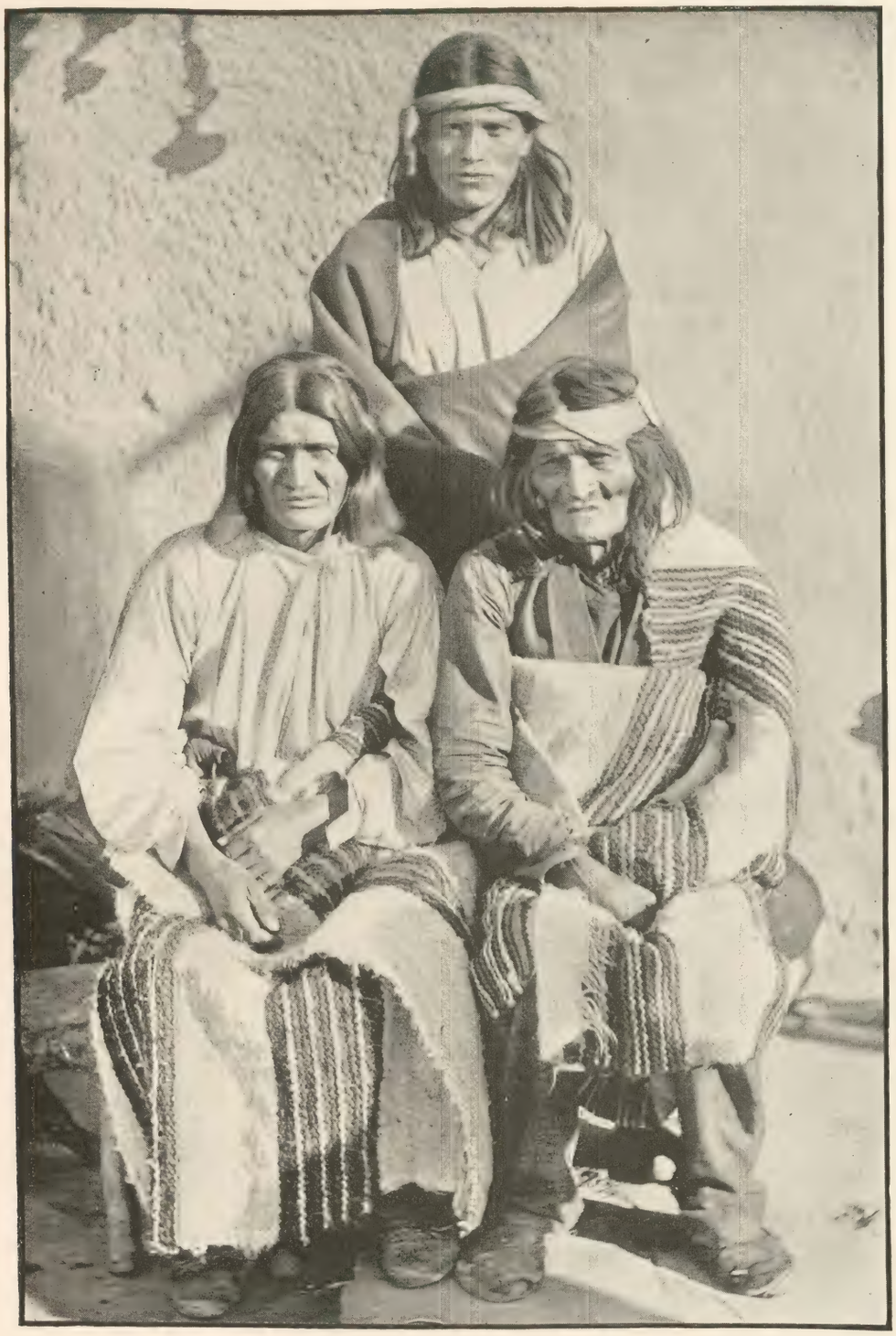
Chapter 4, of how Friar Juan de Padilla and Friar Luis remained in the country and the army prepared to return to Mexico.

When the general, Francisco Vazquez, saw that everything was now quiet, and that his schemes had gone as he wished, he ordered that everything should be ready to start on the return to New Spain by the beginning of the month of April, in the year 1543.[2]

Seeing this, Friar Juan de Padilla, a regular brother of the lesser order,[3] and another, Friar Luis, a lay brother, told the general that they wanted to remain in that country—Friar Juan de Padilla in Quivira, because his teachings seemed to promise fruit there, and Friar Luis at Cicuye. On this account, as it was Lent at the time, the father made this the subject of his sermon to the companies one Sunday, establishing his proposition on the authority of the Holy Scriptures. He declared his zeal for the conversion of these peoples and his desire to draw them to the faith, and stated that he had received permission to do it, although this was not necessary. The general sent a company to escort them as far as Cicuye, where Friar Luis stopped, while Friar Juan went on back to Quivira with the guides who had conducted the general, taking with him the Portuguese, as we related, and the half-blood, and the Indians from New Spain. He was martyred a short time after he arrived there, as we related in the second part, chapter 8. Thus we may be sure that he died a martyr, because his zeal was holy and earnest.

Friar Luis remained at Cicuye. Nothing more has been heard about him since, but before the army left Tiguex some men who went to take

[1] Compare the spelling of this name on page 460 of the Spanish text.
[2] The correct date is, of course, 1542.
[3] A Franciscan. He was a "frayle de misa."



ZUÑIS IN TYPICAL MODERN COSTUME

him a number of sheep that were left for him to keep, met him as he was on his way to visit some other villages, which were 15 or 20 leagues from Cicuye, accompanied by some followers. He felt very hopeful that he was liked at the village and that his teaching would bear fruit, although he complained that the old men were falling away from him. I, for my part, believe that they finally killed him. He was a man of good and holy life, and may Our Lord protect him and grant that he may convert many of those peoples, and end his days in guiding them in the faith. We do not need to believe otherwise, for the people in those parts are pious and not at all cruel. They are friends, or rather, enemies of cruelty, and they remained faithful and loyal friends.[1]

[1]General W. W. H. Davis, in his Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, p. 231, gives the following extract, translated from an old Spanish MS. at Santa Fé: "When Coronado returned to Mexico, he left behind him, among the Indians of Cibola, the father fray Francisco Juan de Padilla, the father fray Juan de la Cruz, and a Portuguese named Andres del Campo. Soon after the Spaniards departed, Padilla and the Portuguese set off in search of the country of the Grand Quivira, where the former understood there were innumerable souls to be saved. After traveling several days, they reached a large settlement in the Quivira country. The Indians came out to receive them in battle array, when the friar, knowing their intentions, told the Portuguese and his attendants to take to flight, while he would await their coming, in order that they might vent their fury on him as they ran. The former took to flight, and, placing themselves on a height within view, saw what happened to the friar. Padilla awaited their coming upon his knees, and when they arrived where he was they immediately put him to death. The same happened to Juan de la Cruz, who was left behind at Cibola, which people killed him. The Portuguese and his attendants made their escape, and ultimately arrived safely in Mexico, where he told what had occurred." In reply to a request for further information regarding this manuscript, General Davis stated that when he revisited Santa Fé, a few years ago, he learned that one of his successors in the post of governor of the territory, having despaired of disposing of the immense mass of old documents and records deposited in his office, by the slow process of using them to kindle fires, had sold the entire lot—an invaluable collection of material bearing on the history of the southwest and its early European and native inhabitants—as junk.

Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii, 7, p. 167, gives an extended account of the friars: "Pero porque el padre Fr. Juan de Padilla cuando acompañó á D. Francisco Vazquez Coronado hasta el pueblo de Quivira, puso en él una cruz, protestando no desampararla aunque le costase la vida, por tener entendido hacer fruto en aquellos indios y en los comarcanos, determinó volverse, y no bastaron las instancias del gobernador y demas capitanes para que desistiese por entónces del pensamiento. El padre Fr. Luis de Ubeda rogó tambien le dejasen volver con el padre Fr. Juan de Padilla hasta el pueblo de Coquite, en donde le parecia podrian servir de domesticar algo á aquellos indios por parecerle se hallaban con alguna disposicion; y que pues él era viejo, emplearia la corta vida que le quedase en procurar la salvacion de las almas de aquellos miserables. A su imitacion tambien el padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz, religioso lego (como lo era Fr. Luis de Ubeda) pretendió quedarse en aquellas provincias de Tigües, y porque se discurrió que con el tiempo se conseguiria la poblacion de aquellas tierras, condescendió el gobernador á los deseos de aquellos apostólicos varones, y les dejaron proveidos de lo que por entónces pareció necesario; y tambien quiso quedarse un soldado, de nacion portugues, llamado Andres del Campo, con ánimo de servir al padre Padilla, y tambien dos indizuelos donados nombrados Lúcas y Sebastian, naturales de Michoacan; y otros dos indizuelos que en el ejército hacian oficios de sacristanes, y otro muchacho mestizo: dejáronle á dicho padre Padilla ornamentos y provision para que celebrase el santo sacrificio de la misa, y algunos bienecillos que pudiese dar á los indios para atraerlos á su voluntad.

"8. . . . Quedaron estos benditos religiosos como corderos entre lobos; y viéndose solos, trató el padre Fr. Juan de Padilla, con los de Tigües, el fin que le movia á quedarse entre ellos, que no era otro que el de tratar de la salvacion de sus almas; que ya los soldados se habian ido, que no les serian molestos, que él pasaba á otras poblaciones y les dejaba al padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz para que les fuese instruyendo en lo que debian saber para ser cristianos é hijos de la Santa Iglesia, como necesario para salvar sus almas, que les tratasen bien, y que él procuraria volver á consolarles: despídese con gran ternura, dejando, como prelado, lleno de bendiciones, á Fr. Juan de la Cruz, y los indios de Tigües señalaron una escuadra de sus soldados que guiasen a dichos padres Fr. Juan de Padilla y Fr. Luis de Ubeda hasta el pueblo de Coquite, en donde les recibieron con demostraciones de alegría, y haciendo la misma recomendacion por el padre Fr. Luis de Ubeda, le dejó, y guiado de otros naturales del mismo pueblo, salió

After the friars had gone, the general, fearing that they might be injured if people were carried away from that country to New Spain, ordered the soldiers to let any of the natives who were held as servants go free to their villages whenever they might wish. In my opinion, though I am not sure, it would have been better if they had been kept and taught among Christians.

The general was very happy and contented when the time arrived and everything needed for the journey was ready, and the army started from Tiguex on its way back to Cibola. One thing of no small note happened during this part of the trip. The horses were in good condition for their work when they started, fat and sleek, but more than thirty died during the ten days which it took to reach Cibola, and there was not a day in which two or three or more did not die. A large number of them also died afterward before reaching Culiacan, a thing that did not happen during all the rest of the journey.

After the army reached Cibola, it rested before starting across the wilderness, because this was the last of the settlements in that country. The whole country was left well disposed and at peace, and several of our Indian allies remained there.[1]

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para Quivira con Andres del Campo, donados indizuelos y el muchacho mestizo: llegó á Quivira y se postró al pié de la cruz, que halló en donde la habia colocado; y con limpieza, toda la circunferencia, como lo habia encargado, de que se alegró, y luego comenzó á hacer los oficios de padre maestro y apóstol de aquellas gentes; y hallándolas dóciles y con buen ánimo, se inflamó su corazon, y le pareció corto número de almas para Dios las de aquel pueblo, y trató de ensanchar los senos de nuestra madre la Santa Iglesia, para que acogiese á cuantos se le decia haber en mayores distancias.

"9. Salió de Quivira, acompañado de su corta comitiva, contra la voluntad de los indios de aquel pueblo, que le amaban como á su padre, mas á una jornada le salieron indios de guerra, y conociendo mal ánimo de aquellos bárbaros, le rogó al portugues, que pues iba á caballo huyese, y que en su conserva llevase aquellos donados y muchachos, que como tales podrian correr y escaparse: hiciéronlo así por no hallarse capaces de otro modo para la defensa, y el bendito padre, hincado de rodillas ofreció la vida, que por reducir almas á Dios tenia sacrificada, logrando los ardientes deseos de su corazon, la felicidad de ser muerto flechado por aquellos indios bárbaros, quienes le arrojaron en un hoyo, cubriendo el cuerpo con innumerables piedras. Y vuelto el portugues con los indizuelos á Quivira, dieron la noticia, la que sintieron mucho aquellos naturales, por el amor que tenian á dicho padre, y mas lo sintieran si hubieran tenido pleno conocimiento de la falta que les hacia; no sabe el dia de su muerte, aunque sí se tiene por cierto haber sido en el año de 542: y en algunos papeles que dejó escritos D. Pedro de Tovar en la villa de Culiacan, se dice que los indios habian salido á matar á este bendito padre, por robar los ornamentos, y que habia memoria de que en su muerte se vieron grandes prodigios, como fué inundarse la tierra, verse globos de fuego, cometas y oscurecerse el sol.

"10. . . . Del padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz, la noticia que se tiene es, que despues de haber trabajado en la instruccion de los indios en Tigües y en Coquite, murió flechado de indios, porque no todos abrazaron su doctrina y consejos, con los que trataba detestasen sus bárbaras costumbres, aunque por lo general era muy estimado de los caciques y demas naturales, que habian visto la veneracion con que el general, capitanes y soldados le trataban. El padre Fr. Luis de Ubeda se mantenia en una choza por celda ó cueva, en donde le ministraban los indios, con un poco de atole, tortillas y frijoles, el limitado sustento, y no se supo de su muerte; sí quedó entre cuantos le conocieron la memoria de su pefecta vida."

When the reports of these martyrdoms reached New Spain, a number of Franciscans were fired with the zeal of entering the country and carrying on the work thus begun. Several received official permission, and went to the pueblo country. One of them was killed at Tiguex, where most of them settled. A few went on to Cicuye or Pecos, where they found a cross which Padilla had set up. Proceeding to Quivira, the natives there counseled them not to proceed farther. The Indians gave them an account of the death of Fray Padilla, and said that if he had taken their advice he would not have been killed.

[1] Antonio de Espejo, in the Relacion of his visit to New Mexico in 1582 (Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. xv, p. 180), states that at Zuñi-Cibola, "hallamos tres indios cristianos que se digeron llamar Andrés de Cuyacan y Gaspar de México y Anton de Guadalajara, que digeron haber entrado con Francisco Vazquez, y reformándolos en la lengua mexicana que ya casi la tenian olvidada; destos supimos que habia llegado allí el dicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado."

HOPI MAIDENS, SHOWING PRIMITIVE PUEBLO HAIRDRESSING

Chapter 5, of how the army left the settlements and marched to Culiacan, and of what happened on the way.

Leaving astern, as we might say, the settlements that had been discovered in the new land, of which, as I have said, the seven villages of Cibola were the first to be seen and the last that were left, the army started off, marching across the wilderness. The natives kept following the rear of the army for two or three days, to pick up any baggage or servants, for although they were still at peace and had always been loyal friends, when they saw that we were going to leave the country entirely, they were glad to get some of our people in their power, although I do not think that they wanted to injure them, from what I was told by some who were not willing to go back with them when they teased and asked them to. Altogether, they carried off several people besides those who had remained of their own accord, among whom good interpreters could be found today. The wilderness was crossed without opposition, and on the second day before reaching Chichilticalli Juan Gallego met the army, as he was coming from New Spain with reenforcements of men and necessary supplies for the army, expecting that he would find the army in the country of the Indian called Turk. When Juan Gallego saw that the army was returning, the first thing he said was not, "I am glad you are coming back," and he did not like it any better after he had talked with the general. After he had reached the army, or rather the quarters, there was quite a little movement among the gentlemen toward going back with the new force which had made no slight exertions in coming thus far, having encounters every day with the Indians of these regions who had risen in revolt, as will be related. There was talk of making a settlement somewhere in that region until the viceroy could receive an account of what had occurred. Those soldiers who had come from the new lands would not agree to anything except the return to New Spain, so that nothing came of the proposals made at the consultations, and although there was some opposition, they were finally quieted. Several of the mutineers who had deserted the town of Corazones came with Juan Gallego, who had given them his word as surety for their safety, and even if the general had wanted to punish them, his power was slight, for he had been disobeyed already and was not much respected. He began to be afraid again after this, and made himself sick, and kept a guard. In several places yells were heard and Indians seen, and some of the horses were wounded and killed, before Batuco[1] was reached, where the friendly Indians from Corazones came to meet the army and see the general. They were always friendly and had treated all the Spaniards who passed through their country well, furnishing them with what food they needed, and men, if they needed these. Our men had always treated them well and repaid them for these things. During this journey the juice of the quince was proved to be a good protection against the poison of the

[1] There were two settlements in Sonora bearing this name, one occupied by the Eudeve and the other by the Tegui division of the Opata. The former village is the one referred to by Castañeda.

natives, because at one place, several days before reaching Señora,[1] the hostile Indians wounded a Spaniard called Mesa, and he did not die, although the wound of the fresh poison is fatal, and there was a delay of over two hours before curing him with the juice. The poison, however, had left its mark upon him. The skin rotted and fell off until it left the bones and sinews bare, with a horrible smell. The wound was in the wrist, and the poison had reached as far as the shoulder when he was cured. The skin on all this fell off.[2]

The army proceeded without taking any rest, because the provisions had begun to fail by this time. These districts were in rebellion, and so there were not any victuals where the soldiers could get them until they reached Petlatlan, although they made several forays into the cross country in search of provisions. Petlatlan is in the province of Culiacan, and on this account was at peace, although they had several surprises after this.[3] The army rested here several days to get provisions. After leaving here they were able to travel more quickly than before, for the 30 leagues of the valley of Culiacan, where they were welcomed back again as people who came with their governor, who had suffered ill treatment.

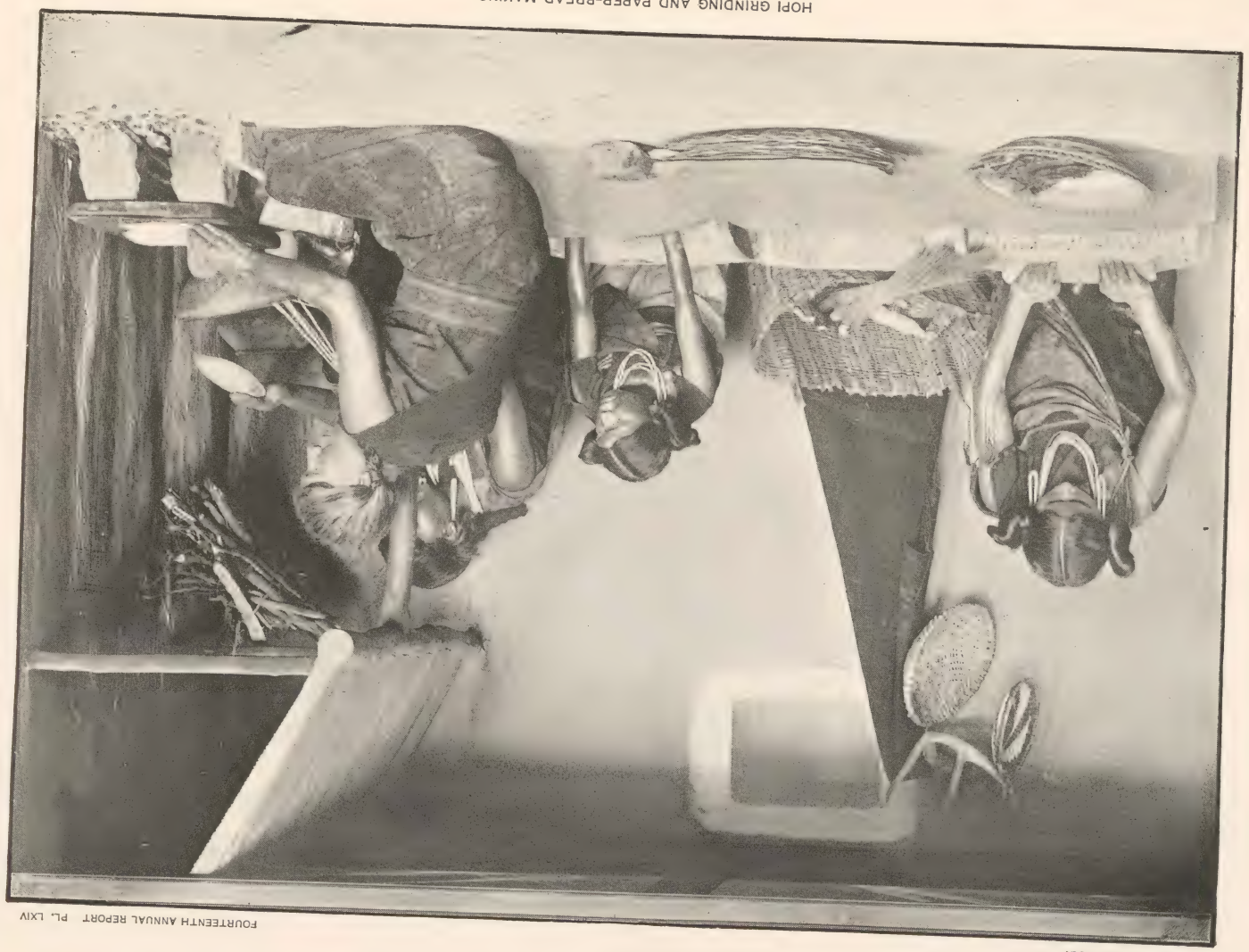
Chapter 6, of how the general started from Culiacan to give the viceroy an account of the army with which he had been intrusted.

It seemed, indeed, as if the arrival in the valley of Culiacan had ended the labors of this journey, partly because the general was governor there and partly because it was inhabited by Christians. On this account some began to disregard their superiors and the authority which their captains had over them, and some captains even forgot the obedience due to their general. Each one played his own game, so that while the general was marching toward the town, which was still 10 leagues away, many of the men, or most of them, left him in order to rest in the valley, and some even proposed not to follow him. The general understood that he was not strong enough to compel them, although his position as governor gave him fresh authority. He determined to accomplish it by a better method, which was to order all the captains to provide food and meat from the stores of several villages that were under his control as governor. He pretended to be sick, keeping his bed, so that those who had any business with him could speak to him or he with

[1] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii, 5, p. 166, says that at Sonora . . . "murió un fulano Temiño, hermano de Baltasar Bañuelos, uno de los quatro mineros de Zacatecas; Luis Hernandez, Domingo Fernandez y otros."

[2] Rudo Ensayo, p. 64: "Mago, en lengua Opata [of Sonora], es un arbol pequeño, mui lozano de verde, y hermoso á la vista; pero contiene una leche mortal que á corta incision de su corteza brota, con la que los Naturales suelen untar sus flechas; y por esto la llaman hierba de la flecha, pero ya pocos lo usan. Sirbe tambien dicha leche para abrir tumores rebeldes, aunque no lo aconsejara, por su calidad venenoso." This indicates a euphorbiacea. Bandelier (Final Report, pt. i, p. 77) believes that no credit is to be given to the notion that the poison used by the Indians may have been snake poison. The Seri are the only Indians of northern Mexico who in recent times have been reported to use poisoned arrows.

[3] Ternaux, p. 223: "On parvint ainsi à Petatlan, qui dépend de la province de Culiacan. A cette époque, ce village était soumis. Mais quoique depuis il y ait eu plusieurs soulèvements, on y resta quelques jours pour se refaire." Compare the Spanish.



HOPI GRINDING AND PAPER-BREAD MAKING
(From photograph of a model in the National Museum)

them more freely, without hindrance or observation, and he kept sending for his particular friends in order to ask them to be sure to speak to the soldiers and encourage them to accompany him back to New Spain, and to tell them that he would request the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, to show them especial favor, and that he would do so himself for those who might wish to remain in his government. After this had been done, he started with his army at a very bad time, when the rains were beginning, for it was about Saint John's day, at which season it rains continuously. In the uninhabited country which they passed through as far as Compostela there are numerous very dangerous rivers, full of large and fierce alligators. While the army was halting at one of these rivers, a soldier who was crossing from one side to the other was seized, in sight of everybody, and carried off by an alligator without it being possible to help him. The general proceeded, leaving the men who did not want to follow him all along the way, and reached Mexico with less than 100 men. He made his report to the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who did not receive him very graciously, although he gave him his discharge. His reputation was gone from this time on. He kept the government of New Galicia, which had been entrusted to him, for only a short time, when the viceroy took it himself, until the arrival of the court, or audiencia, which still governs it. And this was the end of those discoveries and of the expedition which was made to these new lands.[1]

It now remains for us to describe the way in which to enter the country by a more direct route, although there is never a short cut without hard work. It is always best to find out what those know who have prepared the way, who know what will be needed.[2] This can be found elsewhere, and I will now tell where Quivira lies, what direction the army took, and the direction in which Greater India lies, which was what they pretended to be in search of, when the army started thither. Today, since Villalobos has discovered that this part of the coast of the South sea trends toward the west, it is clearly seen and acknowledged that, since we were in the north, we ought to have turned to the west instead of toward the east, as we did. With this, we will leave this subject and will proceed to finish this treatise, since there are several noteworthy things of which I must give an account, which I have left to be treated more extensively in the two following chapters.

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[1] Gomara, cap. ccxiiii: "Quando llego a Mexico traya el cabello muy largo, y la barua trençada, y contaua estrañezas de las tierras, rios, y montañas, q̃ a trauesso. Mucho peso a don Antonio de Mendoça, que se boluiessen, porque auia gastado mas de sesenta mil pesos de oro en la empresa, y aun deuia muchos dellos, y no trayan cosa ninguna de alla, ni muestra de plata, ni de oro, ni de otra riqueza. Muchos quisieron quedarse alla, mas Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, que rico, y rezien casado era con hermosa muger, no quiso, diziendo, que no se podrian sustentar, ni defender, en tan pobre tierra, y tan lexos del socorro. Caminaron mas de nouecientas leguas de largo esta jornada."

[2] Ternaux, p. 228: "il n'y ait pas de succès à espérer sans peine; mais il vaut mieux que ceux qui voudront tenter l'entreprise, soient informés d'avance des peines et des fatigues qu'ont éprouvées leurs prédécesseurs."

Chapter 7, of the adventures of Captain Juan Gallego while he was bringing reenforcements through the revolted country.

One might well have complained when in the last chapter I passed in silence over the exploits of Captain Juan Gallego with his 20 companions. I will relate them in the present chapter, so that in times to come those who read about it or tell of it may have a reliable authority on whom to rely. I am not writing fables, like some of the things which we read about nowadays in the books of chivalry. If it were not that those stories contained enchantments, there are some things which our Spaniards have done in our own day in these parts, in their conquests and encounters with the Indians, which, for deeds worthy of admiration, surpass not only the books already mentioned, but also those which have been written about the twelve peers of France, because, if the deadly strength which the authors of those times attributed to their heroes and the brilliant and resplendent arms with which they adorned them, are fully considered, and compared with the small stature of the men of our time and the few and poor weapons which they have in these parts,[1] the remarkable things which our people have undertaken and accomplished with such weapons are more to be wondered at today than those of which the ancients write, and just because, too, they fought with barbarous naked people, as ours have with Indians, among whom there are always men who are brave and valiant and very sure bowmen, for we have seen them pierce the wings while flying, and hit hares while running after them. I have said all this in order to show that some things which we consider fables may be true, because we see greater things every day in our own times, just as in future times people will greatly wonder at the deeds of Don Fernando Cortez, who dared to go into the midst of New Spain with 300 men against the vast number of people in Mexico, and who with 500 Spaniards succeeded in subduing it, and made himself lord over it in two years.

The deeds of Don Pedro de Alvarado in the conquest of Guatemala, and those of Montejo in Tabasco, the conquests of the mainland and of Peru, were all such as to make me remain silent concerning what I now wish to relate; but since I have promised to give an account of what happened on this journey, I want the things I am now going to relate to be known as well as those others of which I have spoken.

The captain Juan Gallego, then, reached the town of Culiacan with a very small force. There he collected as many as he could of those who had escaped from the town of Hearts, or, more correctly, from Suya, which made in all 22 men, and with these he marched through all of the settled country, across which he traveled 200 leagues with the country in a state of war and the people in rebellion, although they had formerly been friendly toward the Spaniards, having encounters with

[1] The letters of Mendoza during the early part of his administration in Mexico repeatedly call attention to the lack of arms and ammunition among the Spaniards in the New World.

the enemy almost every day. He always marched with the advance guard, leaving two-thirds of his force behind with the baggage. With six or seven Spaniards, and without any of the Indian allies whom he had with him, he forced his way into their villages, killing and destroying and setting them on fire, coming upon the enemy so suddenly and with such quickness and boldness that they did not have a chance to collect or even to do anything at all, until they became so afraid of him that there was not a town which dared wait for him, but they fled before him as from a powerful army; so much so, that for ten days, while he was passing through the settlements, they did not have an hour's rest. He did all this with his seven companions, so that when the rest of the force came up with the baggage there was nothing for them to do except to pillage, since the others had already killed and captured all the people they could lay their hands on and the rest had fled. They did not pause anywhere, so that although the villages ahead of him received some warning, they were upon them so quickly that they did not have a chance to collect. Especially in the region where the town of Hearts had been, he killed and hung a large number of people to punish them for their rebellion. He did not lose a companion during all this, nor was anyone wounded, except one soldier, who was wounded in the eyelid by an Indian who was almost dead, whom he was stripping. The weapon broke the skin and, as it was poisoned, he would have had to die if he had not been saved by the quince juice; he lost his eye as it was. These deeds of theirs were such that I know those people will remember them as long as they live, and especially four or five friendly Indians who went with them from Corazones, who thought that they were so wonderful that they held them to be something divine rather than human. If he had not fallen in with our army as he did, they would have reached the country of the Indian called Turk, which they expected to march to, and they would have arrived there without danger on account of their good order and the skill with which he was leading them, and their knowledge and ample practice in war. Several of these men are still in this town of Culiacan, where I am now writing this account and narrative, where they, as well as I and the others who have remained in this province, have never lacked for labor in keeping this country quiet, in capturing rebels, and increasing in poverty and need, and more than ever at the present hour, because the country is poorer and more in debt than ever before.

Chapter 8, which describes some remarkable things that were seen on the plains, with a description of the bulls.

My silence was not without mystery and dissimulation when, in chapter 7 of the second part of this book, I spoke of the plains and of the things of which I will give a detailed account in this chapter, where all these things may be found together; for these things were remarkable and something not seen in other parts. I dare to write

of them because I am writing at a time when many men are still living who saw them and who will vouch for my account. Who could believe that 1,000 horses and 500 of our cows and more than 5,000 rams and ewes and more than 1,500 friendly Indians and servants, in traveling over those plains, would leave no more trace where they had passed than if nothing had been there—nothing—so that it was necessary to make piles of bones and cow dung now and then, so that the rear guard could follow the army. The grass never failed to become erect after it had been trodden down, and, although it was short, it was as fresh and straight as before.

Another thing was a heap of cow bones, a crossbow shot long, or a very little less, almost twice a man's height in places, and some 18 feet or more wide, which was found on the edge of a salt lake in the southern part,[1] and this in a region where there are no people who could have made it. The only explanation of this which could be suggested was that the waves which the north winds must make in the lake had piled up the bones of the cattle which had died in the lake, when the old and weak ones who went into the water were unable to get out. The noticeable thing is the number of cattle that would be necessary to make such a pile of bones.

Now that I wish to describe the appearance of the bulls, it is to be noticed first that there was not one of the horses that did not take flight when he saw them first, for they have a narrow, short face, the brow two palms across from eye to eye, the eyes sticking out at the side, so that, when they are running, they can see who is following them. They have very long beards, like goats, and when they are running they throw their heads back with the beard dragging on the ground. There is a sort of girdle round the middle of the body.[2] The hair is very woolly, like a sheep's, very fine, and in front of the girdle the hair is very long and rough like a lion's. They have a great hump, larger than a camel's. The horns are short and thick, so that they are not seen much above the hair. In May they change the hair in the middle of the body for a down, which makes perfect lions of them. They rub against the small trees in the little ravines to shed their hair, and they continue this until only the down is left, as a snake changes his skin. They have a short tail, with a bunch of hair at the end. When they run, they carry it erect like a scorpion. It is worth noticing that the little calves are red and just like ours, but they change their color and appearance with time and age.

Another strange thing was that all the bulls that were killed had their left ears slit, although these were whole when young. The reason for this was a puzzle that could not be guessed. The wool ought to

[1] Ternaux, p. 236: "l'on trouva sur le bord oriental d'un des lacs salés qui sont vers le sud, un endroit qui avait environ une demi-portée de mousquet de longueur, et qui était entièrement couvert d'os de bisons jusqu'à la hauteur de deux toises sur trois de large, ce qui est surprenant dans un pays désert, et où personne n'aurait pu rassembler ces os."

[2] Compare the Spanish. Ternaux, p. 237: "Ils ont sur la partie antérieure du corps un poil frisé semblable à la laine de moutons, il est très-fin sur la croupe, et lisse comme la crinière du lion."

HOPI BASKET MAKER

(From photograph of a model in the National Museum)

make good cloth on account of its fineness, although the color is not good, because it is the color of buriel.[1]

Another thing worth noticing is that the bulls traveled without cows in such large numbers that nobody could have counted them, and so far away from the cows that it was more than 40 leagues from where we began to see the bulls to the place where we began to see the cows. The country they traveled over was so level and smooth that if one looked at them the sky could be seen between their legs, so that if some of them were at a distance they looked like smooth-trunked pines whose tops joined, and if there was only one bull it looked as if there were four pines. When one was near them, it was impossible to see the ground on the other side of them. The reason for all this was that the country seemed as round as if a man should imagine himself in a three-pint measure, and could see the sky at the edge of it, about a crossbow shot from him, and even if a man only lay down on his back he lost sight of the ground.[2]

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[1] The kersey, or coarse woolen cloth out of which the habits of the Franciscan friars were made. Hence the name, grey friars.

[2] The earliest description of the American buffalo by a European is in Cabeza de Vaca's Naufragios, fol. xxvii verso (ed 1555): "Alcançā aqui vacas y yo las he visto tres vezes, y comido dellas: y paresceme que seran del tamaño de las de España: tienē los cuernos pequeños como moriscas, y el pelo muy largo merino como vna bernia, vnas son pardillas y otras negras: y a mi parescer tienen mejor y mas gruessa carne que de las de aca. De las que no son grandes hazen los indios mātas para cubrirse, y de las mayores hazen çapatos y rodelas: estas vienen de hazia el norte . . . mas de quatrociētas leguas· y en todo este camino por los valles por donde ellas vienē baxan las gentes que por alli habitan y se mantienen dellas, y meten en la tierra grande contidad de cueros."

Fray Marcos heard about these animals when he was in southern Arizona, on his way toward Cibola-Zuñi: "Aquí . . . me truxeron un cuero, tanto y medio mayor que de una gran vaca, y me dixeron ques de un animal, que tiene solo un cuerno en la frente y queste cuerno es corbo hácia los pechos, y que de allí sale una punta derecha, en la cual dicen que tiene tanta fuerza, que ninguna cosa, por recia que sea, dexa de romper, si topa con ella; y dicen que hay muchos animales destos en aquella tierra; la color del cuero es á manera de cabron y el pelo tan largo como el dedo."—Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. iii, p. 341.

Gomara, cap. ccxv, gives the following description to accompany his picture of these cows (plate LV, herein): "Son aquellos bueyes del tamaño, y color, que nuestros toros, pero no de tan grandes cuernos, Tienen vna gran giba sobre la cruz, y mas pelo de medio adelante, que de medio atras, y es lana. Tienen como clines sobre el espinazo, y mucho pelo, y muy largo de las rodillas abaxo. Cuelgan es por la frente grandes guedejas, y parece que tienen baruas, segun los muchos pelos del garguero, y varrillas. Tienen la cola muy larga los machos, y con vn flueco grande al cabo: assi que algo tienen de leon, y algo de camello. Hieren con los cuernos, corren, alcançan, y matan vn cauallo, quando ellos se embrauecen, y enojan: finalmente es animal feo y fiero de rostro, y cuerpo. Huyē de los cauallos por su mala catadura, o por nunca los auer visto. No tienen sus dueños otra riqueza, ni hazienda, dellos comen, beuen, visten, calçan, y hazen muchas cosas de los cueros, casas, calçado, vestido y sogas: delos huessos, punçones: de los neruios, y pelos, hilo: de los cuernos, buches, y bexigas, vasos: de las boñigas, lumbre: y de las terneras, odres, en que traen y tienen agua: hazen en fin tantas cosas dellos quantas han menester, o quantas las bastan para su biuienda. Ay tambien otros animales, tan grandes como cauallos, que por tener cuernos, y lana fina, los llaman carneros, y dizen, que cada cuerno pesa dos arrouas. Ay tambien grandes perros, que lidian con vn toro, y que lleuan dos arrouas de carga sobre salmas, quando vā a caça, o quando se mudan con el ganado, y hato."

Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii, p. 164, says: "son estas vacas menores que las nuestras; su lana menuda y mas fina que la merina; por encima un poco morena, y entre sí un pardillo agraciado, á la parte de atras es la lana mas menuda; y de allí para la cabeza, crian unos guedejones grandes no tan finos; tienen cuernos pequeños, y en todo lo demas son de la hechura de las nuestras, aunque mas cenceñas: los toros son mayores, y sus pieles se curten dejándoles la lana, y sirven, por su suavidad, de mullidas camas; no se vió becerrilla alguna, y puede atribuirse, ó á los muchos lobos que hay entre ellas, ó á tener otros parajes mas seguros en que queden las vacas con sus crias, y deben de mudarse por temporadas, ó porque falten las aguas de aquellas lagunas, ó porque conforme el sol se retira, les dañe la mutacion del temperamento, y por eso se advierten en aquellos llanos, trillados caminos ó veredas por donde entran y salen, y al mismo movimiento de las vacas, se mueven cuadrillas de indios. . . . y se dijo ser desabrida la carne de la hembra, y es providencia del Altísimo, para que los indios maten los machos y reserven las hembras para el multiplico."

I have not written about other things which were seen nor made any mention of them, because they were not of so much importance, although it does not seem right for me to remain silent concerning the fact that they venerate the sign of the cross in the region where the settlements have high houses. For at a spring which was in the plain near Acuco they had a cross two palms high and as thick as a finger, made of wood with a square twig for its crosspiece, and many little sticks decorated with feathers around it, and numerous withered flowers, which were the offerings.[1] In a graveyard outside the village at Tutahaco there appeared to have been a recent burial. Near the head there was another cross made of two little sticks tied with cotton thread, and dry withered flowers. It certainly seems to me that in some way they must have received some light from the cross of Our Redeemer, Christ, and it may have come by way of India, from whence they proceeded.

Chapter 9, which treats of the direction which the army took, and of how another more direct way might be found, if anyone was to return to that country.

I very much wish that I possessed some knowledge of cosmography or geography, so as to render what I wish to say intelligible, and so that I could reckon up or measure the advantage those people who might go in search of that country would have if they went directly through the center of the country, instead of following the road the army took. However, with the help of the favor of the Lord, I will state it as well as I can, making it as plain as possible.

It is, I think, already understood that the Portuguese, Campo, was the soldier who escaped when Friar Juan de Padilla was killed at Quivira, and that he finally reached New Spain from Panuco,[2] having traveled across the plains country until he came to cross the North Sea mountain chain, keeping the country that Don Hernando de Soto discovered all the time on his left hand, since he did not see the river of the Holy Spirit (Espiritu Santo) at all.[3] After he had crossed the North Sea mountains, he found that he was in Panuco, so that if he had not tried to go to the North sea, he would have come out in the

[1] Scattered through the papers of Dr J. Walter Fewkes on the Zuñi and Tusayan Indians will be found many descriptions of the páhos or prayer sticks and other forms used as offerings at the shrines, together with exact accounts of the manner of making the offerings.

[2] The northeastern province of New Spain.

[3] The conception of the great inland plain stretching between the great lakes at the head of the St Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico came to cosmographers very slowly. Almost all of the early maps show a disposition to carry the mountains which follow the Atlantic coast along the Gulf coast as far as Texas, a result, doubtless, of the fact that all the expeditions which started inland from Florida found mountains. Coronado's journey to Quivira added but little to the detailed geographical knowledge of America. The name reached Europe, and it is found on the maps, along the fortieth parallel, almost everywhere from the Pacific coast to the neighborhood of a western tributary to the St Lawrence system. See the maps reproduced herein. Castañeda could have aided them considerably, but the map makers did not know of his book.

neighborhood of the border land, or the country of the Sacatecas,[1] of which we now have some knowledge.

This way would be somewhat better and more direct for anyone going back there in search of Quivira, since some of those who came with the Portuguese are still in New Spain to serve as guides. Nevertheless, I think it would be best to go through the country of the Guachichules,[2] keeping near the South Sea mountains all the time, for there are more settlements and a food supply, for it would be suicide to launch out on to the plains country, because it is so vast and is barren of anything to eat, although, it is true, there would not be much need of this after coming to the cows. This is only when one goes in search of Quivira, and of the villages which were described by the Indian called Turk, for the army of Francisco Vazquez Coronado went the very farthest way round to get there, since they started from Mexico and went 110 leagues to the west, and then 100 leagues to the northeast, and 250 to the north,[3] and all this brought them as far as the ravines where the cows were, and after traveling 850 leagues they were not more than 400 leagues distant from Mexico by a direct route. If one desires to go to the country of Tiguex, so as to turn from there toward the west in search of the country of India, he ought to follow the road taken by the army, for there is no other, even if one wished to go by a different way, because the arm of the sea which reaches into this coast toward the north does not leave room for any. But what might be done is to have a fleet and cross this gulf and disembark in the neighborhood of the Island of Negroes[4] and enter the country from there, crossing the mountain chains in search of the country from which the people at Tiguex came, or other peoples of the same sort. As for entering from the country of Florida and from the North sea, it has already been observed that the many expeditions which have been undertaken from that side have been unfortunate and not very successful, because that part of the country is full of bogs and poisonous fruits, barren, and the very worst country that is warmed by the sun. But they might disembark after passing the river of the Holy Spirit, as Don Hernando de Soto did. Nevertheless, despite the fact that I underwent much labor, I still think that the way I went to that country is the best. There ought to be river courses, because the necessary supplies can be carried on these more easily in

[1] Captain John Stevens' Dictionary says that this is "a northern province of North America, rich in silver mines, but ill provided with water, grain, and other substances; yet by reason of the mines there are seven or eight Spanish towns in it." Zacatecas is now one of the central states of the Mexican confederation, being south of Coahuila and southeast of Durango.

[2] Ternaux, p. 242, miscopied it Quachichiles.

[3] Ternaux, p. 243, reads: "puis pendant six cent cinquante vers le nord, . . . De sorte qu'après avoir fait plus de huit cent cinquante lieues." . . . The substitution of six for two may possibly give a number which is nearer the actual distance traversed, but the fact is quite unimportant. The impression which the trip left on Castañeda is what should interest the historian or the reader.

[4] The dictionary of Dominguez says: "Isla de negros; ó isla del Almirantazgo, en el grande Océano equinoccial; grande isla de la América del Norte, sobre la costa oeste." Apparently the location of this island gradually drifted westward with the increase of geographical knowledge, until it was finally located in the Philippine group.

large quantities. Horses are the most necessary things in the new countries, and they frighten the enemy most. . . . Artillery is also much feared by those who do not know how to use it. A piece of heavy artillery would be very good for settlements like those which Francisco Vazquez Coronado discovered, in order to knock them down, because he had nothing but some small machines for slinging and nobody skillful enough to make a catapult or some other machine which would frighten them, which is very necessary.

I say, then, that with what we now know about the trend of the coast of the South sea, which has been followed by the ships which explored the western part, and what is known of the North sea toward Norway, the coast of which extends up from Florida, those who now go to discover the country which Francisco Vazquez entered, and reach the country of Cibola or of Tiguex, will know the direction in which they ought to go in order to discover the true direction of the country which the Marquis of the Valley, Don Hernando Cortes, tried to find, following the direction of the gulf of the Firebrand (Tizon) river. This will suffice for the conclusion of our narrative. Everything else rests on the powerful Lord of all things, God Omnipotent, who knows how and when these lands will be discovered and for whom He has guarded this good fortune.

Laus Deo.

Finished copying, Saturday the 26th of October, 1596, in Seville.

PUEBLO POTTERY MAKING
(From photograph of a model in the National Museum)

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER FROM MENDOZA TO THE KING, APRIL 17, 1540.[1]

S. C. C. M.:

I wrote to Your Majesty from Compostela the last of February, giving you an account of my arrival there and of the departure of Francisco Vazquez with the force which I sent to pacify and settle in the newly discovered country, and of how the warden, Lope de Samaniego, was going as army-master, both because he was a responsible person and a very good Christian, and because he has had experience in matters of this sort; as Your Majesty had desired to know. And the news which I have received since then is to the effect that after they had passed the uninhabited region of Culuacan and were approaching Chiametla, the warden went off with some horsemen to find provisions, and one of the soldiers who was with him, who had strayed from the force, called out that they were killing him. The warden hastened to his assistance, and they wounded him in the eye with an arrow, from which he died. In regard to the fortress,[2] besides the fact that it is badly built and going to pieces, it seems to me that the cost of it is excessive, and that Your Majesty could do without the most of it, because there is one man who takes charge of the munitions and artillery, and an armorer to repair it, and a gunner, and as this is the way it was under the audiencia, before the fortresses were made conformable to what I have written to Your Majesty, we can get along without the rest, because that fortress was built on account of the brigantines, and not for any other purpose.[3] And as the lagoon is so dry that it can do no good in this way for the present, I think that, for this reason, the cost is superfluous. I believe that it will have fallen in before a reply can come from Your Majesty.

Some days ago I wrote to Your Majesty that I had ordered Melchior Diaz, who was in the town of San Miguel de Culuacan, to take some horsemen and see if the account given by the father, Friar Marcos, agreed with what he could discover. He set out from Culuacan with fifteen horsemen, the 17th of November last. The 20th of this present

[1] From the Spanish text in Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. ii, p. 356. The letter mentioned in the opening sentence is not known to exist.

[2] Presumably the fortress of which Samaniego was warden.

[3] Buckingham Smith's Florida gives many documents relating to the damage done by French brigantines to the Spanish West Indies during 1540-41.

March I received a letter from him, which he sent me by Juan de Zaldyvar and three other horsemen. In this he says that after he left Culuacan and crossed the river of Petatlan he was everywhere very well received by the Indians. The way he did was to send a cross to the place where he was going to stop, because this was a sign which the Indians received with deep veneration, making a house out of mats in which to place it, and somewhat away from this they made a lodging for the Spaniards, and drove stakes where they could tie the horses, and supplied fodder for them, and abundance of corn wherever they had it. They say that they suffered from hunger in many places, because it had been a bad year. After going 100 leagues from Culuacan, he began to find the country cold, with severe frosts, and the farther he went on the colder it became, until he reached a point where some Indians whom he had with him were frozen, and two Spaniards were in great danger. Seeing this, he decided not to go any farther until the winter was over, and to send back, by those whom I mentioned, an account of what he had learned concerning Cibola and the country beyond, which is as follows, taken literally from his letter:

"I have given Your Lordship an account of what happened to me along the way; and seeing that it is impossible to cross the uninhabited region which stretches from here to Cibola, on account of the heavy snows and the cold, I will give Your Lordship an account of what I have learned about Cibola, which I have ascertained by asking many persons who have been there fifteen and twenty years; and I have secured this in many different ways, taking some Indians together and others separately, and on comparison they all seem to agree in what they say. After crossing this large wilderness, there are seven places, being a short day's march from one to another, all of which are together called Cibola. The houses are of stone and mud, coarsely worked. They are made in this way: One large wall, and at each end of this wall some rooms are built, partitioned off 20 feet square, according to the description they give, which are planked with square beams. Most of the houses are reached from the flat roofs, using their ladders to go to the streets. The houses have three and four stories. They declare that there are few having two stories. The stories are mostly half as high again as a man, except the first one, which is low, and only a little more than a man's height. One ladder is used to communicate with ten or twelve houses together. They make use of the low ones and live in the highest ones. In the lowest ones of all they have some loopholes made sideways, as in the fortresses of Spain. The Indians say that when these people are attacked, they station themselves in their houses and fight from there; and that when they go to make war, they carry shields and wear leather jackets, which are made of cows' hide, colored, and that they fight with arrows and with a sort of stone maul and with some other weapons made of sticks, which I have not been able to make out. They eat human flesh, and they keep those whom they capture in war as slaves. There are many fowls in the

country, tame. They have much corn and beans and melons [squashes]. In their houses they keep some hairy animals, like the large Spanish hounds, which they shear, and they make long colored wigs from the hair, like this one which I send to Your Lordship, which they wear, and they also put this same stuff in the cloth which they make.[1] The men are of small stature [plate LXII]; the women are light colored and of good appearance, and they wear shirts or chemises which reach down to their feet. They wear their hair on each side done up in a sort of twist [plate LXIII], which leaves the ears outside, in which they hang many turquoises, as well as on their necks and on the wrists of their arms. The clothing of the men is a cloak, and over this the skin of a cow, like the one which Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes brought, which Your Lordship saw; they wear caps[2] on their heads; in summer they wear shoes made of painted or colored skin, and high buskins in winter.[3]

They were also unable to tell me of any metal, nor did they say that they had it. They have turquoises in quantity, although not so many as the father provincial said. They have some little stone crystals, like this which I send to Your Lordship, of which Your Lordship has seen many here in New Spain. They cultivate the ground in the same way as in New Spain. They carry things on their heads, as in Mexico.

[1] In his paper on the Human Bones of the Hemenway Collection (Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, VI, p. 156 et seq.), Dr Washington Matthews discusses the possible former existence of a variety of the llama in certain parts of the southwest.

[2] The headbands are doubtless here referred to.

[3] The Spanish text for the foregoing paragraph is as follows: "Salidos deste despoblado grande, están siete lugares y habrá una jornada pequeña del uno al otro, á los quales todos juntos llaman Civola; tienen las casas de piedra y barro, toscamente labradas, son desta manera hechas: una pared larga y desta pared á un cabo y á otro salen unas cámaras atajadas de veinte piés en cuadra, segund señalan, las cuales están maderadas de vigas por labrar; las más casas se mandan por las azoteas con sus escaleras á las calles; son las casas de tres y de cuatro altos; afirman haber pocas de dos altos, los altos son demás de estado y medio en alto, ecebto el primero ques bajo, que no terná sino algo más que un estado; mandánse diez ó doce casas juntas por una escalera, de los bajos se sirven y en los más altos habitan; en el más bajo de todos tienen unas saeteras hechas al soslayo como en fortalezas en España. Dicen los indios que cuando les vienen á dar guerra, que se meten en sus casas todos y de allí pelean, y que cuando ellos van á hacer guerra, que llevan rodelas y unas cueras vestidas que son de vacas de colores, y que pelean con flechas y con unas macetas de piedra y con otras armas de palo que no he podido entender. Comen carne humana y los que prenden en la guerra tiénenlos por esclavos. Hay muchas gallinas en la tierra, mansas, tienen mucho maiz y frisoles y melones, tienen en sus casas unos animales bedijudos como grandes pode-cos de Castilla, los quales tresquilan, y del pelo hacen cabelleras de colores que se ponen, como esa que envio á V. S., y tambien en la ropa que hacen echan de lo mismo. Los hombres son de pequeña estatura; las mujeres son blancas y de buenos gestos, andan vestidas con unas camisas que les llegan hasta los piés, y los cabellos parténselos á manera de lados con ciertas vueltas, que les quedan las orejas de fuera, en las cuales se cuelgan muchas turquesas y al cuello y en las muñecas de los brazos. El vestido de los hombres son mantas y encima cueros de vaca, como el que V. S. veria que llevó Cabeza de Vaca y Dorantes; en las cabezas se ponen unas tocas; traen en verano zapatos de cuero pintados ó de color, y en el invierno borceguíes altos.

"De la misma manera, no me saben dar razon de metal ninguno, ni dicen que lo tengan; turquesas tienen en cantidad, aunque no tantas como el padre provincial dice; tienen unas pedrezuelas de christal como esa que envio á V. S., de las cuales V. S. habia visto hartas en esa Nueva España; labran las tierras á uso de la Nueva España; cárganse en la cabeza como en México; los hombres tejen la ropa ó hilan el algodon; comen sal de una laguna questá á dos jornadas de la provincia de Civola. Los indios hacen sus bailes y cantos con unas flautas que tienen sus puntos do ponen los dedos, hacen muchos sones, cantan juntamente con los que tañen, y los que cantan dan palmas á nuestro modo. Aún indio de los que llevó Estéban el Negro, questuvo allá cautivo, le ví tañer, que selo mostraron allá, y otros cantaban como digo, aunque no muy desenvueltos; dicen que se juntan cinco ó seis á tañer, y que son las flautas unas mayores que otras."

The men weave cloth and spin cotton. They have salt from a marshy lake, which is two days from the province of Cibola.[1] The Indians have their dances and songs, with some flutes which have holes on which to put the fingers. They make much noise. They sing in unison with those who play, and those who sing clap their hands in our fashion. One of the Indians that accompanied the negro Esteban, who had been a captive there, saw the playing as they practiced it, and others singing as I have said, although not very vigorously. They say that five or six play together, and that some of the flutes are better than others.[2] They say the country is good for corn and beans, and that they do not have any fruit trees, nor do they know what such a thing is.[3] They have very good mountains. The country lacks water. They do not raise cotton, but bring it from Totonteac.[4] They eat out of flat bowls, like the Mexicans. They raise considerable corn and beans and other similar things.[5] They do not know what sea fish is, nor have they ever heard of it. I have not obtained any information about the cows, except that these are found beyond the province of Cibola. There is a great abundance of wild goats, of the color of bay horses; there are many of these here where I am, and although I have asked the Indians if those are like these, they tell me no. Of the seven settlements, they describe three of them as very large; four not so big. They describe them, as I understand, to be about three cross-bow shots square for each place, and from what the Indians say, and their descriptions of the houses and their size, and as these are close together, and considering that there are people in each house, it ought to make a large multitude. Totonteac is declared to be seven short days from the province of Cibola, and of the same sort of houses and people, and they say that cotton grows there. I doubt this, because they tell me that it is a cold country. They say that there are twelve villages, every one of which is larger than the largest at Cibola. They also tell me that there is a village which is one day from Cibola, and that the two are at war.[6] They have the same sort of houses and people and customs. They declare this to be greater than any of those described; I take it that there is a great multitude of people there. They are very well known, on account of having these houses and abundance of food and turquoises. I have not been able to learn more than what I have

[1]The same salt lake from which the Zuñis obtain their salt supply today.

[2]Compare with this hearsay description of something almost unknown to the Spaniards, the thoroughly scientific descriptions of the Hopi dances and ceremonials recorded by Dr J. Walter Fewkes.

[3]The peaches, watermelons, cantaloupes, and grapes, now so extensively cultivated by the Pueblos, were introduced early in the seventeenth century by the Spanish missionaries.

[4]At first glance it seems somewhat strange that although Zuñi is considerably more than 100 miles south of Totonteac, or Tusayan, the people of the former villages did not cultivate cotton, but in this I am reminded by Mr Hodge that part of the Tusayan people are undoubtedly of southern origin and that in all probability they introduced cotton into that group of villages. The Pimas raised cotton as late as 1850. None of the Pueblos now cultivate the plant, the introduction of cheap fabrics by traders having doubtless brought the industry to an end. See page 574.

[5]"Y otras simillas como chia" is the Spanish text.

[6]Doubtless the pueblo of Marata (Makyata) mentioned by Marcos de Niza. This village was situated near the salt lake and had been destroyed by the Zuñis some years before Niza visited New Mexico.

PUEBLO SPINNING AND WEAVING
(From photograph of a model in the National Museum)

related, although, as I have said, I have had with me Indians who have lived there fifteen and twenty years.

"The death of Esteban the negro took place in the way the father, Friar Marcos, described it to your lordship, and so I do not make a report of it here, except that the people at Cibola sent word to those of this village and in its neighborhood that if any Christians should come, they ought not to consider them as anything peculiar, and ought to kill them, because they were mortal—saying that they had learned this because they kept the bones of the one who had come there; and that, if they did not dare to do this, they should send word so that those (at Cibola) could come and do it. I can very easily believe that all this has taken place, and that there has been some communication between these places, because of the coolness with which they received us and the sour faces they have shown us."

Melchior Diaz says that the people whom he found along the way do not have any settlements at all, except in one valley which is 150 leagues from Culuacan, which is well settled and has houses with lofts, and that there are many people along the way, but that they are not good for anything except to make them Christians, as if this was of small account. May Your Majesty remember to provide for the service of God, and keep in mind the deaths and the loss of life and of provinces which has taken place in these Indies. And, moreover, up to this present day none of the things Your Majesty has commanded, which have been very holy and good, have been attended to, nor priests provided, either for that country or for this. For I assure Your Majesty that there is no trace of Christianity where they have not yet arrived, neither little nor much, and that the poor people are ready to receive the priests and come to them even when they flee from us like deer in the mountains. And I state this because I am an eyewitness, and I have seen it clearly during this trip. I have importuned Your Majesty for friars, and yet again I can not cease doing it much more, because unless this be done I can not accomplish that which I am bound to do.

After I reach Mexico, I will give Your Majesty an account of everything concerning these provinces, for while I should like to do it today, I can not, because I am very weak from a slow fever which I caught in Colima, which attacked me very severely, although it did not last more than six days. It has pleased Our Lord to make me well already, and I have traveled here to Jacona, where I am.

May Our Lord protect the Holy Catholic Cæsarian person of Your Majesty and aggrandize it with increase of better kingdoms and lordships, as we your servants desire.

From Jacona, April 17, 1540.

S. C. C. M.

Your Holy Majesty's humble servant, who salutes your royal feet and hands,

D. Antonio de Mendoza.

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER FROM CORONADO TO MENDOZA, AUGUST 3, 1540.[1]

THE ACCOUNT GIVEN BY FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ DE CORONADO, CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE FORCE WHICH WAS SENT IN THE NAME OF HIS MAJESTY TO THE NEWLY DISCOVERED COUNTRY, OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THE EXPEDITION AFTER APRIL 22 OF THE YEAR MDXL, WHEN HE STARTED FORWARD FROM CULIACAN, AND OF WHAT HE FOUND IN THE COUNTRY THROUGH WHICH HE PASSED.

Francisco Vazquez starts from Culiacan with his army, and after suffering various inconveniences on account of the badness of the way, reaches the Valley of Hearts, where he failed to find any corn, to procure which he sends to the valley called Señora. He receives an account of the important Valley of Hearts and of the people there, and of some lands lying along that coast.

On the 22d of the month of April last, I set out from the province of Culiacan with a part of the army, having made the arrangements of which I wrote to Your Lordship. Judging by the outcome, I feel sure that it was fortunate that I did not start the whole of the army on this undertaking, because the labors have been so very great and the lack of food such that I do not believe this undertaking could have been completed before the end of this year, and that there would be a great loss of life if it should be accomplished. For, as I wrote to Your Lordship, I spent eighty days in traveling to Culiacan,[2] during which time I and the gentlemen of my company, who were horsemen, carried on our backs and on our horses a little food, in such wise that after leaving this place none of us carried any necessary effects weighing more than a pound. For all this, and although we took all possible care and forethought of the small supply of provisions which we carried, it gave out. And this is not to be wondered at, because the road is rough and long, and what with our harquebuses, which had to be carried up the mountains and hills and in the passage of the rivers, the greater part of the

[1] Translated from the Italian version, in Ramusio's Viaggi, vol. iii, fol. 359 (ed. 1556). There is another English translation in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii, p. 373 (ed. 1600). Hakluyt's translation is reprinted in Old South Leaflet, general series, No. 20. Mr Irving Babbitt, of the French department in Harvard University, has assisted in correcting some of the errors and omissions in Hakluyt's version. The proper names, excepting such as are properly translated, are spelled as in the Italian text.

[2] This statement is probably not correct. It may be due to a blunder by Ramusio in translating from the original text. See note on page 382. Eighty days (see pp. 564, 572) would be nearly the time which Coronado probably spent on the journey from Culiacan to Cibola, and this interpretation would render the rest of the sentence much more intelligible.

corn was lost. And since I send Your Lordship a drawing of this route, I will say no more about it here.

Thirty leagues before reaching the place which the father provincial spoke so well of in his report,[1] I sent Melchior Diaz forward with fifteen horsemen, ordering him to make but one day's journey out of two, so that he could examine everything there before I arrived. He traveled through some very rough mountains for four days, and did not find anything to live on, nor people, nor information about anything, except that he found two or three poor villages, with twenty or thirty huts apiece. From the people here he learned that there was nothing to be found in the country beyond except the mountains, which continued very rough, entirely uninhabited by people. And, because this was labor lost, I did not want to send Your Lordship an account of it. The whole company felt disturbed at this, that a thing so much praised, and about which the father had said so many things, should be found so very different; and they began to think that all the rest would be of the same sort. When I noticed this, I tried to encourage them as well as I could, telling them that Your Lordship had always thought that this part of the trip would be a waste of effort, and that we ought to devote our attention to those Seven Cities and the other provinces about which we had information—that these should be the end of our enterprise. With this resolution and purpose, we all marched cheerfully along a very bad way, where it was impossible to pass without making a new road or repairing the one that was there, which troubled the soldiers not a little, considering that everything which the friar had said was found to be quite the reverse; because, among other things which the father had said and declared, he said that the way would be plain and good, and that there would be only one small hill of about half a league. And the truth is, that there are mountains where, however well the path might be fixed, they could not be crossed without there being great danger of the horses falling over them. And it was so bad that a large number of the animals which Your Lordship sent as provision for the army were lost along this part of the way, on account of the roughness of the rocks. The lambs and wethers lost their hoofs along the way, and I left the greater part of those which I brought from Culiacan at the river of Lachimi,[2] because they were unable to travel, and so that they might proceed more slowly. Four horsemen remained with them, who have just arrived. They have not brought more than 24 lambs and 4 wethers; the rest died from the toil, although they did not travel more than two leagues daily. I reached the Valley of Hearts at last, on the 26th day of the month of May, and rested there a number of days. Between Culiacan and this place I could sustain myself only by means of a large supply of corn bread, because I had to leave all the corn, as it was not yet ripe. In this Valley of Hearts we found more people than in any part of the country

[1] The valley into which Friar Marcos did not dare to enter. See the Historical Introduction, p. 362.
[2] Doubtless the Yaquimi or Yaqui river.

which we had left behind, and a large extent of tilled ground. There was no corn for food among them, but as I heard that there was some in another valley called Señora, which I did not wish to disturb by force, I sent Melchior Diaz with goods to exchange for it, so as to give this to the friendly Indians whom we brought with us, and to some who had lost their animals along the way and had not been able to carry the food which they had taken from Culiacan. By the favor of Our Lord, some little corn was obtained by this trading, which relieved the friendly Indians and some Spaniards. Ten or twelve of the horses had died of overwork by the time that we reached this Valley of Hearts, because they were unable to stand the strain of carrying heavy burdens and eating little. Some of our negroes and some of the Indians also died here, which was not a slight loss for the rest of the expedition. They told me that the Valley of Hearts is a long five-days' journey from the western sea. I sent to summon Indians from the coast in order to learn about their condition, and while I was waiting for these the horses rested. I stayed there four days, during which the Indians came from the sea, who told me that there were seven or eight islands two days' journey from that seacoast, directly opposite, well populated with people, but poorly supplied with food, and the people were savages.[1] They told me they had seen a ship pass not very far from the land. I do not know whether to think that it was the one which was sent to discover the country, or perhaps some Portuguese.[2]

They come to Chichilticale; after having taken two days' rest, they enter a country containing very little food and hard to travel for 30 leagues, beyond which the country becomes pleasant, and there is a river called the River of the Flax (del Lino); they fight against the Indians, being attacked by these; and having by their victory secured the city, they relieve themselves of the pangs of their hunger.

I set out from the Hearts and kept near the seacoast as well as I could judge, but in fact I found myself continually farther off, so that when I reached Chichilticale I found that I was fifteen days' journey distant from the sea,[3] although the father provincial had said that it was only 5 leagues distant and that he had seen it. We all became very distrustful, and felt great anxiety and dismay to see that everything was the reverse of what he had told Your Lordship. The Indians of Chichilticale say that when they go to the sea for fish, or for anything else that they need, they go across the country, and that it takes them

[1] These were doubtless the Seri, of Yuman stock, who occupied a strip of the Gulf coast between latitude 28° and 29° and the islands Angel de la Guardia and Tiburon. The latter island, as well as the coast of the adjacent mainland, is still inhabited by this tribe.

[2] As Indian news goes, there is no reason why this may not have been one of Ulloa's ships, which sailed along this coast during the previous summer. It can hardly have been a ship of Alarcon's fleet.

[3] Ramusio: "mi ritrouauo lunge dal mare quindici giornate." Hakluyt (ed. 1600): "I found my selfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea."

THE TEWA PUEBLO OF P'O-WHO-GI OR SAN ILDEFONSO

ten days; and this information which I have received from the Indians appears to me to be true. The sea turns toward the west directly opposite the Hearts for 10 or 12 leagues, where I learned that the ships of Your Lordship had been seen, which had gone in search of the port of Chichilticale, which the father said was on the thirty-fifth degree. God knows what I have suffered, because I fear that they may have met with some mishap. If they follow the coast, as they said they would, as long as the food lasts which they took with them, of which I left them a supply in Culiacan, and if they have not been overtaken by some misfortune, I maintain my trust in God that they have already discovered something good, for which the delay which they have made may be pardoned. I rested for two days at Chichilticale, and there was good reason for staying longer, because we found that the horses were becoming so tired; but there was no chance to rest longer, because the food was giving out. I entered the borders of the wilderness region on Saint John's eve, and, for a change from our past labors, we found no grass during the first days, but a worse way through mountains and more dangerous passages than we had experienced previously. The horses were so tired that they were not equal to it, so that in this last desert we lost more horses than before; and some Indian allies and a Spaniard called Spinosa, besides two negroes, died from eating some herbs because the food had given out. I sent the army-master, Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, with 15 horsemen, a day's march ahead of me, in order to explore the country and prepare the way, which he accomplished like the man that he is, and agreeably to the confidence which Your Lordship has had in him. I am the more certain that he did so, because, as I have said, the way is very bad for at least 30 leagues and more, through impassable mountains. But when we had passed these 30 leagues, we found fresh rivers and grass like that of Castile, and especially one sort like what we call *Scaramoio;* many nut and mulberry trees, but the leaves of the nut trees are different from those of Spain. There was a considerable amount of flax near the banks of one river, which was called on this account El Rio del Lino. No Indians were seen during the first day's march, after which four Indians came out with signs of peace, saying that they had been sent to that desert place to say that we were welcome, and that on the next day the tribe would provide the whole force with food. The army-master gave them a cross, telling them to say to the people in their city that they need not fear, and that they should have their people stay in their own houses, because I was coming in the name of His Majesty to defend and help them. After this was done, Ferrando Alvarado came back to tell me that some Indians had met him peaceably, and that two of them were with the army-master waiting for me. I went to them forthwith and gave them some paternosters and some little cloaks, telling them to return to their city and say to the people there that they could stay quietly in their houses and that they need not fear. After this I ordered

the army-master to go and see if there were any bad passages which the Indians might be able to defend, and to seize and hold any such until the next day, when I would come up. He went, and found a very bad place in our way where we might have received much harm. He immediately established himself there with the force which he was conducting. The Indians came that very night to occupy that place so as to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men. According to what I have been told, they attacked like valiant men, although in the end they had to retreat in flight, because the army-master was on the watch and kept his men in good order. The Indians sounded a little trumpet as a sign of retreat, and did not do any injury to the Spaniards. The army-master sent me notice of this the same night, so that on the next day I started with as good order as I could, for we were in such great need of food that I thought we should all die of hunger if we continued to be without provisions for another day, especially the Indians, since altogether we did not have two bushels of corn, and so I was obliged to hasten forward without delay. The Indians lighted their fires from point to point, and these were answered from a distance with as good understanding as we could have shown. Thus notice was given concerning how we went and where we had arrived. As soon as I came within sight of this city, I sent the army-master, Don Garcia Lopez, Friar Daniel and Friar Luis, and Ferrando Vermizzo, with some horsemen, a little way ahead, so that they might find the Indians and tell them that we were not coming to do them any harm, but to defend them in the name of our lord the Emperor. The summons, in the form which His Majesty commanded in his instructions, was made intelligible to the people of the country by an interpreter. But they, being a proud people, were little affected, because it seemed to them that we were few in number, and that they would not have any difficulty in conquering us. They pierced the gown of Friar Luis with an arrow, which, blessed be God, did him no harm. Meanwhile I arrived with all the rest of the horse and the footmen, and found a large body of the Indians on the plain, who began to shoot with their arrows. In obedience to the orders of Your Lordship and of the marquis,[1] I did not wish my company, who were begging me for permission, to attack them, telling them that they ought not to offend them, and that what the enemy was doing was nothing, and that so few people ought not to be insulted. On the other hand, when the Indians saw that we did not move, they took greater courage, and grew so bold that they came up almost to the heels of our horses to shoot their arrows. On this account I saw that it was no longer time to hesitate, and as the priests approved the action, I charged them. There was little to do, because they suddenly took to flight, part running toward the city, which was near and well fortified, and others toward the plain, wherever chance led them. Some Indians

[1]It is possible that this is a blunder, in Ramusio's text, for "His Majesty." The Marquis, in New Spain, is always Cortes, for whom neither Mendoza nor Coronado had any especial regard.

were killed, and others might have been slain if I could have allowed them to be pursued. But I saw that there would be little advantage in this, because the Indians who were outside were few, and those who had retired to the city were numerous, besides many who had remained there in the first place. As that was where the food was, of which we stood in such great need, I assembled my whole force and divided them as seemed to me best for the attack on the city, and surrounded it. The hunger which we suffered would not permit of any delay, and so I dismounted with some of these gentlemen and soldiers. I ordered the musketeers and crossbowmen to begin the attack and drive back the enemy from the defenses, so that they could not do us any injury. I assaulted the wall on one side, where I was told that there was a scaling ladder and that there was also a gate. But the crossbowmen broke all the strings of their crossbows and the musketeers could do nothing, because they had arrived so weak and feeble that they could scarcely stand on their feet. On this account the people who were on top were not prevented at all from defending themselves and doing us whatever injury they were able. Thus, for myself, they knocked me down to the ground twice with countless great stones which they threw down from above, and if I had not been protected by the very good headpiece which I wore, I think that the outcome would have been bad for me. They picked me up from the ground, however, with two small wounds in my face and an arrow in my foot, and with many bruises on my arms and legs, and in this condition I retired from the battle, very weak. I think that if Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas had not come to my help, like a good cavalier, the second time that they knocked me to the ground, by placing his own body above mine, I should have been in much greater danger than I was. But, by the pleasure of God, these Indians surrendered, and their city was taken with the help of Our Lord, and a sufficient supply of corn was found there to relieve our necessities. The army-master and Don Pedro de Tovar and Ferrando de Alvarado and Paulo de Melgosa, the infantry captain, sustained some bruises, although none of them were wounded. Agoniez Quarez was hit in the arm by an arrow, and one Torres, who lived in Panuco, in the face by another, and two other footmen received slight arrow wounds. They all directed their attack against me because my armor was gilded and glittered, and on this account I was hurt more than the rest, and not because I had done more or was farther in advance than the others; for all these gentlemen and soldiers bore themselves well, as was expected of them. I praise God that I am now well, although somewhat sore from the stones. Two or three other soldiers were hurt in the battle which we had on the plain, and three horses were killed—one that of Don Lopez and another that of Vigliega and the third that of Don Alfonso Manrich—and seven or eight other horses were wounded; but the men, as well as the horses, have now recovered and are well.

Of the situation and condition of the Seven Cities called the kingdom of Cevola, and the sort of people and their customs, and of the animals which are found there.

It now remains for me to tell about this city and kingdom and province, of which the Father Provincial gave Your Lordship an account. In brief, I can assure you that in reality he has not told the truth in a single thing that he said, but everything is the reverse of what he said, except the name of the city and the large stone houses. For, although they are not decorated with turquoises, nor made of lime nor of good bricks, nevertheless they are very good houses, with three and four and five stories, where there are very good apartments and good rooms with corridors,[1] and some very good rooms under ground and paved, which are made for winter, and are something like a sort of hot baths.[2] The ladders which they have for their houses are all movable and portable, which are taken up and placed wherever they please. They are made of two pieces of wood, with rounds like ours. [See plates LVIII, LVIX.] The Seven Cities are seven little villages, all having the kind of houses I have described. They are all within a radius of 5 leagues. They are all called the kingdom of Cevola, and each has its own name and no single one is called Cevola, but all together are called Cevola. This one which I have called a city I have named Granada, partly because it has some similarity to it,[3] as well as out of regard for Your Lordship. In this place where I am now lodged there are perhaps 200 houses, all surrounded by a wall, and it seems to me that with the other houses, which are not so surrounded, there might be altogether 500 families. There is another town near by, which is one of the seven, but somewhat larger than this, and another of the same size as this, and the other four are somewhat smaller. I send them all to Your Lordship, painted with the route. The skin on which the painting is made was found here with other skins. The people of the towns seem to me to be of ordinary size and intelligent, although I do not think that they have the judgment and intelligence which they ought to have to build these houses in the way in which they have, for most of them are entirely naked except the covering of their privy parts, and they have painted mantles like the one which I send to Your Lordship. They do not raise cotton, because the country is very cold, but they wear mantles, as may be seen by the exhibit which I send. It is also true that some cotton thread was found in their houses. They wear the hair on their heads like the Mexicans. They all have good figures, and are well bred. I think that they have a quantity of turquoises, which they had removed with the rest of their goods, except the corn, when I arrived, because I did not find any women here nor any men

[1] Hakluyt: . . . "very excellent good houses of three or foure or fiue lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers in stead of staires."

[2] The kivas or ceremonial chambers.

[3] See the footnote on page 564 in regard to the similarity of names. The note was written without reference to the above passage.

PUEBLO OF JEMEZ

under 15 years or over 60, except two or three old men who remained in command of all the other men and the warriors. Two points of emerald and some little broken stones which approach the color of rather poor garnets[1] were found in a paper, besides other stone crystals, which I gave to one of my servants to keep until they could be sent to Your Lordship. He has lost them, as they tell me. We found fowls, but only a few, and yet there are some. The Indians tell me that they do not eat these in any of the seven villages, but that they keep them merely for the sake of procuring the feathers.[2] I do not believe this, because they are very good, and better than those of Mexico. The climate of this country and the temperature of the air is almost like that of Mexico, because it is sometimes hot and sometimes it rains. I have not yet seen it rain, however, except once when there fell a little shower with wind, such as often falls in Spain. The snow and the cold are usually very great, according to what the natives of the country all say. This may very probably be so, both because of the nature of the country and the sort of houses they build and the skins and other things which these people have to protect them from the cold. There are no kinds of fruit or fruit trees. The country is all level, and is nowhere shut in by high mountains, although there are some hills and rough passages.[3] There are not many birds, probably because of the cold, and because there are no mountains near. There are no trees fit for firewood here, because they can bring enough for their needs from a clump of very small cedars 4 leagues distant.[4] Very good grass is found a quarter of a league away, where there is pasturage for our horses as well as mowing for hay, of which we had great need, because our horses were so weak and feeble when they arrived. The food which they eat in this country is corn, of which they have a great abundance, and beans and venison, which they probably eat (although they say that they do not), because we found many skins of deer and hares and rabbits. They make the best corn cakes I have ever seen anywhere, and this is what everybody ordinarily eats. They have the very best arrangement and machinery for grinding that was ever seen [plate LXIV]. One of these Indian women here will grind as much as four of the Mexicans. They have very good salt in crystals, which they bring from a lake a day's journey distant from here. No information can be obtained among them about the North sea or that on the west, nor do I know how to tell Your Lordship which we are nearest to. I should judge that it is nearer to the western, and 150 leagues is the nearest that it seems to me it can be thither. The North sea ought to be much farther away. Your Lordship may thus see how very wide the country is. They have

[1] Many garnets are found on the ant-hills throughout the region, especially in the Navajo country.

[2] The natives doubtless told the truth. Eagle and turkey feathers are still highly prized by them for use in their ceremonies.

[3] It should be noted that Coronado clearly distinguishes between hills or mesas and mountains. Zuñi valley is hemmed in by heights varying from 500 to 1,000 feet.

[4] This accords perfectly with the condition of the vegetation in Zuñi valley at the present time.

many animals—bears, tigers, lions, porcupines, and some sheep as big as a horse, with very large horns and little tails. I have seen some of their horns the size of which was something to marvel at.[1] There are also wild goats, whose heads I have seen, and the paws of the bears and the skins of the wild boars. For game they have deer, leopards, and very large deer,[2] and every one thinks that some of them are larger than that animal which Your Lordship favored me with, which belonged to Juan Melaz. They inhabit some plains eight days' journey toward the north. They have some of their skins here very well dressed, and they prepare and paint them where they kill the cows, according to what they tell me.

Of the nature and situation of the kingdoms of Totonteac, Marata, and Acus, wholly different from the account of Friar Marcos. The conference which they had with the Indians of the city of Granada, which they had captured, who had been forewarned of the coming of Christians into their country fifty years before. The account which was obtained from them concerning seven other cities, of which Tucano is the chief, and how he sent to discover them. A present sent to Mendoza of various things found in this country by Vazquez Coronado.

These Indians say that the kingdom of Totonteac, which the father provincial praised so much, saying that it was something marvelous, and of such a very great size, and that cloth was made there, is a hot lake, on the edge of which there are five or six houses.[3] There used to be some others, but these have been destroyed by war. The kingdom of Marata can not be found, nor do these Indians know anything about it. The kingdom of Acus is a single small city, where they raise cotton, and this is called Acucu.[4] I say that this is the country, because Acus, with or without the aspiration, is not a word in this region; and because it seems to me that Acucu may be derived from Acus, I say that it is this town which has been converted into the kingdom of Acus. They tell me that there are some other small ones not far from this settlement, which are situated on a river which I have seen and of which the Indians have told me. God knows that I wish I had better news to write to Your Lordship, but I must give you the truth, and, as I wrote you from Culiacan, I must advise you of the good as well as of the bad. But you may be assured that if there had been all the riches and treasures of the world, I could not have done more in His Majesty's service and in that of Your Lordship than I have done, in coming here where you commanded me to go, carrying, both my companions and myself, our food on our backs for 300 leagues, and

[1] See the translation of Castañeda's narrative, p. 487.

[2] Doubtless a slip of Ramusio's pen for cows, i. e., buffalos.

[3] Coronado doubtless misinterpreted what the natives intended to communicate. The "hot lake" was in all probability the salt lake alluded to on page 550, near which Marata was situated. Totonteac was of course Tusayan, or "Tucano."

[4] This is a form of the Zuñi name for Acoma—Hakukia.

traveling on foot many days, making our way over hills and rough mountains, besides other labors which I refrain from mentioning. Nor do I think of stopping until my death, if it serves His Majesty or Your Lordship to have it so.

Three days after I captured this city, some of the Indians who lived here came to offer to make peace. They brought me some turquoises and poor mantles, and I received them in His Majesty's name with as good a speech as I could, making them understand the purpose of my coming to this country, which is, in the name of His Majesty and by the commands of Your Lordship, that they and all others in this province should become Christians and should know the true God for their Lord, and His Majesty for their king and earthly lord. After this they returned to their houses and suddenly, the next day, they packed up their goods and property, their women and children, and fled to the hills, leaving their towns deserted, with only some few remaining in them. Seeing this, I went to the town which I said was larger than this, eight or ten days later, when I had recovered from my wounds. I found a few of them there, whom I told that they ought not to feel any fear, and I asked them to summon their lord to me. By what I can find out or observe, however, none of these towns have any, since I have not seen any principal house by which any superiority over others could be shown.[1] Afterward, an old man, who said he was their lord, came with a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I argued as long as he stayed with me. He said that he would come to see me with the rest of the chiefs of the country, three days later, in order to arrange the relations which should exist between us. He did so, and they brought me some little ragged mantles and some turquoises. I said that they ought to come down from their strongholds and return to their houses with their wives and children, and that they should become Christians, and recognize His Majesty as their king and lord. But they still remain in their strongholds, with their wives and all their property. I commanded them to have a cloth painted for me, with all the animals that they know in that country, and although they are poor painters, they quickly painted two for me, one of the animals and the other of the birds and fishes. They say that they will bring their children so that our priests may instruct them, and that they desire to know our law. They declare that it was foretold among them more than fifty years ago that a people such as we are should come, and the direction they should come from, and that the whole country would be conquered. So far as I can find out, the water is what these Indians worship, because they say that it makes the corn grow and sustains their life, and that the only other reason they know is because their ancestors did so.[2] I have tried in every way to find out from the natives of these settlements whether they know of any other peoples

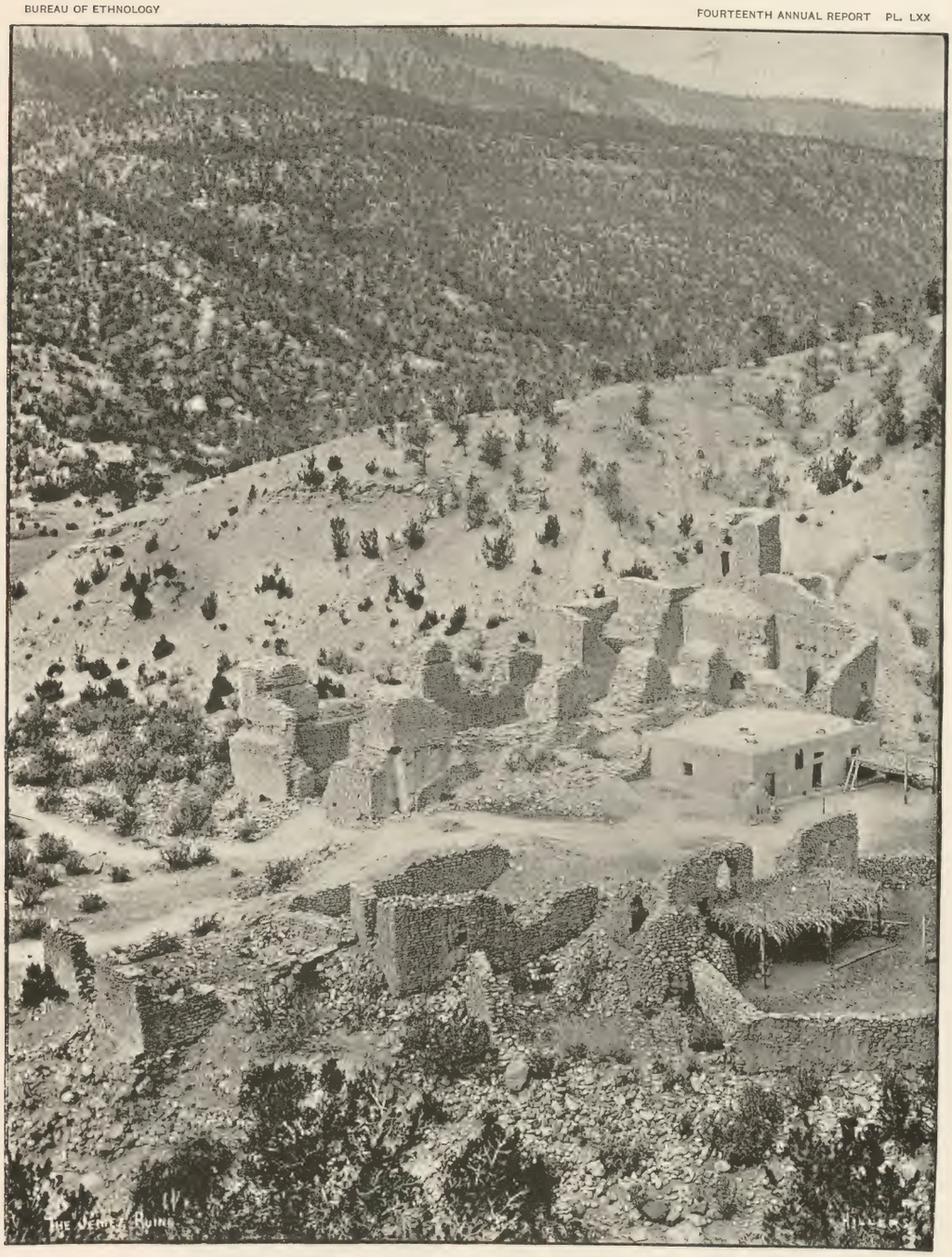
[1] As clear a description of the form of tribal government among the Pueblo Indians as is anywhere to be found is in Bandelier's story, The Delight Makers. Mr Bandelier has been most successful in his effort to picture the actions and spirit of Indian life.

[2] Dr J. Walter Fewkes has conclusively shown that the snake dance, probably the most dramatic of Indian ceremonials, is essentially a prayer for rain. Coming as it does just as the natural rainy season approaches, the prayer is almost invariably answered.

or provinces or cities. They tell me about seven cities which are at a considerable distance, which are like these, except that the houses there are not like these, but are made of earth [adobe], and small, and that they raise much cotton there. The first of these four places about which they know is called, they say, Tucano. They could not tell me much about the others. I do not believe that they tell me the truth, because they think that I shall soon have to depart from them and return home. But they will quickly find that they are deceived in this. I sent Don Pedro de Tobar there, with his company and some other horsemen, to see it. I would not have dispatched this packet to Your Lordship until I had learned what he found there, if I thought that I should have any news from him within twelve or fifteen days. However, as he will remain away at least thirty, and, considering that this information is of little importance and that the cold and the rains are approaching, it seemed to me that I ought to do as Your Lordship commanded me in your instructions, which is, that as soon as I arrived here, I should advise you thereof, and this I do, by sending you the plain narrative of what I have seen, which is bad enough, as you may perceive. I have determined to send throughout all the surrounding regions, in order to find out whether there is anything, and to suffer every extremity before I give up this enterprise, and to serve His Majesty, if I can find any way in which to do it, and not to lack in diligence until Your Lordship directs me as to what I ought to do. We have great need of pasture, and you should know, also, that among all those who are here there is not one pound of raisins, nor sugar, nor oil, nor wine, except barely half a quart, which is saved to say mass, since everything is consumed, and part was lost on the way. Now, you can provide us with what appears best; but if you are thinking of sending us cattle, you should know that it will be necessary for them to spend at least a year on the road, because they can not come in any other way, nor any quicker. I would have liked to send to Your Lordship, with this dispatch, many samples of the things which they have in this country, but the trip is so long and rough that it is difficult for me to do so. However, I send you twelve small mantles, such as the people of this country ordinarily wear, and a garment which seems to me to be very well made. I kept it because it seemed to me to be of very good workmanship, and because I do not think that anyone has ever seen in these Indies any work done with a needle, unless it were done since the Spaniards settled here. And I also send two cloths painted with the animals which they have in this country, although, as I said, the painting is very poorly done, because the artist did not spend more than one day in painting it. I have seen other paintings on the walls of these houses which have much better proportion and are done much better.

I send you a cow skin, some turquoises, and two earrings of the same, and fifteen of the Indian combs,[1] and some plates decorated with these turquoises, and two baskets made of wicker, of which the Indians have a large supply. I also send two rolls, such as the women usually wear on their heads when they bring water from the spring, the

[1] Possibly those used in weaving.



RUINS OF SPANISH CHURCH ABOVE JEMEZ

same way that they do in Spain. One of these Indian women, with one of these rolls on her head, will carry a jar of water up a ladder without touching it with her hands. And, lastly, I send you samples of the weapons with which the natives of this country fight, a shield, a hammer, and a bow with some arrows, among which there are two with bone points, the like of which have never been seen, according to what these conquerors say. As far as I can judge, it does not appear to me that there is any hope of getting gold or silver, but I trust in God that, if there is any, we shall get our share of it, and it shall not escape us through any lack of diligence in the search.[1] I am unable to give Your Lordship any certain information about the dress of the women, because the Indians keep them guarded so carefully that I have not seen any, except two old women. These had on two long skirts reaching down to their feet and open in front, and a girdle, and they are tied together with some cotton strings. I asked the Indians to give me one of those which they wore, to send to you, since they were not willing to show me the women. They brought me two mantles, which are these that I send, almost painted over. They have two tassels, like the women of Spain, which hang somewhat over their shoulders. The death of the negro is perfectly certain, because many of the things which he wore have been found, and the Indians say that they killed him here because the Indians of Chichilticale said that he was a bad man, and not like the Christians, because the Christians never kill women, and he killed them, and because he assaulted their women, whom the Indians love better than themselves. Therefore they determined to kill him, but they did not do it in the way that was reported, because they did not kill any of the others who came with him, nor did they kill the lad from the province of Petatlan, who was with him, but they took him and kept him in safe custody until now. When I tried to secure him, they made excuses for not giving him to me, for two or three days, saying that he was dead, and at other times that the Indians of Acucu had taken him away. But when I finally told them that I should be very angry if they did not give him to me, they gave him to me. He is an interpreter; for although he can not talk much, he understands very well. Some gold and silver has been found in this place, which those who know about minerals say is not bad. I have not yet been able to learn from these people where they got it. I perceive that they refuse to tell me the truth in everything, because they think that I shall have to depart from here in a short time, as I have said. But I trust in God that they will not be able to avoid answering much longer. I beg Your Lordship to make a report of the success of this expedition to His Majesty, because there is nothing more than what I have already said. I shall not do so until it shall please God to grant that we find what we desire. Our Lord God protect and keep your most illustrious Lordship. From the province of Cevola, and this city of Granada, the 3d of August, 1540. Francisco Vazquez de Coronado kisses the hand of your most illustrious Lordship.

[1] This whole sentence is omitted by Hakluyt. The conquerors, in the literature of New Spain, are almost always those who shared with Cortes in the labors and the glory of the Spanish conquest of Mexico.

TRANSLATION OF THE TRASLADO DE LAS NUEVAS

COPY OF THE REPORTS AND DESCRIPTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN RECEIVED REGARDING THE DISCOVERY OF A CITY WHICH IS CALLED CIBOLA, SITUATED IN THE NEW COUNTRY.

His grace left the larger part of his army in the valley of Culiacan, and with only 75 companions on horseback and 30 footmen, he set out for here Thursday, April 22. The army which remained there was to start about the end of the month of May, because they could not find any sort of sustenance for the whole of the way that they had to go, as far as this province of Cibola, which is 350 long leagues, and on this account he did not dare to put the whole army on the road. As for the men he took with him, he ordered them to make provision for eighty days, which was carried on horses, each having one for himself and his followers. With very great danger of suffering hunger, and not less labor, since they had to open the way, and every day discovered waterways and rivers with bad crossings, they stood it after a fashion, and on the whole journey as far as this province there was not a peck of corn.[2] He reached this province on Wednesday, the 7th of July last, with all the men whom he led from the valley very well, praise be to Our Lord, except one Spaniard who died of hunger four days from here and some negroes and Indians who also died of hunger and thirst. The Spaniard was one of those on foot, and was named Espinosa. In this way his grace spent seventy-seven days on the road before reaching here, during which God knows in what sort of a way we lived, and whether we could have eaten much more than we ate the day that his grace reached this city of Granada, for so it has been named out of regard for the viceroy, and because they say it resembles the Albaicin.[3] The force he led was not received the way it should have been, because they all arrived very tired from the great labor of the journey. This, and the loading and unloading like so many muleteers, and not eating as much as they should have, left them more in need of resting several days than of fighting, although there was not a man in the army who would not have done his best in everything if the horses, who suffered the same as their masters, could have helped them.

The city was deserted by men over sixty years and under twenty, and by women and children. All who were there were the fighting

[1] Translated from Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. xix, p. 529. This document is anonymous, but it is evidently a copy of a letter from some trusted companion, written from Granada-Hawikuh, about the time of Coronado's letter of August 3, 1540. In the title to the document as printed, the date is given as 1531, but there can be no doubt that it is an account of Coronado's journey.

[2] The printed Spanish text reads: "que como venian abriendo y descobriendo, cada dia, camino, los arcabucos y rios, y malos pasos, se llevaban en parte." . . .

[3] A part of Granada, near the Alhambra. There is a curious similarity in the names Albaicin and Hawikuh, the latter being the native name of Coronado's Granada.

men who remained to defend the city, and many of them came out, about a crossbow shot, uttering loud threats. The general himself went forward with two priests and the army-master, to urge them to surrender, as is the custom in new countries. The reply that he received was from many arrows which they let fly, and they wounded Hernando Bermejo's horse and pierced the loose flap of the frock of father Friar Luis, the former companion of the Lord Bishop of Mexico. When this was seen, taking as their advocate the Holy Saint James,[1] he rushed upon them with all his force, which he had kept in very good order, and although the Indians turned their backs and tried to reach the city, they were overtaken and many of them killed before they could reach it. They killed three horses and wounded seven or eight.

When my lord the general reached the city, he saw that it was surrounded by stone walls, and the houses very high, four and five and even six stories apiece, with their flat roofs and balconies. As the Indians had made themselves secure within it, and would not let anyone come near without shooting arrows at him, and as we could not obtain anything to eat unless we captured it, his grace decided to enter the city on foot and to surround it by men on horseback, so that the Indians who were inside could not get away. As he was distinguished among them all by his gilt arms and a plume on his headpiece, all the Indians aimed at him, because he was noticeable among all, and they knocked him down to the ground twice by chance stones thrown from the flat roofs, and stunned him in spite of his headpiece, and if this had not been so good, I doubt if he would have come out alive from that enterprise, and besides all this—praised be Our Lord that he came out on his own feet—they hit him many times with stones on his head and shoulders and legs, and he received two small wounds on his face and an arrow wound in the right foot; but despite all this his grace is as sound and well as the day he left that city. And you[2] may assure my lord of all this, and also that on the 19th of July last he went 4 leagues from this city to see a rock where they told him that the Indians of this province had fortified themselves,[3] and he returned the same day, so that he went 8 leagues in going and returning. I think I have given you an account of everything, for it is right that I should be the authority for you and his lordship, to assure you that everything is going well with the general my lord, and without any hesitation I can assure you that he is as well and sound as the day he left the city. He is located within the city, for when the Indians saw that his grace was determined to enter the city, then they abandoned it, since they let them go with their lives. We found in it what we needed more than gold and silver, and that was much corn and beans and fowls, better than those of New Spain, and salt, the best and whitest that I have seen in all my life.

[1] Uttering the war cry of Santiago.
[2] The printed manuscript is V. M., which signifies Your Majesty.
[3] Doubtless Thunder mountain.

RELACIÓN POSTRERA DE SIVOLA[1]

ESTA ES LA RELACIÓN POSTRERA DE SÍVOLA, Y DE MÁS DE CUATROCIENTAS LEGUAS ADELANTE.

Desde Culhuacán á Sívola hay más de trescientas leguas; poco del camino poblado: hay muy poca gente: es tierra estéril: hay muy malos caminos: la gente anda del todo desnuda, salvo las mujeres, que de la cintura abajo traen cueros de venados adobados, blancos, á manera de faldíllas hasta los pies. Las casas que tienen son de petlatles hechos de cañas: son las casas redondas y pequeñas, que apenas cabe un hombre en pie dentro. Donde están congregados y donde siembran es tierra arenosa: cogen maiz, aunque poco, y frisoles y calabazas, y también se mantienen de caza, conejos, liebres y venados. No tienen sacrificios. Esto es desde Culhuacan á Síbola.

Sívola es un pueblo de hasta ducientas casas: son á dos y tres y cuatro y cinco sobrados: tienen las paredes de un palmo de ancho: los palos de la maderación son tan gruesos como por la muñeca, y redondos; por tablazón tienen cañas muy menudas con sus hojas, y encima tierra presada: las paredes son de tierra y barro: las puertas de las casas son de la manera de escotillones de navíos: están las casas juntas, asidas unas con otras: tienen delante de las casas unas estufas de barro de tierra donde se guarecen en el invierno del frio, porque le hace muy grande, que nieva seis meses del año. De esta gente algunos traen mantas de algodón y de maguey, y cueros de venados adobados, y traen zapatos de los mismos cueros, hasta encima de las rodillas. También hacen mantas de pellejos de liebres y de conejos, con que se cubren. Andan las mujeres vestidas de mantas de maguey hasta los pies: andan ceñidas: traen los cabellos cogidos encima de las orejas, como rodajas: cogen maíz y frisoles y calabazas, lo que les basta para su mantenimiento, porque es poca gente. La tierra donde siembran es toda arena; son las aguas salobres: es tierra muy seca: tienen algunas gallinas, aunque pocas; no saben qué cosa es pescado. Son siete pueblos en esta provincia de Sivola en espacio de cinco leguas: el mayor será de ducientas casas, y otros dos, de á ducientas, y los otros á sesenta y á cincuenta y á treinta casas.

Desde Sívola al rio y provincia de Tibex hay sesenta leguas: el primer pueblo es cuarenta leguas de Sivola: llámase Acuco. Este pueblo está encima de un peñol muy fuerte: será de duzientas casas, asentado á la

[1]The source of this document is stated in the bibliographic note, p. 413. This appears to be a transcript from letters written, probably at Tiguex on the Rio Grande, during the late summer or early fall of 1541.

manera de Sívola que es otra lengua. Desde allí al rio de Tiguex hay veinte leguas. El rio es cuasi tan ancho como el de Sevilla, aunque no es tan hondo: va por tierra llana: es buen agua: tiene algún pescado: nace al norte. El que esto dice vió doce pueblos en cierto compás del río: otros vieron más: dicen el río arriba: abajo todos son pueblos pequeños, salvo dos que ternán á ducientas casas: estas casas con las paredes como á manera de tapías de tierra é arena, muy recias: son tan anchas como un palmo de una mano. Son las casas de á dos y tres terrados: tienen la maderación como en Sivola. Es tierra muy fria: tiene sus estufas como en Sivola; y hiélase tanto el río, que pasan bestias cargadas por él, y pudieran pasar carretas. Cogen maiz lo que han menester, y frisoles y calabazas: tienen algunas gallinas, las cuales guardan para hacer mantas de la pluma. Cogen algodón, aunque poco: traen mantas de ello, y zapatos de cuero como en Sívola. Es gente que defiende bien su capa, y desde sus casas, que no curan de salir fuera. Es tierra toda arenosa.

Desde la provincia y río de Tiguex, á cuatro jornadas toparon cuatro pueblos. El primero ternán treinta casas. El segundo es pueblo grande destruido de sus guerras: tenía hasta treinta y cinco casas pobladas: el tercero [*sic*] hasta Estos tres son de la manera de los del río en todo. El cuarto es un pueblo grande, el cual está entre unos montes: llámase Cicuic: tenía hasta cincuenta casas con tantos terrados como los de Sívola: son las paredes de tierra y barro como las de Sívola. Tienen harto maiz y frisoles y calabazas y algunas gallinas. A cuatro jornadas de este pueblo toparon una tierra llana como la mar, en los cuales llanos hay tanta multitud de vacas, que no tienen número. Estas vacas son como las de Castilla, y algunas mayores que tienen en la cruz una corva pequeña, y son más bermejas, que tiran á negro: cuélgales una lana más larga que un palmo entre los cuernos y orejas y barba, y por la papada abajo y por las espaldas, como crines, y de las rodillas abajo todo lo más es de lana muy pequeñita, á manera de merino: tienen muy buena carne y tierna, y mucho sebo. Andando muchos días por estos llanos, toparon con una ranchería de hasta duzientas casas con gente: eran las casas de los cueros de las vacas adobados, blancas, á manera de pabellones ó tiendas de campo. El mantenimiento ó sustentamiento de estos indios es todo de las vacas, porque ni siembran ni cogen maiz: de los cueros hacen sus casas, de los cueros visten y calzan, de los cueros hacen sogas y también de la lana: de los niervos hacen hilo con que cosen sus vestiduras y también las casas: de los huesos hacen alesnas: las boñigas les sirven de leña; porque no hay otra en aquella tierra: los buches les sirven de jarros y vasijas con que beben: de la carne se mantienen: cómenla medio asada é un poco caliente encima de las boñigas, la otra cruda, y tomándola con los dientes, tiran con la una mano, y en la otra tienen un navajon de pedernal y cortan el bocado; ansí lo tragan como aves medio mascado: comen el sebo crudo, sin calentallo: beben la sangre, ansí como

sale de las vacas, y otras veces después de salida, fria y cruda: no tienen otro mantenimiento. Esta gente tiene perros como los de esta tierra, salvo que son algo mayores, los cuales perros cargan como á bestias, y las hacen sus enjalmas como albardillas, y las cinchan con sus correas, y andan matados como bestias, en las cruces. Cuando van á caza cárganlos de mantenimientos; y cuando se mueven estos indios, porque no están de asiento en una parte, que se andan donde andan las vacas para se mantener, estos perros les llevan las casas, y llevan los palos de las casas arrastrando, atados á las albardillas, allende de la carga que llevan encima: podrá ser la carga, según el perro, arroba y media y dos. Hay de este Síbola á estos llanos adondé llegaron, treinta leguas, y aun más. Los llanos proceden adelante, ni se sabe qué tanto. El capitán Francisco Vázquez fué por los llanos adelante con treinta de á caballo, y Fr. Juan de Padilla con él: toda la demás gente se volvieron á la población del río, para esperar á Francisco Vázquez, porque ansi se lo mandó: no se sabe sí es vuelto &c.

Es la tierra tan llana, que se pierden los hombres apartándose media legua, como se perdió uno á caballo, que nunca más pareció, y dos caballos ensillados y enfrenados que nunca más parecieron. No queda rastro ninguno por donde van, y á esta causa tenían necesidad de amojonar el camino por donde iban, para volver, con boñigas de vacas, que no había piedras ni otra cosa.

Marco Polo, veneciano, en su tratado, en el cap. xv, trata y díce que [ha visto?] las mesmas vacas, y de la mesma manera en la corcova; y en el mesmo capitulo dice que también hay carneros tamaños como caballos.

Nicolás, veneciano, dió relación á Micer Pogio, florentino, en el libro segundo, cerca del fin, dice como en la Etiopia hay bueyes con corcova, como camellos, y tienen los cuernos largos de tres codos, y echan los cuernos encima sobre el espinazo, y hace un cuerno de estos un cántaro de vino.

Marco Polo, en el capítulo ciento y treinta y cuatro dice que en la tierra de los tártaros, hácia el norte, se hallan canes tan grandes ó poco menos que asnos; á los cuales echan uno como carro y entran con ellos en una tierra muy lodosa, toda cenagales, que otros animales no podrian entrar ni salir sin se anegar, y por eso llevan perros.

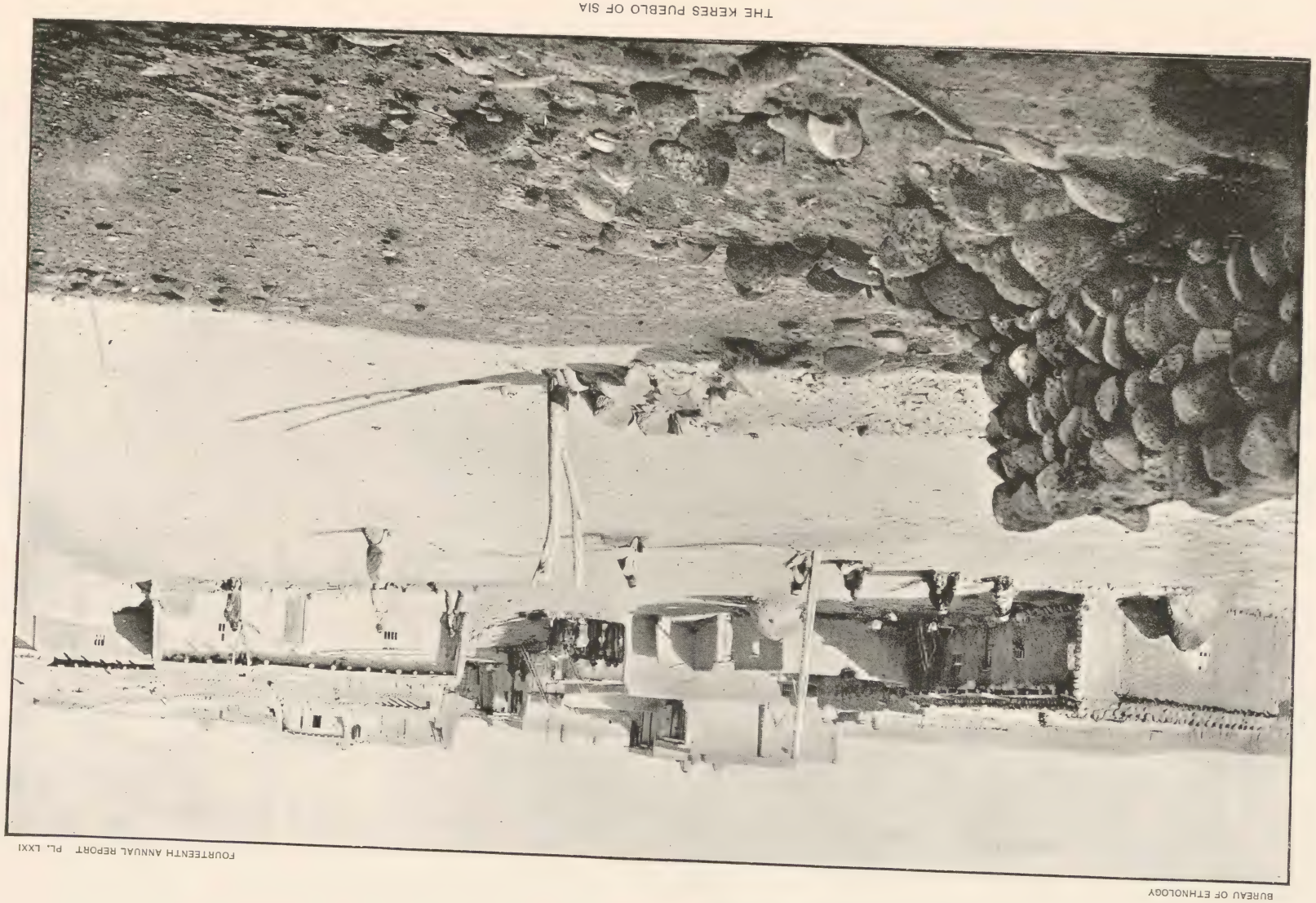
[*Scripsi et contuli, México, Marzo 11, 1893.*

*Joaq*n*. Garcia Icazbalceta.*]

TRANSLATION

This is the latest account of Cibola, and of more than four hundred leagues beyond.

It is more than 300 leagues from Culiacan to Cibola, uninhabited most of the way. There are very few people there; the country is sterile; the roads are very bad. The people go around entirely naked,



except the women, who wear white tanned deer skins from the waist down, something like little skirts, reaching to the feet. Their houses are of mats made of reeds; the houses are round and small, so that there is hardly room inside for a man on his feet. The country is sandy where they live near together and where they plant. They raise corn, but not very much, and beans and melons, and they also live on game—rabbits, hares, and deer. They do not have sacrifices. This is between Culiacan and Cibola.

Cibola is a village of about 200 houses. They have two and three and four and five stories. The walls are about a handbreadth thick; the sticks of timber are as large as the wrist, and round; for boards, they have very small bushes, with their leaves on, covered with a sort of greenish-colored mud; the walls are of dirt and mud, the doors of the houses are like the hatchways of ships. The houses are close together, each joined to the others. Outside of the houses they have some hot-houses (or estufas) of dirt mud, where they take refuge from the cold in the winter—because this is very great, since it snows six months in the year. Some of these people wear cloaks of cotton and of the maguey (or Mexican aloe) and of tanned deer skin, and they wear shoes made of these skins, reaching up to the knees. They also make cloaks of the skins of hares and rabbits, with which they cover themselves. The women wear cloaks of the maguey, reaching down to the feet, with girdles; they wear their hair gathered about the ears like little wheels. They raise corn and beans and melons, which is all they need to live on, because it is a small tribe. The land where they plant is entirely sandy; the water is brackish; the country is very dry. They have some fowls, although not many. They do not know what sort of a thing fish is. There are seven villages in this province of Cibola within a space of 5 leagues; the largest may have about 200 houses and two others about 200, and the others somewhere between 60 or 50 and 30 houses.

It is 60 leagues from Cibola to the river and province of Tibex [Tiguex]. The first village is 40 leagues from Cibola, and is called Acuco. This village is on top of a very strong rock; it has about 200 houses, built in the same way as at Cibola, where they speak another language. It is 20 leagues from here to the river of Tiguex. The river is almost as wide as that of Seville, although not so deep; it flows through a level country; the water is good; it contains some fish; it rises in the north. He who relates this, saw twelve villages within a certain distance of the river; others saw more, they say, up the river. Below, all the villages are small, except two that have about 200 houses. The walls of these houses are something like mud walls of dirt and sand, very rough; they are as thick as the breadth of a hand. The houses have two and three stories; the construction is like those at Cibola. The country is very cold. They have hot-houses, as in Cibola, and the river freezes so thick that loaded animals cross it, and it would be possible for carts to do so. They raise as much corn as they need,

and beans and melons. They have some fowls, which they keep so as to make cloaks of their feathers. They raise cotton, although not much; they wear cloaks made of this, and shoes of hide, as at Cibola. These people defend themselves very well, and from within their houses, since they do not care to come out. The country is all sandy.

Four days' journey from the province and river of Tiguex four villages are found. The first has 30 houses; the second is a large village destroyed in their wars, and has about 35 houses occupied; the third about These three are like those at the river in every way. The fourth is a large village which is among some mountains. It is called Cicuic, and has about 50 houses, with as many stories as those at Cibola. The walls are of dirt and mud like those at Cibola. It has plenty of corn, beans and melons, and some fowls. Four days from this village they came to a country as level as the sea, and in these plains there was such a multitude of cows that they are numberless. These cows are like those of Castile, and somewhat larger, as they have a little hump on the withers, and they are more reddish, approaching black; their hair, more than a span long, hangs down around their horns and ears and chin, and along the neck and shoulders like manes, and down from the knees; all the rest is a very fine wool, like merino; they have very good, tender meat, and much fat. Having proceeded many days through these plains, they came to a settlement of about 200 inhabited houses. The houses were made of the skins of the cows, tanned white, like pavilions or army tents. The maintenance or sustenance of these Indians comes entirely from the cows, because they neither sow nor reap corn. With the skins they make their houses, with the skins they clothe and shoe themselves, of the skins they make rope, and also of the wool; from the sinews they make thread, with which they sew their clothes and also their houses; from the bones they make awls; the dung serves them for wood, because there is nothing else in that country; the stomachs serve them for pitchers and vessels from which they drink; they live on the flesh; they sometimes eat it half roasted and warmed over the dung, at other times raw; seizing it with their fingers, they pull it out with one hand and with a flint knife in the other they cut off mouthfuls, and thus swallow it half chewed; they eat the fat raw, without warming it; they drink the blood just as it leaves the cows, and at other times after it has run out, cold and raw; they have no other means of livelihood. These people have dogs like those in this country, except that they are somewhat larger, and they load these dogs like beasts of burden, and make saddles for them like our pack saddles, and they fasten them with their leather thongs, and these make their backs sore on the withers like pack animals. When they go hunting, they load these with their necessities, and when they move—for these Indians are not settled in one place, since they travel wherever the cows move, to support themselves—these dogs carry their houses, and they have the sticks of their houses dragging along tied on to the

THE KERES PUEBLO OF COCHITÍ

pack-saddles, besides the load which they carry on top, and the load may be, according to the dog, from 35 to 50 pounds. It is 30 leagues, or even more, from Cibola to these plains where they went. The plains stretch away beyond, nobody knows how far. The captain, Francisco Vazquez, went farther across the plains, with 30 horsemen, and Friar Juan de Padilla with him; all the rest of the force returned to the settlement at the river to wait for Francisco Vazquez, because this was his command. It is not known whether he has returned.

The country is so level that men became lost when they went off half a league. One horseman was lost, who never reappeared, and two horses, all saddled and bridled, which they never saw again. No track was left of where they went, and on this account it was necessary to mark the road by which they went with cow dung, so as to return, since there were no stones or anything else.

Marco Polo, the Venetian, in his treatise, in chapter 15, relates and says that (he saw) the same cows, with the same sort of hump; and in the same chapter he says that there are sheep as big as horses.

Nicholas, the Venetian, gave an account to Micer Pogio, the Florentine, in his second book, toward the end, which says that in Ethiopia there are oxen with a hump, like camels, and they have horns 3 cubits long, and they carry their horns up over their backs, and one of these horns makes a wine pitcher.

Marco Polo, in chapter 134, says that in the country of the Tartars, toward the north, they have dogs as large or little smaller than asses. They harness these into a sort of cart and with these enter a very miry country, all a quagmire, where other animals can not enter and come out without getting submerged, and on this account they take dogs.

TRANSLATION OF THE RELACION DEL SUCESO[1]

Account of what Happened on the Journey which Francisco Vazquez made to Discover Cibola.

When the army reached the valley of Culiacan, Francisco Vazquez divided the army on account of the bad news which was received regarding Cibola, and because the food supply along the way was small, according to the report of Melchor Diaz, who had just come back from seeing it. He himself took 80 horsemen and 25 foot soldiers, and a small part of the artillery, and set out from Culiacan, leaving Don Tristan de Arellano with the rest of the force, with orders to set out twenty days later, and when he reached the Valley of Hearts (Corazones) to wait there for a letter from him, which would be sent after he had reached Cibola, and had seen what was there; and this was done. The Valley of Hearts is 150 leagues from the valley of Culiacan, and the same distance from Cibola.[2]

This whole distance, up to about 50 leagues before reaching Cibola, is inhabited, although it is away from the road in some places. The population is all of the same sort of people, since the houses are all of palm mats, and some of them have low lofts. They all have corn, although not much, and in some places very little. They have melons and beans. The best settlement of all is a valley called Señora, which is 10 leagues beyond the Hearts, where a town was afterward settled. There is some cotton among these, but deer skins are what most of them use for clothes.

Francisco Vazquez passed by all these on account of the small crops. There was no corn the whole way, except at this valley of Señora, where they collected a little, and besides this he had what he took from Culiacan, where he provided himself for eighty days. In seventy-three days we reached Cibola, although after hard labor and the loss of many horses and the death of several Indians, and after we saw it these were all doubled, although we did find corn enough. We found the natives peaceful for the whole way.

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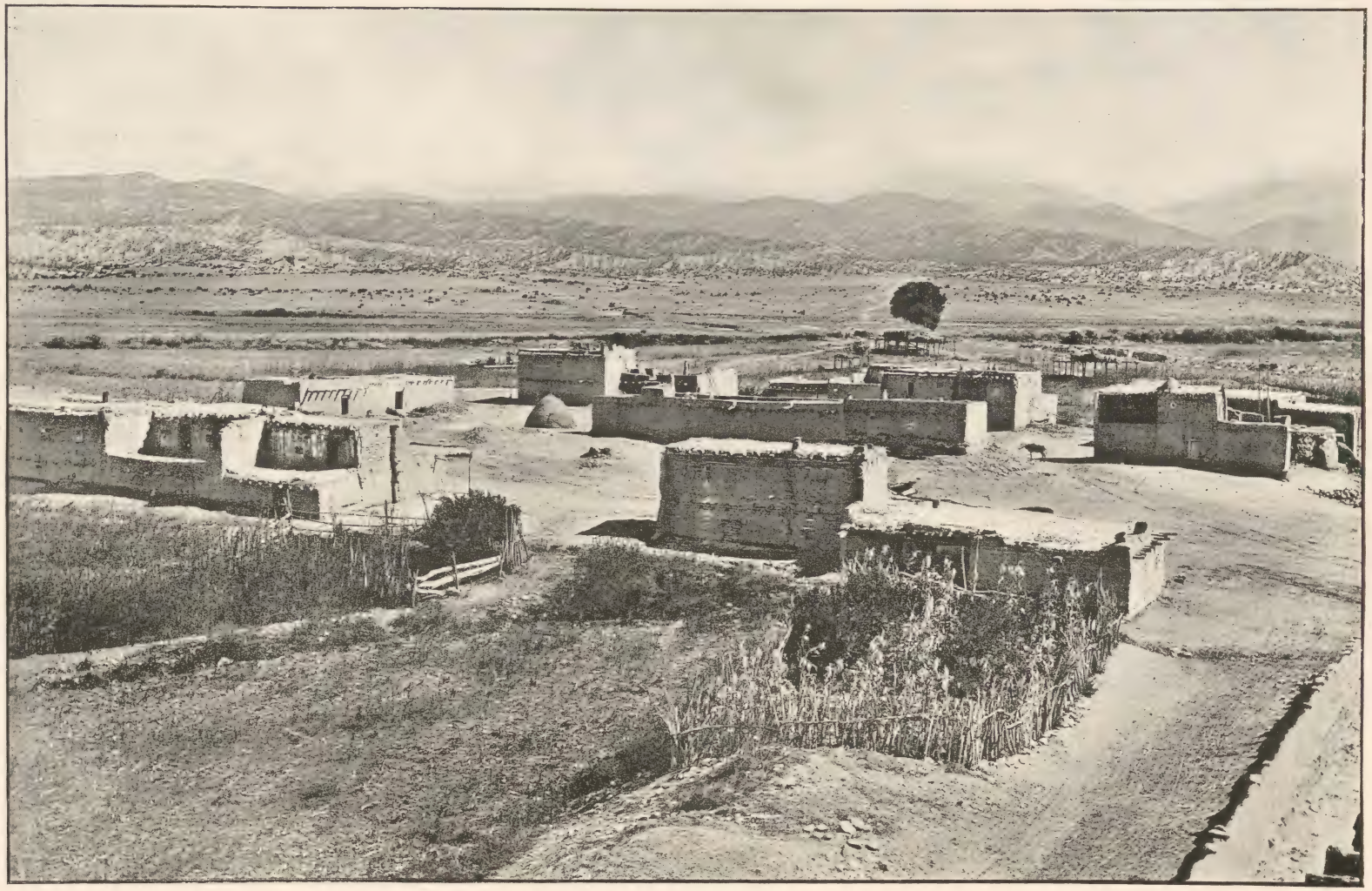
[1] The Spanish text of this document is printed in Buckingham Smith's Florida, p. 147, from a copy made by Muñoz, and also in Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. xiv, p. 318, from a copy found in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The important variations in the texts are noted in the footnotes. See page 398 in regard to the value of this anonymous document. No date is given in the document, but there can be no doubt that it refers to Coronado's expedition. In the heading to the document in the Pacheco y Cardenas Coleccion, the date is given as 1531, and it is placed under that year in the chronologic index of the Coleccion. This translation, as well as that of the letter to Charles V, which follows, has already been printed in American History Leaflet, No. 13.

[2] The spelling of Cibola and Culiacan is that of the Pacheco y Cardenas copy. Buckingham Smith prints Civola and Culuacan.



THE TEWA PUEBLO OF NAMBE

The day we reached the first village part of them came out to fight us, and the rest stayed in the village and fortified themselves. It was not possible to make peace with these, although we tried hard enough, so it was necessary to attack them and kill some of them. The rest then drew back to the village, which was then surrounded and attacked. We had to withdraw, on account of the great damage they did us from the flat roofs, and we began to assault them from a distance with the artillery and muskets, and that afternoon they surrendered. Francisco Vazquez came out of it badly hurt by some stones, and I am certain, indeed, that he would have been there yet if it had not been for the army-master, D. Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, who rescued him. When the Indians surrendered, they abandoned the village and went to the other villages, and as they left the houses we made ourselves at home in them.

Father Friar Marcos understood, or gave to understand, that the region and neighborhood in which there are seven villages was a single village which he called Cibola, but the whole of this settled region is called Cibola. The villages have from 150 to 200 and 300 houses; some have the houses of the village all together, although in some villages they are divided into two or three sections, but for the most part they are all together, and their courtyards are within, and in these are their hot rooms for winter, and they have their summer ones outside the villages. The houses have two or three stories, the walls of stone and mud, and some have mud walls. The villages have for the most part the walls of the houses; the houses are too good for Indians, especially for these, since they are brutish and have no decency in anything except in their houses.

For food they have much corn and beans and melons, and some fowls, like those of Mexico, and they keep these more for their feathers than to eat, because they make long robes of them, since they do not have any cotton; and they wear cloaks of heniquen (a fibrous plant), and of the skins of deer, and sometimes of cows.

Their rites and sacrifices are somewhat idolatrous, but water is what they worship most, to which they offer small painted sticks and feathers and yellow powder made of flowers, and usually this offering is made to springs. Sometimes, also, they offer such turquoises as they have, although poor ones.

From the valley of Culiacan to Cibola it is 240 leagues in two directions. It is north to about the thirty-fourth-and-a-half degree, and from there to Cibola, which is nearly the thirty-seventh degree, toward the northeast.

Having talked with the natives of Cibola about what was beyond, they said that there were settlements toward the west. Francisco Vazquez then sent Don Pedro de Tobar to investigate, who found seven other villages, which were called the province of Tuzan;[1] this is 35

[1] Buckingham Smith prints Tovar and Tuçan.

leagues to the west. The villages are somewhat larger than those of Cibola, and in other respects, in food and everything, they are of the same sort, except that these raise cotton. While Don Pedro de Tobar had gone to see these, Francisco Vazquez dispatched messengers to the viceroy, with an account of what had happened up to this point.[1] He also prepared instructions for these to take to Don Tristan, who as I have said, was at Hearts, for him to proceed to Cibola, and to leave a town established in the valley of Señora, which he did, and in it he left 80 horsemen of the men who had but one horse and the weakest men, and Melchor Diaz with them as captain and leader, because Francisco Vazquez had so arranged for it. He ordered him to go from there with half the force to explore toward the west; and he did so, and traveled 150 leagues, to the river which Hernando de Alarcon entered from the sea, which he called the Buenaguia. The settlements and people that are in this direction are mostly like those at the Hearts, except at the river and around it, where the people have much better figures and have more corn, although the houses in which they live are hovels, like pig pens, almost under ground, with a covering of straw, and made without any skill whatever. This river is reported to be large. They reached it 30 leagues from the coast, where, and as far again above, Alarcon had come up with his boats two months before they reached it. This river runs north and south there. Melchor Diaz passed on toward the west five or six days, from which he returned for the reason that he did not find any water or vegetation, but only many stretches of sand; and he had some fighting on his return to the river and its vicinity, because they wanted to take advantage of him while crossing the river. While returning Melchor Diaz died from an accident, by which he killed himself, throwing a lance at a dog.

After Don Pedro de Tobar returned and had given an account of those villages, he then dispatched Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, the army-master, by the same road Don Pedro had followed, to go beyond that province of Tuzan to the west, and he allowed him eighty days in which to go and return, for the journey and to make the discoveries. He was conducted beyond Tuzan by native guides, who said there were settlements beyond, although at a distance. Having gone 50 leagues west of Tuzan, and 80 from Cibola, he found the edge of a river down which it was impossible to find a path for a horse in any direction, or even for a man on foot, except in one very difficult place, where there was a descent for almost 2 leagues. The sides were such a steep rocky precipice that it was scarcely possible to see the river, which looks like a brook from above, although it is half as large again as that of Seville, according to what they say, so that although they sought for a passage with great diligence, none was found for a long distance, during which they were for several days in great need of water, which could not be found, and they could not approach that of the river, although they

[1] See the letter of August 3, 1540, p. 562.

could see it, and on this account Don Garcia Lopez was forced to return. This river comes from the northeast and turns toward the south-southwest at the place where they found it, so that it is without any doubt the one that Melchor Diaz reached.

Four days after Francisco Vazquez had dispatched Don Garcia Lopez to make this discovery, he dispatched Hernando de Alvarado to explore the route toward the east. He started off, and 30 leagues from Cibola found a rock with a village on top, the strongest position that ever was seen in the world, which was called Acuco[1] in their language, and father Friar Marcos called it the kingdom of Hacus. They came out to meet us peacefully, although it would have been easy to decline to do this and to have stayed on their rock, where we would not have been able to trouble them. They gave us cloaks of cotton, skins of deer and of cows, and turquoises, and fowls and other food which they had, which is the same as in Cibola.

Twenty leagues to the east of this rock we found a river which runs north and south,[2] well settled; there are in all, small and large, 70 villages near it, a few more or less, the same sort as those at Cibola, except that they are almost all of well-made mud walls. The food is neither more nor less. They raise cotton—I mean those who live near the river—the others not. There is much corn here. These people do not have markets. They are settled for 50 leagues along this river, north and south, and some villages are 15 or 20 leagues distant, in one direction and the other. This river rises where these settlements end at the north, on the slope of the mountains there, where there is a larger village different from the others, called Yuraba.[3] It is settled in this fashion: It has 18 divisions; each one has a situation as if for two ground plots;[4] the houses are very close together, and have five or six stories, three of them with mud walls and two or three with thin wooden walls, which become smaller as they go up, and each one has its little balcony outside of the mud walls, one above the other, all around, of wood. In this village, as it is in the mountains, they do not raise cotton nor breed fowls; they wear the skins of deer and cows entirely. It is the most populous village of all that country; we estimated there were 15,000 souls in it. There is one of the other kind of villages larger than all the rest, and very strong, which is called Cicuique.[5] It has four and five stories, has eight large courtyards, each one with its balcony, and there are fine houses in it. They do not raise cotton nor keep fowls, because it is 15 leagues away from the river to the east, toward the plains where the cows are. After Alvarado had sent an account of this

[1] The Acoma people call their pueblo Áko, while the name for themselves is Akómë, signifying "people of the white rock." The Zuñi name of Acoma, as previously stated, is Hákukia; of the Acoma people, Háku-kwe. Hacus was applied by Niza to Hawikuh, not to Acoma—*Hodge.*

[2] The Rio Grande.

[3] Evidently Taos, the native name of which is Tŭatá, the Picuris name being Tuopá, according to Hodge.

[4] The Spanish text (p. 323) is: "Tiene diez é ocho barrios; cada uno tiene tanto sitio como dos solares, las casas muy juntas."

[5] Identical with Castañeda's Cicuyc or Cicuye—the pueblo of Pecos.

river to Francisco Vazquez, he proceeded forward to these plains, and at the borders of these he found a little river which flows to the southwest, and after four days' march he found the cows, which are the most monstrous thing in the way of animals which has ever been seen or read about. He followed this river for 100 leagues, finding more cows every day. We provided ourselves with some of these, although at first, until we had had experience, at the risk of the horses. There is such a quantity of them that I do not know what to compare them with, except with the fish in the sea, because on this journey, as also on that which the whole army afterward made when it was going to Quivira, there were so many that many times when we started to pass through the midst of them and wanted to go through to the other side of them, we were not able to, because the country was covered with them. The flesh of these is as good as that of Castile, and some said it was even better.

The bulls are large and brave, although they do not attack very much; but they have wicked horns, and in a fight use them well, attacking fiercely; they killed several of our horses and wounded many. We found the pike to be the best weapon to use against them, and the musket for use when this misses.

When Hernando de Alvarado returned from these plains to the river which was called Tiguex, he found the army-master Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas getting ready for the whole army, which was coming there. When it arrived, although all these people had met Hernando de Alvarado peacefully, part of them rebelled when all the force came. There were 12 villages near together, and one night they killed 40 of our horses and mules which were loose in the camp. They fortified themselves in their villages, and war was then declared against them. Don Garcia Lopez went to the first and took it and executed justice on many of them. When the rest saw this, they abandoned all except two of the villages, one of these the strongest one of all, around which the army was kept for two months. And although after we invested it, we entered it one day and occupied a part of the flat roof, we were forced to abandon this on account of the many wounds that were received and because it was so dangerous to maintain ourselves there, and although we again entered it soon afterward, in the end it was not possible to get it all, and so it was surrounded all this time. We finally captured it because of their thirst, and they held out so long because it snowed twice when they were just about to give themselves up. In the end we captured it, and many of them were killed because they tried to get away at night.

Francisco Vazquez obtained an account from some Indians who were found in this village of Cicuique, which, if it had been true, was of the richest thing that has been found in the Indies. The Indian who gave the news and the account came from a village called Harale, 300 leagues east of this river. He gave such a clear account of what he told, as if it was true and he had seen it, that it seemed plain afterward that it was the devil who was speaking in him. Francisco Vazquez and all of

A NAMBE INDIAN IN WAR COSTUME

us placed much confidence in him, although he was advised by several gentlemen not to move the whole army, but rather to send a captain to find out what was there. He did not wish to do this, but wanted to take every one, and even to send Don Pedro de Tobar to the Hearts for half the men who were in that village. So he started with the whole army, and proceeded 150 leagues, 100 to the east and 50 to the south,[1] and the Indian failing to make good what he had said about there being a settlement there, and corn, with which to proceed farther, the other two guides were asked how that was, and one confessed that what the Indian said was a lie, except that there was a province which was called Quivira, and that there was corn and houses of straw there, but that they were very far off, because we had been led astray a distance from the road. Considering this, and the small supply of food that was left, Francisco Vazquez, after consulting with the captains, determined to proceed with 30 of the best men who were well equipped, and that the army should return to the river; and this was done at once. Two days before this, Don Garcia Lopez' horse had happened to fall with him, and he threw his arm out of joint, from which he suffered much, and so Don Tristan de Arellano returned to the river with the army. On this journey they had a very hard time, because almost all of them had nothing to eat except meat, and many suffered on this account. They killed a world of bulls and cows, for there were days when they brought 60 and 70 head into camp, and it was necessary to go hunting every day, and on this account, and from not eating any corn during all this time, the horses suffered much.

Francisco Vazquez set out across these plains in search of Quivira, more on account of the story which had been told us at the river than from the confidence which was placed in the guide here, and after proceeding many days by the needle (i. e., to the north) it pleased God that after thirty days' march we found the river Quivira, which is 30 leagues below the settlement. While going up the valley, we found people who were going hunting, who were natives of Quivira.

All that there is at Quivira is a very brutish people, without any decency whatever in their houses nor in anything. These are of straw, like the Tarascan settlements; in some villages there are as many as 200 houses; they have corn and beans and melons; they do not have cotton nor fowls, nor do they make bread which is cooked, except under the ashes. Francisco Vazquez went 25 leagues through these settlements, to where he obtained an account of what was beyond, and they said that the plains come to an end, and that down the river there are people who do not plant, but live wholly by hunting.

They also gave an account of two other large villages, one of which was called Tareque[2] and the other Arae, with straw houses at Tareque, and at Arae some of straw and some of skins. Copper was found here,

[1] Southeast, in Buckingham Smith's Muñoz copy.
[2] Tuxeque, in the Muñoz copy.

and they said it came from a distanee. From what the Indian had said, it is possible that this village of Arae contains more,[1] from the clear description of it which he gave. We did not find any trace or news of it here. Francisco Vazquez returned from here to the river of Tiguex, where he found the army. We went back by a more direct route, because in going by the way we went we traveled 330 leagues, and it is not more than 200 by that by which we returned. Quivira is in the fortieth degree and the river in the thirty-sixth. It was so dangerous to travel or to go away from the camp in these plains, that it is as if one was traveling on the sea, since the only roads are those of the cows, and they are so level and have no mountain or prominent landmark, that if one went out of sight of it, he was lost, and in this way we lost one man, and others who went hunting wandered around two or three days, lost. Two kinds of people travel around these plains with the cows; one is called Querechos and the others Teyas; they are very well built, and painted, and are enemies of each other. They have no other settlement or location than comes from traveling around with the cows. They kill all of these they wish, and tan the hides, with which they clothe themselves and make their tents, and they eat the flesh, sometimes even raw, and they also even drink the blood when thirsty. The tents they make are like field tents, and they set them up over some poles they have made for this purpose, which come together and are tied at the top, and when they go from one place to another they carry them on some dogs they have, of which they have many, and they load them with the tents and poles and other things, for the country is so level, as I said, that they can make use of these, because they carry the poles dragging along on the ground. The sun is what they worship most. The skin for the tents is cured on both sides, without the hair, and they have the skins of deer and cows left over.[2] They exchange some cloaks with the natives of the river for corn.

After Francisco Vazquez reached the river, where he found the army, Don Pedro de Tobar came with half the people from the Hearts, and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas started off for Mexico, who, besides the fact that his arm was very bad, had permission from the viceroy on account of the death of his brother. Ten or twelve who were sick went with him, and not a man among them all who could fight. He reached the town of the Spaniards and found it burned and two Spaniards and many Indians and horses dead, and he returned to the river on this account, escaping from them by good fortune and great exertions. The cause of this misfortune was that after Don Pedro started and left 40 men there, half of these raised a mutiny and fled, and the Indians, who remembered the bad treatment they had received, attacked them one night and overpowered them because of their carelessness and weakness, and they fled to Culiacan. Francisco Vazquez fell while running

[1] Or mines, as Muñoz guesses.

[2] And jerked beef dried in the sun, in the Muñoz copy only.

A NAMBE WATER CARRIER

a horse about this time and was sick a long time, and after the winter was over he determined to come back, and although they may say something different, he did so, because he wanted to do this more than anything, and so we all came together as far as Culiacan, and each one went where he pleased from there, and Francisco Vazquez came here to Mexico to make his report to the viceroy, who was not at all pleased with his coming, although he pretended so at first. He was pleased that Father Friar Juan de Padilla had stayed there, who went to Quivira, and a Spaniard and a negro with him, and Friar Luis, a very holy lay brother, stayed in Cicuique. We spent two very cold winters at this river, with much snow and thick ice. The river froze one night and remained so for more than a month, so that loaded horses crossed on the ice. The reason these villages are settled in this fashion is supposed to be the great cold, although it is also partly the wars which they have with one another. And this is all that was seen and found out about all that country, which is very barren of fruits and groves. Quivira is a better country, having many huts and not being so cold, although it is more to the north.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM CORONADO TO THE KING, OCTOBER 20, 1541[1]

LETTER FROM FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ CORONADO TO HIS MAJESTY, IN WHICH HE GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE PROVINCE OF TIGUEX.

HOLY CATHOLIC CÆSARIAN MAJESTY: On April 20 of this year I wrote to Your Majesty from this province of Tiguex, in reply to a letter from Your Majesty dated in Madrid, June 11 a year ago. I gave a detailed account of this expedition, which the viceroy of New Spain ordered me to undertake in Your Majesty's name to this country which was discovered by Friar Marcos of Nice, the provincial of the order of Holy Saint Francis. I described it all, and the sort of force I have, as Your Majesty had ordered me to relate in my letters; and stated that while I was engaged in the conquest and pacification of the natives of this province, some Indians who were natives of other provinces beyond these had told me that in their country there were much larger villages and better houses than those of the natives of this country, and that they had lords who ruled them, who were served with dishes of gold, and other very magnificent things; and although, as I wrote Your Majesty, I did not believe it before I had set eyes on it, because it was the report of Indians and given for the most part by means of signs, yet as the report appeared to me to be very fine and that it was important that it should be investigated for Your Majesty's service, I determined to go and see it with the men I have here. I started from this province on the 23d of last April, for the place where the Indians wanted to guide me. After nine days' march I reached some plains, so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went, although I traveled over them for more than 300 leagues. And I found such a quantity of cows in these, of the kind that I wrote Your Majesty about, which they have in this country, that it is impossible to number them, for while I was journeying through these plains, until I returned to where I first found them, there was not a day that I lost sight of them. And after seventeen days' march I came to a settlement of Indians who are called Querechos, who travel around with these cows, who do not plant, and who eat the raw flesh and drink the blood of the cows they kill, and they tan the skins of the cows, with which all the people

[1] The text of this letter is printed in Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. iii, p. 363, from a copy made by Muñoz, and also in the same collection, vol. xiii, p. 261, from a copy in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. There is a French translation in Ternaux, Cibola volume, p. 255. See the footnote to the preceding document.

of this country dress themselves here. They have little field tents made of the hides of the cows, tanned and greased, very well made, in which they live while they travel around near the cows, moving with these. They have dogs which they load, which carry their tents and poles and belongings. These people have the best figures of any that I have seen in the Indies. They could not give me any account of the country where the guides were taking me. I traveled five days more as the guides wished to lead me, until I reached some plains, with no more landmarks than as if we had been swallowed up in the sea, where they strayed about, because there was not a stone, nor a bit of rising ground, nor a tree, nor a shrub, nor anything to go by. There is much very fine pasture land, with good grass. And while we were lost in these plains, some horsemen who went off to hunt cows fell in with some Indians who also were out hunting, who are enemies of those that I had seen in the last settlement, and of another sort of people who are called Teyas; they have their bodies and faces all painted, are a large people like the others, of a very good build; they eat the raw flesh just like the Querechos, and live and travel round with the cows in the same way as these. I obtained from these an account of the country where the guides were taking me, which was not like what they had told me, because these made out that the houses there were not built of stones, with stories, as my guides had described it, but of straw and skins, and a small supply of corn there. This news troubled me greatly, to find myself on these limitless plains, where I was in great need of water, and often had to drink it so poor that it was more mud than water. Here the guides confessed to me that they had not told the truth in regard to the size of the houses, because these were of straw, but that they had done so regarding the large number of inhabitants and the other things about their habits. The Teyas disagreed with this, and on account of this division between some of the Indians and the others, and also because many of the men I had with me had not eaten anything except meat for some days, because we had reached the end of the corn which we carried from this province, and because they made it out more than forty days' journey from where I fell in with the Teyas to the country where the guides were taking me, although I appreciated the trouble and danger there would be in the journey owing to the lack of water and corn, it seemed to me best, in order to see if there was anything there of service to Your Majesty, to go forward with only 30 horsemen until I should be able to see the country, so as to give Your Majesty a true account of what was to be found in it. I sent all the rest of the force I had with me to this province, with Don Tristan de Arellano in command, because it would have been impossible to prevent the loss of many men, if all had gone on, owing to the lack of water and because they also had to kill bulls and cows on which to sustain themselves. And with only the 30 horsemen whom I took for my escort, I traveled forty-two days after I left the force, living all this while solely on the flesh of the bulls and cows which we killed, at the cost of several of our horses which they killed,

because, as I wrote Your Majesty, they are very brave and fierce animals; and going many days without water, and cooking the food with cow dung, because there is not any kind of wood in all these plains, away from the gullies and rivers, which are very few.

It was the Lord's pleasure that, after having journeyed across these deserts seventy-seven days, I arrived at the province they call Quivira, to which the guides were conducting me, and where they had described to me houses of stone, with many stories; and not only are they not of stone, but of straw, but the people in them are as barbarous as all those whom I have seen and passed before this; they do not have cloaks, nor cotton of which to make these, but use the skins of the cattle they kill, which they tan, because they are settled among these on a very large river. They eat the raw flesh like the Querechos and Teyas; they are enemies of one another, but are all of the same sort of people, and these at Quivira have the advantage in the houses they build and in planting corn. In this province of which the guides who brought me are natives, they received me peaceably, and although they told me when I set out for it that I could not succeed in seeing it all in two months, there are not more than 25 villages of straw houses there and in all the rest of the country that I saw and learned about, which gave their obedience to Your Majesty and placed themselves under your royal overlordship. The people here are large. I had several Indians measured, and found that they were 10 palms in height; the women are well proportioned and their features are more like Moorish women than Indians. The natives here gave me a piece of copper which a chief Indian wore hung around his neck; I sent it to the viceroy of New Spain, because I have not seen any other metal in these parts except this and some little copper bells which I sent him, and a bit of metal which looks like gold. I do not know where this came from, although I believe that the Indians who gave it to me obtained it from those whom I brought here in my service, because I can not find any other origin for it nor where it came from. The diversity of languages which exists in this country and my not having anyone who understood them, because they speak their own language in each village, has hindered me, because I have been forced to send captains and men in many directions to find out whether there was anything in this country which could be of service to Your Majesty. And although I have searched with all diligence I have not found or heard of anything, unless it be these provinces, which are a very small affair. The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree. The country itself is the best I have ever seen for producing all the products of Spain, for besides the land itself being very fat and black and being very well watered by the rivulets and springs and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain [*or* I found everything they have in Spain] and nuts and very good sweet grapes and mulberries. I have treated the natives of this province, and all the others whom I found wherever I went, as well as was possible,

THE KERES PUEBLO OF KATISHTYA OR SAN FELIPE

agreeably to what Your Majesty had commanded, and they have received no harm in any way from me or from those who went in my company.[1] I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivira, so as to see and explore the country and also to find out whether there was anything beyond which could be of service to Your Majesty, because the guides who had brought me had given me an account of other provinces beyond this. And what I am sure of is that there is not any gold nor any other metal in all that country, and the other things of which they had told me are nothing but little villages, and in many of these they do not plant anything and do not have any houses except of skins and sticks, and they wander around with the cows; so that the account they gave me was false, because they wanted to persuade me to go there with the whole force, believing that as the way was through such uninhabited deserts, and from the lack of water, they would get us where we and our horses would die of hunger. And the guides confessed this, and said they had done it by the advice and orders of the natives of these provinces. At this, after having heard the account of what was beyond, which I have given above, I returned to these provinces to provide for the force I had sent back here and to give Your Majesty an account of what this country amounts to, because I wrote Your Majesty that I would do so when I went there. I have done all that I possibly could to serve Your Majesty and to discover a country where God Our Lord might be served and the royal patrimony of Your Majesty increased, as your loyal servant and vassal. For since I reached the province of Cibola, to which the viceroy of New Spain sent me in the name of Your Majesty, seeing that there were none of the things there of which Friar Marcos had told, I have managed to explore this country for 200 leagues and more around Cibola, and the best place I have found is this river of Tiguex where I am now, and the settlements here. It would not be possible to establish a settlement here, for besides being 400 leagues from the North sea and more than 200 from the South sea, with which it is impossible to have any sort of communication, the country is so cold, as I have written to Your Majesty, that apparently the winter could not possibly be spent here, because there is no wood, nor cloth with which to protect the men, except the skins which the natives wear and some small amount of cotton cloaks. I send the viceroy of New Spain an account of everything I have seen in the countries where I have been, and as Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas is going to kiss Your Majesty's hands, who has done much and has served Your Majesty very well on this expedition, and he will give Your Majesty an account of everything here, as one who has seen it himself, I give way to him. And may Our Lord protect the Holy Imperial Catholic person of Your Majesty, with increase of greater kingdoms and powers, as your loyal servants and vassals desire. From this province of Tiguex, October 20, in the year 1541. Your Majesty's humble servant and vassal, who would kiss the royal feet and hands:

FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ CORONADO.

[1] Coronado had apparently forgotten the atrocities committed by the Spaniards at Tiguex.

TRANSLATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF JARAMILLO

Account given by Captain Juan Jaramillo of the Journey which he made to the New Country, on which Francisco Vazquez Coronado was the General.[1]

We started from Mexico, going directly to Compostela, the whole way populated and at peace, the direction being west, and the distance 112 leagues. From there we went to Culiacan, perhaps about 80 leagues; the road is well known and much used, because there is a town inhabited by Spaniards in the said valley of Culiacan, under the government of Compostela. The 70 horsemen who went with the general went in a northwesterly direction from this town. He left his army here, because information had been obtained that the way was uninhabited and almost the whole of it without food. He went with the said horsemen to explore the route and prepare the way for those who were to follow. He pursued this direction, though with some twisting, until we crossed a mountain chain, where they knew about New Spain, more than 300 leagues distant. To this pass we gave the name of Chichilte Calli, because we learned that this was what it was called, from some Indians whom we left behind.

Leaving the said valley of Culiacan, he crossed a river called Pateatlan (*or* Peteatlan), which was about four days distant. We found these Indians peaceful, and they gave us some few things to eat. From here we went to another river called Cinaloa, which was about three days from the other. From here the general ordered ten of us horsemen to make double marches, lightly equipped, until we reached the stream of the Cedars (arroyo de los Cedros), and from there we were to enter a break in the mountains on the right of the road and see what there was in and about this. If more time should be needed for this than we gained on him, he would wait for us at the said Cedros stream. This was done, and all that we saw there was a few poor Indians in some settled valleys like farms or estates, with sterile soil. It was about five more days from the river to this stream. From there we went to the river called Yaquemi, which took about three days. We proceeded along a dry stream, and after three days more of marching, although the dry stream lasted only for a league, we reached another stream where there were some settled Indians, who had straw huts and storehouses of corn and beans and melons. Leaving here, we went to

[1] The text of this narrative is found in Buckingham Smith's Florida, p. 154, from a copy made by Muñoz, and in Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. xiv, p. 304, from the copy in the Archives of the Indies. A French translation is given in Ternaux-Compans' Cibola volume, p. 364.

THE SOUTH TOWN OF THE TIWA PUEBLO OF TAOS

the stream and village which is called Hearts (Corazones), the name which was given it by Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo and the negro Estebanillo, because they gave them a present of the hearts of animals and birds to eat.

About two days were spent in this village of the Hearts. There is an irrigation stream, and the country is warm. Their dwellings are huts made of a frame of poles, almost like an oven, only very much better, which they cover with mats. They have corn and beans and melons for food, which I believe never fail them. They dress in deerskins. This appeared to be a good place, and so orders were given the Spaniards who were behind to establish a village here, where they lived until almost the failure of the expedition. There was a poison here, the effect of which is, according to what was seen of it, the worst that could possibly be found; and from what we learned about it, it is the sap of a small tree like the mastick tree, or lentisk, and it grows in gravelly and sterile land.[1] We went on from here, passing through a sort of gateway, to another valley very near this stream, which opens off from this same stream, which is called Señora. It is also irrigated, and the Indians are like the others and have the same sort of settlements and food. This valley continues for 6 or 7 leagues, a little more or less. At first these Indians were peaceful; and afterward not, but instead they and those whom they were able to summon thither were our worst enemies. They have a poison with which they killed several Christians. There are mountains on both sides of them, which are not very fertile. From here we went along near this said stream, crossing it where it makes a bend, to another Indian settlement called Ispa.[2] It takes one day from the last of these others to this place. It is of the same sort as those we had passed. From here we went through deserted country for about four days to another river, which we heard called Nexpa, where some poor Indians came out to see the general, with presents of little value, with some stalks of roasted maguey and pitahayas. We went down this stream two days, and then left the stream, going toward the right to the foot of the mountain chain in two days' journey, where we heard news of what is called Chichiltic Calli. Crossing the mountains, we came to a deep and reedy river, where we found water and forage for the horses.

[1] The Spanish text reads: "Habrá como dos jornadas (;) en este pueblo de los Corazones. (es) Es un arroyo de riego y de tierra caliente, y tienen sus viviendas de unos ranchos que despues de armados los palos, casi á manera de hornos, aunque muy mayores, los cubren con unos petates. Tienen maiz y frisoles y calabazas para su comer, que creo que no le falta. Vistense de cueros de venados, y aquí por ser este puesto al parecer cosa decente, se mandó poblar aquí una villa de los españoles que iban traseros donde vivieron hasta casi que la jornada peresció. Aquí hay yerba y seguro (segund) lo que della se vió, y la operacion que hace es la más mala que se puede hallar, y de lo que tuvimos entendido ser, era de la leche de un árbol pequeño, á manera de lantisco en cuasci, (, E Nasce) en pizarrillas y tierra estéril." This quotation follows the Pacheco y Cardenas text. The important variations of Buckingham Smith's copy are inclosed within parentheses. The spelling of the two, in such matters as the use of *b* and *v*, *x* and *j*, and the punctuation, differ greatly.

[2] See Bandelier's Gilded Man, p. 175. This is Castañeda's "Guagarispa" as mistakenly interpreted by Ternaux-Compans, the present Arispe, or, in the Indian dialect, Huc-aritz-pa. The words "Ispa, que" are not in the Pacheco y Cardenas copy.

From this river back at Nexpa, as I have said, it seems to me that the direction was nearly northeast. From here, I believe that we went in the same direction for three days to a river which we called Saint John (San Juan), because we reached it on his day. Leaving here, we went to another river, through a somewhat rough country, more toward the north, to a river which we called the Rafts (de las Balsas), because we had to cross on these, as it was rising. It seems to me that we spent two days between one river and the other, and I say this because it is so long since we went there that I may be wrong in some days, though not in the rest. From here we went to another river, which we called the Slough (de la Barranca.) It is two short days from one to the other, and the direction almost northeast. From here we went to another river, which we called the Cold river (el rio Frio), on account of its water being so, in one day's journey, and from here we went by a pine mountain, where we found, almost at the top of it, a cool spring and streamlet, which was another day's march. In the neighborhood of this stream a Spaniard, who was called Espinosa, died, besides two other persons, on account of poisonous plants which they ate, owing to the great need in which they were. From here we went to another river, which we called the Red river (Bermejo), two days' journey in the same direction, but less toward the northeast. Here we saw an Indian or two, who afterward appeared to belong to the first settlement of Cibola. From here we came in two days' journey to the said village, the first of Cibola. The houses have flat roofs and walls of stone and mud, and this was where they killed Steve (Estebanillo), the negro who had come with Dorantes from Florida and returned with Friar Marcos de Niza. In this province of Cibola there are five little villages besides this, all with flat roofs and of stone and mud, as I said. The country is cold, as is shown by their houses and hothouses (estufas). They have food enough for themselves, of corn and beans and melons. These villages are about a league or more apart from each other, within a circuit of perhaps 6 leagues. The country is somewhat sandy and not very salty (*or* barren of vegetation[1]), and on the mountains the trees are for the most part evergreen. The clothing of the Indians is of deerskins, very carefully tanned, and they also prepare some tanned cowhides, with which they cover themselves, which are like shawls, and a great protection. They have square cloaks of cotton, some larger than others, about a yard and a half long. The Indians wear them thrown over the shoulder like a gipsy, and fastened with one end over the other, with a girdle, also of cotton. From this first village of Cibola, looking toward the northeast and a little less, on the left hand, there is a province called Tucayan, about five days off, which has seven flat-roof villages, with a food supply as good as or better than these, and

[1] The Spanish text is either "ino mui salada de yerva" (B. Smith), or "y no muy solada de yerva" (Pacheco y Cardenas). Doubtless the reference is to the alkali soil and vegetation.

THE TEWA PUEBLO OF K'HAPÓO OR SANTA CLARA

an even larger population; and they also have the skins of cows and of deer, and cloaks of cotton, as I described.[1]

All the waterways we found as far as this one at Cibola—and I do not know but what for a day or two beyond—the rivers and streams run into the South sea, and those from here on into the North sea.

From this first village of Cibola, as I have said, we went to another in the same province, which was about a short day's journey off, on the way to Tihuex. It is nine days, of such marches as we made, from this settlement of Cibola to the river of Tihuex. Halfway between, I do not know but it may be a day more or less, there is a village of earth and dressed stone, in a very strong position, which is called Tutahaco.[2] All these Indians, except the first in the first village of Cibola, received us well. At the river of Tihuex there are 15 villages within a distance of about 20 leagues, all with flat-roof houses of earth, instead of stone, after the fashion of mud walls. There are other villages besides these on other streams which flow into this, and three of these are, for Indians, well worth seeing, especially one that is called Chia,[3] and another Uraba,[4] and another Cicuique.[5] Uraba and Cicuique have many houses two stories high. All the rest, and these also, have corn and beans and melons, skins, and some long robes of feathers which they braid, joining the feathers with a sort of thread; and they also make them of a sort of plain weaving with which they make the cloaks with which they protect themselves. They all have hot rooms underground, which, although not very clean, are very warm.[6] They raise and have a very little cotton, of which they make the cloaks which I have spoken of above. This river comes from the northwest and flows about southeast, which shows that it certainly flows into the North sea. Leaving this settlement[7] and the said river, we passed two other villages whose names I do not know,[8] and in four days came to Cicuique, which I have already mentioned. The direction of this is toward the northeast. From there we came to another river, which the Spaniards named after Cicuique, in three days; if I remember rightly, it seems to me that we went rather toward the northeast to reach this river where we crossed it, and after crossing this, we turned more to

[1] The Spanish text (p. 308) is: "el vestido de los indios es de cueros de venados, estremadísimo el adobo, alcanzan ya algunos cueros de vacas adobado con que se cobijan, que son á manera de bernias y de mucho abrigo; tienen mantas de algodon cuadradas; unas mayores que otras, como de vara y media en largo; las indias las traen puestas por el hombro á manera de gitanas y ceñidas una vuelta sobre otra por su cintura con una cinta del mismo algodon; estando en este pueblo primero de Cibola, el rostro el Nordeste; un poquito ménos está á la mano izquierda de él, cinco jornadas, una provincia que se dice Tucayan."

[2] Acoma. See note on page 492.

[3] Sia.

[4] Identical with Taos—the Braba of Castañeda and the Yuraba of the Relacion del Suceso.

[5] Pecos. In Pacheco y Cardenas this is spelled Tienique.

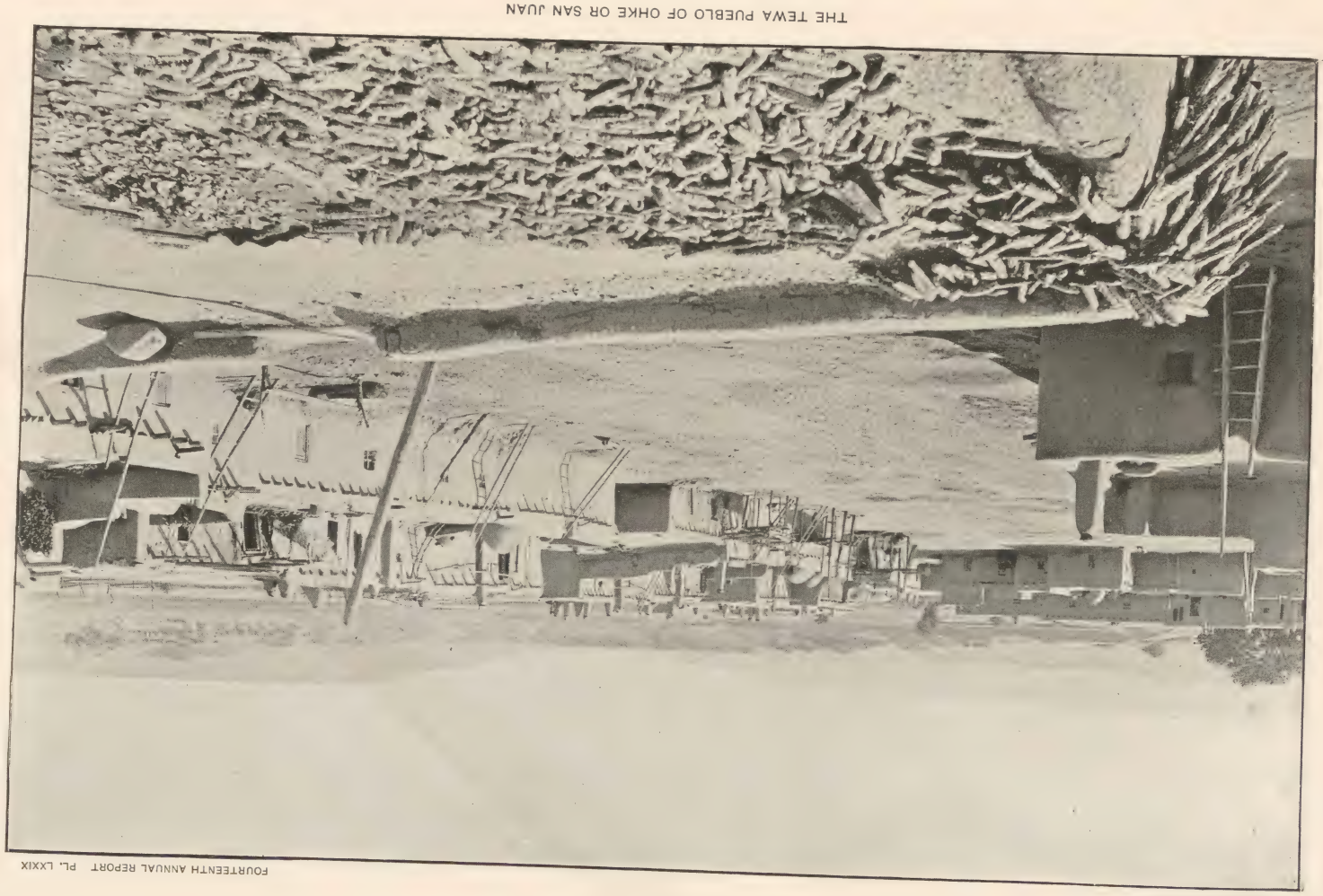
[6] All references to hot rooms or estufas are of course to be construed to mean the kivas or ceremonial chambers.

[7] Tiguex is here doubtless referred to.

[8] One of the villages whose names Jaramillo did not know was probably the Ximena (Galisteo) of Castañeda.

the left hand, which would be more to the northeast, and began to enter the plains where the cows are, although we did not find them for some four or five days, after which we began to come across bulls, of which there are great numbers, and after going on in the same direction and meeting the bulls for two or three days, we began to find ourselves in the midst of very great numbers of cows, yearlings and bulls all in together. We found Indians among these first cows, who were, on this account, called Querechos by those in the flat-roof houses. They do not live in houses, but have some sets of poles which they carry with them to make some huts at the places where they stop, which serve them for houses. They tie these poles together at the top and stick the bottoms into the ground, covering them with some cowskins which they carry around, and which, as I have said, serve them for houses. From what was learned of these Indians, all their human needs are supplied by these cows, for they are fed and clothed and shod from these. They are a people who wander around here and there, wherever seems to them best. We went on for eight or ten days in the same direction, along those streams which are among the cows. The Indian who guided us from here was the one that had given us the news about Quevira and Arache (*or* Arahei) and about its being a very rich country with much gold and other things, and he and the other one were from that country I mentioned, to which we were going, and we found these two Indians in the flat-roof villages. It seems that, as the said Indian wanted to go to his own country, he proceeded to tell us what we found was not true, and I do not know whether it was on this account or because he was counseled to take us into other regions by confusing us on the road, although there are none in all this region except those of the cows. We understood, however, that he was leading us away from the route we ought to follow and that he wanted to lead us on to those plains where he had led us, so that we would eat up the food, and both ourselves and our horses would become weak from the lack of this, because if we should go either backward or forward in this condition we could not make any resistance to whatever they might wish to do to us. From the time when, as I said, we entered the plains and from this settlement of Querechos, he led us off more to the east, until we came to be in extreme need from the lack of food, and as the other Indian, who was his companion and also from his country, saw that he was not taking us where we ought to go, since we had always followed the guidance of the Turk, for so he was called, instead of his, he threw himself down in the way, making a sign that although we cut off his head he ought not to go that way, nor was that our direction. I believe we had been traveling twenty days or more in this direction, at the end of which we found another settlement of Indians of the same sort and way of living as those behind, among whom there was an old blind man with a beard, who gave us to understand, by signs which he made,

THE TEWA PUEBLO OF OHKE OR SAN JUAN



that he had seen four others like us many days before, whom he had seen near there and rather more toward New Spain, and we so understood him, and presumed that it was Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca and those whom I have mentioned. At this settlement the general, seeing our difficulties, ordered the captains, and the persons whose advice he was accustomed to take, to assemble, so that we might discuss with him what was best for all. It seemed to us that all the force should go back to the region we had come from, in search of food, so that they could regain their strength, and that 30 picked horsemen should go in search of what the Indian had told about; and we decided to do this. We all went forward one day to a stream which was down in a ravine in the midst of good meadows, to agree on who should go ahead and how the rest should return. Here the Indian Isopete, as we had called the companion of the said Turk, was asked to tell us the truth, and to lead us to that country which we had come in search of. He said he would do it, and that it was not as the Turk had said, because those were certainly fine things which he had said and had given us to understand at Tihuex, about gold and how it was obtained, and the buildings, and the style of them, and their trade, and many other things told for the sake of prolixity, which had led us to go in search of them, with the advice of all who gave it and of the priests. He asked us to leave him afterward in that country, because it was his native country, as a reward for guiding us, and also, that the Turk might not go along with him, because he would quarrel and try to restrain him in everything that he wanted to do for our advantage; and the general promised him this, and said he would be with one of the thirty, and he went in this way. And when everything was ready for us to set out and for the others to remain, we pursued our way, the direction all the time after this being toward the north, for more than thirty days' march, although not long marches, not having to go without water on any one of them, and among cows all the time, some days in larger numbers than others, according to the water which we came across, so that on Saint Peter and Paul's day we reached a river which we found to be there below Quibira. When we reached the said river, the Indian recognized it and said that was it, and that it was below the settlements. We crossed it there and went up the other side on the north, the direction turning toward the northeast, and after marching three days we found some Indians who were going hunting, killing the cows to take the meat to their village, which was about three or four days still farther away from us. Here where we found the Indians and they saw us, they began to utter yells and appeared to fly, and some even had their wives there with them. The Indian Isopete began to call them in his language, and so they came to us without any signs of fear. When we and these Indians had halted here, the general made an example of the Indian Turk, whom we had brought along, keeping him all the time out of sight among the rear guard, and

having arrived where the place was prepared, it was done in such a way that the other Indian, who was called Isopete, should not see it, so as to give him the satisfaction he had asked. Some satisfaction was experienced here on seeing the good appearance of the earth, and it is certainly such among the cows, and from there on. The general wrote a letter here to the governor of Harahey and Quibira, having understood that he was a Christian from the lost army of Florida, because what the Indian had said of their manner of government and their general character had made us believe this. So the Indians went to their houses, which were at the distance mentioned, and we also proceeded at our rate of marching until we reached the settlements, which we found along good river bottoms, although without much water, and good streams which flow into another, larger than the one I have mentioned. There were, if I recall correctly, six or seven settlements, at quite a distance from one another, among which we traveled for four or five days, since it was understood to be uninhabited between one stream and the other. We reached what they said was the end of Quibira, to which they took us, saying that the things there were of great importance.[1] Here there was a river, with more water and more inhabitants than the others. Being asked if there was anything beyond, they said that there was nothing more of Quibira, but that there was Harahey, and that it was the same sort of a place, with settlements like these, and of about the same size. The general sent to summon the lord of those parts and the other Indians who they said resided in Harahey, and he came with about 200 men—all naked—with bows, and some sort of things on their heads, and their privy parts slightly covered. He was a big Indian, with a large body and limbs, and well proportioned. After he had heard the opinion of one and another about it, the general asked them what we ought to do, reminding us of how the army had been left and that the rest of us were there, so that it seemed to all of us that as it was already almost the opening of winter, for, if I remember rightly, it was after the middle of August, and because there was little to winter there for, and we were but very little prepared for it, and the uncertainty as to the success of the army that had been left, and because the winter might close the roads with snow and rivers which we could not cross, and also in order to see what had happened to the rest of the force left behind, it seemed to us all that his grace ought to go back in search of them, and when he had found out for certain how they were, to winter there and return to that country at the opening of spring, to conquer and cultivate it. Since, as I said, this was the last point which we reached, here the Turk saw that he had lied to us, and one night he called on all these people to attack us and kill us. We learned of it, and put him under guard and strangled him that night so that he never waked up. With the plan

[1] In Buckingham Smith's copy occurs the phrase, "que decian ellos para significarnoslo Teucarea." This is not in Pacheco y Cardenas.

mentioned, we turned back it may have been two or three days, where we provided ourselves with picked fruit and dried corn for our return. The general raised a cross at this place, at the foot of which he made some letters with a chisel, which said that Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, general of that army, had arrived here.

This country presents a very fine appearance, than which I have not seen a better in all our Spain nor Italy nor a part of France, nor, indeed, in the other countries where I have traveled in His Majesty's service, for it is not a very rough country, but is made up of hillocks and plains, and very fine appearing rivers and streams, which certainly satisfied me and made me sure that it will be very fruitful in all sorts of products. Indeed, there is profit in the cattle ready to the hand, from the quantity of them, which is as great as one could imagine. We found a variety of Castilian prunes which are not all red, but some of them black and green; the tree and fruit is certainly like that of Castile, with a very excellent flavor. Among the cows we found flax, which springs up from the earth in clumps apart from one another, which are noticeable, as the cattle do not eat it, with their tops and blue flowers, and very perfect although small, resembling that of our own Spain (*or* and sumach like ours in Spain). There are grapes along some streams, of a fair flavor, not to be improved upon. The houses which these Indians have were of straw, and most of them round, and the straw reached down to the ground like a wall, so that they did not have the symmetry or the style of these here; they have something like a chapel or sentry box outside and around these, with an entry, where the Indians appear seated or reclining.[1] The Indian Isopete was left here where the cross was erected, and we took five or six of the Indians from these villages to lead and guide us to the flat-roof houses.[2] Thus they brought us back by the same road as far as where I said before that we came to a river called Saint Peter and Paul's, and here we left that by which we had come, and, taking the right hand, they led us along by watering places and among cows and by a good road, although there are none either one way or the other except those of the cows, as I have said. At last we came to where we recognized the country, where I said we found the first settlement;

[1] The Spanish text (p. 315) of this description of the Kansas-Nebraska plains is: "Esta tierra tiene muy linda la apariencia, tal que no la he visto yo mejor . . . porque no es tierra muy doblada sino de lo más (de lomas) y llanos, y rios de muy linda apariencia y aguas, que cierto me contento y tengo presuncion que será muy fructífera y de todos frutos. En los ganados ya está la esperencia (inspiriencia) en la mano por la muchedumbre que hay, que es tanta cuanto quieran pensar; jallamos cirguelas de Castilla, un género dellas que ni son del todo coloradas, sino entre coloradas y algo negras y verdes. (,) El árbol y el fruto es cierto de Castilla, de muy gentil sabor; jallamos entre las vacas, lino, que produce la tierra, é brecitas (hebrecitas) arredradas unas de otras, que como el ganado no las come se quedan por allí con sus cabezuelas y flor azul, y aunque pequeño muy perfecto, natural del de nuestra España (perfecto; zumaque natural . . .). En algunos arroyos, uvas de razonable sabor para no beneficiadas: las casas que estos indios tenian, eran de paxa y muchas dellas redondas, y la paxa llegaba hasta el suelo como pared que no tenia la proporcion y manera de las de acá; por de fuera y encima desto, tenian una manera como capilla ó garita, con una entrada donde se asomaban los indios sentados ó echados."

[2] The pueblos of the Rio Grande.

where the Turk led us astray from the route we should have followed. Thus, leaving the rest aside, we reached Tiguex, where we found the rest of the army, and here the general fell while running his horse, by which he received a wound on his head which gave symptoms of turning out badly, and he conceived the idea of returning, which ten or twelve of us were unable to prevent by dissuading him from it. When this return had been ordered, the Franciscan friars who were with us—one of them a regular and the other a lay brother—who were called, the regular one Friar Juan de Padilla and the lay one Friar Luis de Escalona, were told to get ready, although they had permission from their provincial so that they could remain. Friar Luis wished to remain in these flat-roof houses, saying that he would raise crosses for those villagers with a chisel and adze they left him, and would baptize several poor creatures who could be led, on the point of death, so as to send them to heaven, for which he did not desire any other company than a little slave of mine who was called Christopher, to be his consolation, and who he said would learn the language there quickly so as to help him; and he brought up so many things in favor of this that he could not be denied, and so nothing more has been heard from him. The knowledge that this friar would remain there was the reason that many Indians from hereabouts stayed there, and also two negroes, one of them mine, who was called Sebastian, and the other one of Melchor Perez, the son of the licentiate La Torre. This negro was married and had his wife and children. I also recall that several Indians remained behind in the Quivira region, besides a Tarascan belonging to my company, who was named Andrew. Friar Juan de Padilla preferred to return to Quivira, and persuaded them to give him those Indians whom I said we had brought as guides. They gave him these, and he also took a Portuguese and a free Spanish-speaking Indian, who was the interpreter, and who passed as a Franciscan friar, and a half-blood and two Indians from Capottan (*or* Capotean) or thereabouts, I believe. He had brought these up and took them in the habits of friars, and he took some sheep and mules and a horse and ornaments and other trifles. I do not know whether it was for the sake of these or for what reason, but it seems that they killed him, and those who did it were the lay servants, or these same Indians whom he took back from Tiguex, in return for the good deeds which he had done. When he was dead, the Portuguese whom I mentioned fled, and also one of the Indians that I said he took in the habits of friars, or both of them, I believe. I mention this because they came back to this country of New Spain by another way and a shorter route than the one of which I have told, and they came out in the valley of Panico.[1] I have given Gonzalo Solis de Meras and Isidoro de Solis an account of this, because it seemed to me important, according to what I say I have understood, that

[1] This is the spelling of Panuco in both texts.

A NATIVE OF SAN JUAN

His Majesty ordered Your Lordship to find or discover a way so as to unite that land to this. It is perhaps also very likely that this Indian Sebastian, during the time he was in Quivira, learned about its territory and the country round about it, and also of the sea, and the road by which he came, and what there is to it, and how many days' journey before arriving there. So that I am sure that if Your Lordship acquires this Quivira on this account, I am certain that he can confidently bring many people from Spain to settle it according to the appearance and the character of the land.

TRANSLATION OF THE REPORT OF HERNANDO DE ALVARADO

Account of what Hernando de Alvarado and Friar Juan de Padilla Discovered going in Search of the South Sea.[1]

We set out from Granada on Sunday, the day of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, the 29th of August, in the year 1540, on the way to Coco.[2] After we had gone 2 leagues, we came to an ancient building like a fortress, and a league beyond this we found another, and yet another a little farther on, and beyond these we found an ancient city, very large, entirely destroyed, although a large part of the wall was standing, which was six times as tall as a man, the wall well made of good worked stone, with gates and gutters like a city in Castile. Half a league or more beyond this, we found another ruined city, the walls of which must have been very fine, built of very large granite blocks, as high as a man and from there up of very good quarried stone. Here two roads separate, one to Chia and the other to Coco; we took this latter, and reached that place, which is one of the strongest places that we have seen, because the city is on a very high rock, with such a rough ascent that we repented having gone up to the place. The houses have three or four stories; the people are the same sort as those of the province of Cibola; they have plenty of food, of corn and beans and fowls like those of New Spain. From here we went to a very good lake or marsh, where there are trees like those of Castile, and from there we went to a river, which we named Our Lady (Nuestra Señora), because we reached it the evening before her day in the month of September.[3] We sent the cross by a guide to the villages in advance, and the next day people came from twelve villages, the chief men and the people in order, those of one village behind those of another, and they approached the tent to the sound of a pipe, and with an old man for spokesman. In this fashion they came into the tent and gave me the food and clothes and skins they had brought, and I gave them some trinkets, and with this they went off.

This river of Our Lady flows through a very wide open plain sowed with corn plants; there are several groves, and there are twelve vil-

[1] The text of this report is printed in Buckingham Smith's Florida, p. 65, from the Muñoz copy, and in Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. iii, p. 511. See note on page 391. A translation of this document was printed in the Boston Transcript for October 14, 1893.

[2] Acuco or Acoma. The route taken by Alvarado was not the same as that followed by Coronado, who went by way of Matsaki. Alvarado's course was the old Acoma trail which led directly eastward from Hawikuh or Ojo Caliente.

[3] Day of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8. This was the Tiguex or present Rio Grande.

lages. The houses are of earth, two stories high; the people have a good appearance, more like laborers than a warlike race; they have a large food supply of corn, beans, melons, and fowl in great plenty; they clothe themselves with cotton and the skins of cows and dresses of the feathers of the fowls; they wear their hair short. Those who have the most authority among them are the old men; we regarded them as witches, because they say that they go up into the sky and other things of the same sort. In this province there are seven other villages, depopulated and destroyed by those Indians who paint their eyes, of whom the guides will tell Your Grace; they say that these live in the same region as the cows, and that they have corn and houses of straw.

Here the people from the outlying provinces came to make peace with me, and as Your Grace may see in this memorandum, there are 80 villages there of the same sort as I have described, and among them one which is located on some streams; it is divided into twenty divisions, which is something remarkable; the houses have three stories of mud walls and three others made of small wooden boards, and on the outside of the three stories with the mud wall they have three balconies; it seemed to us that there were nearly 15,000 persons in this village. The country is very cold; they do not raise fowls nor cotton; they worship the sun and water. We found mounds of dirt outside of the place, where they are buried.

In the places where crosses were raised, we saw them worship these. They made offerings to these of their powder and feathers, and some left the blankets they had on. They showed so much zeal that some climbed upon the others to grasp the arms of the cross, to place feathers and flowers there; and others bringing ladders, while some held them, went up to tie strings, so as to fasten the flowers and the feathers.

TESTIMONY CONCERNING THOSE WHO WENT ON THE EXPEDITION WITH FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ CORONADO[1]

At Compostela, on February 21, 1540, Coronado presented a petition to the viceroy Mendoza, declaring that he had observed that certain persons who were not well disposed toward the expedition which was about to start for the newly discovered country had said that many of the inhabitants of the City of Mexico and of the other cities and towns of New Spain, and also of Compostela and other places in this province of New Galicia were going on the expedition at his request or because of inducements offered by him, as a result of which the City of Mexico and New Spain were left deserted, or almost so. Therefore, he asked the viceroy to order that information be obtained, in order that the truth might be known about the citizens of New Spain and of this province who were going to accompany him. He declared that there were very few of these, and that they were not going on account of any attraction or inducement offered by him, but of their own free will, and as there were few of them, there would not be any lack of people in New Spain. And as Gonzalo de Salazar, the factor or royal agent, and Pero Almidez Cherino, the veedor or royal inspector of His Majesty for New Spain, and other citizens of Mexico who knew all the facts and had the necessary information, were present there, Coronado asked His Grace to provide and order that which would best serve His Majesty's interests and the welfare and security of New Spain.

The viceroy instructed the licenciate Maldonado, oidor of the royal audiencia,[2] to procure this information. To facilitate the hearing he provided that the said factor and veedor and the regidores, and others who were there, should attend the review of the army, which was to be held on the following day. Nine of the desired witnesses were also commanded by Maldonado to attend the review and observe those whom they knew in the army.

On February 26[3] the licentiate Maldonado took the oaths of the witnesses in proper form, and they testified to the following effect:

Hernand Perez de Bocanegra, a citizen of Mexico, stated that he had been present on the preceding Sunday, at the review of the force which the viceroy was sending for the pacification of the country recently discovered by the father provincial, Fray Marcos de Niza, and that he

[1]Translated freely and abridged from the depositions as printed in Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos de Indias, vol. xiv, p. 373. See note on page 377. The statements of the preceding witnesses are usually repeated, in effect, in the testimony of those who follow.

[2]Judge of the highest court of the province.

[3]Thursday.

A NATIVE OF PECOS

had taken note of the force as the men passed before him; and at his request he had also been allowed to see the list of names of those who were enrolled in the army; and he declared that in all the said force he did not recognize any other citizens of Mexico who were going except Domingo Martin, a married man, whom he had sometimes seen living in Mexico, and provided him with messengers; and one Alonso Sanchez, who was going with his wife and a son, and who was formerly a shoemaker; and a young man, son of the *bachiller* Alonso Perez, who had come only a few days before from Salamanca, and who had been sent to the war by his father on account of his restlessness; and two or three other workmen or tradespeople whom he had seen at work in Mexico, although he did not know whether they were citizens there; and on his oath he did not see in the whole army anyone else who was a citizen of Mexico, although for about fourteen years he had been a citizen and inhabitant of that city, unless it was the captain-general, Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, and Lopez de Samaniego the army-master; and, moreover, he declared that he felt certain that those above mentioned were going of their own free will, like all the rest.

Antonio Serrano de Cardona, one of the magistrates of Mexico, who was present from beginning to end of the review of the preceding Sunday, testified in similar form. He said that Alonso Sanchez had formerly been a citizen of Mexico, but that for a long time his house had been empty and he had traveled as a trader, and that he was going in search of something to live on; and one Domingo Martin was also going, who formerly lived in Mexico, and whose residence he had not known likewise for a long time, nor did he think that he had one, because he had not seen him living in Mexico. He did not think it would have been possible for any citizens of Mexico to have been there whom he did not know, because he had lived in Mexico during the twenty years since he came to Mexico, and ever since the city was established by Christians, and besides, he had been a magistrate for fifteen years. And besides, all those whom he did see who were going, were the most contented of any men he had ever seen in this country starting off for conquests. After the force left the City of Mexico, he had been there, and had noticed that it was full of people and that there did not seem to be any scarcity on account of those who had started on this expedition.

Gonzalo de Salazar, His Majesty's factor for New Spain, and also a magistrate of the City of Mexico, declared that the only person on the expedition who possessed a repartimiento or estate in New Spain was the captain-general, Vazquez de Coronado, and that he had noticed one other citizen who did not have a repartimiento. He had not seen any other citizen of Mexico, nor of New Spain, although one of the greatest benefits that could have been done New Spain would have been to draw off the young and vicious people who were in that city and all over New Spain.

Pedro Almidez Cherino, His Majesty's veedor in New Spain, had, among other things, noted the horses and arms of those who were going, during the review. He had noticed Coronado and Samaniego, and Alonso Sanchez and his wife, whom he did not know to be a citizen, and Domingo Martin, who was away from Mexico during most of the year. All the rest of the force were people without settled residences, who had recently come to the country in search of a living. It seemed to him that it was a very fortunate thing for Mexico that the people who were going were about to do so because they had been injuring the citizens there. They had been for the most part vicious young gentlemen, who did not have anything to do in the city nor in the country. They were all going of their own free will, and were very ready to help pacify the new country, and it seemed to him that if the said country had not been discovered, almost all of these people would have gone back to Castile, or would have gone to Peru or other places in search of a living.

Servan Bejarano, who had been in business among the inhabitants of Mexico ever since he came to that city, added the information that he knew Alonso Sanchez to be a provision dealer, buying at wholesale and selling at retail, and that he was in very great need, having nothing on which to live, and that he was going to that country in search of a living. He was also very sure that it was a great advantage to Mexico and to its citizens to have many of the unmarried men go away, because they had no occupation there and were bad characters, and were for the most part gentlemen and persons who did not hold any property, nor any repartimientos of Indians, without any income, and lazy, and who would have been obliged to go to Peru or some other region.

Cristobal de Oñate had been in the country about sixteen years, a trifle more or less, and was now His Majesty's veedor for New Galicia. He knew the citizens of Mexico, and also declared that not a citizen of Compostela was going on the expedition. Two citizens of Guadalajara were going, one of whom was married to an Indian, and the other was single. As for the many young gentlemen and the others who were going, who lived in Mexico and in other parts of New Spain, it seemed to him that their departure was a benefit rather than a disadvantage, because they were leading vicious lives and had nothing with which to support themselves.

When these statements and depositions had all been duly received, signed, and attested, and had been shown to his most illustrious lordship, the viceroy, he ordered an authorized copy to be taken, which was made by Joan de Leon, clerk of Their Majesties' court and of the royal audiencia of New Spain, the 27th of February, 1540, witnessed by the secretary, Antonio de Almaguer, and sent to His Majesty, to be laid before the lords of the council, that they might provide and order that which should be most serviceable to their interests.

A LIST OF WORKS

USEFUL TO THE STUDENT OF THE CORONADO EXPEDITION

The following list contains the titles of the books and documents which have been found useful during the preparation of the preceding memoir on the Coronado expedition of 1540–1542. The works cited have helped, in one way or another, toward the formation of the opinions expressed in the Historical Introduction, and in them may be found the authority for the statements made in the introduction and in the notes to the translations of the Spanish narratives. It is hoped that no source of information of prime importance has been overlooked. The comments on the various books, essays, and documents are such as suggested themselves in the course of the examination of the works in question.

References are given to the location of the more important documents, so far as these are available in the various collections of printed documents. The value of these sources has been discussed in the preceding pages, and these opinions are not repeated in this list. The titles of the printed books are quoted from the editions which came nearest to the authors' manuscripts, so far as these editions could be consulted. Reference is made also to the most available later editions, and to the English and French translations of Spanish, Italian, and Latin works. With hardly an exception, the titles are quoted from the volumes themselves, as they were found in the Harvard College Library or in the John Carter Brown Library of Providence. The Lenox Library of New York supplied such volumes as were not to be found in Cambridge, Boston, or Providence.

Dr Justin Winsor and Mr F. W. Hodge have rendered very material assistance in giving this list such completeness as it possesses. To Mr Hodge especially are due many of the titles which relate to the ethnological and archeological aspects of the subject.

Abelin, Johann Phillip; *pseud.* Johann Ludwig Gottfriedt.

Newe Welt vnd Americanische Historien.—Franckfurt, M. DC. LV.

Page 560. Beschreibung der grossen Landschafft Cibola.

Alarcon, Hernando.

De lo que hizo por la mar Hernando de Alarcon, que con dos nauios andaua por la costa por orden del Visorrey don Antonio de Mendoça.

Herrera, Dec. VI, lib. IX, cap. XIII.

— Relatione della Navigatione & scoperta che fece il Capitano Fernando Alarcone per ordine dello Illustrissimo Signor Don Antonio di Mendozza Vice Re della nuoua Spagna.

Ramusio, III, fol. 363–370, edition of 1556; III, fol. 303 verso, edition of 1606.

— The relation of the nauigation and discouery which Captaine Fernando Alarchon made by the order of the right honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça vizeroy of New Spaine.

Hakluyt, III, 425-439, edition of 1600. This translation is made from Ramusio's text.

— Relation de la navigation et de la découverte faite par le capitaine Fernando Alarcon. Par l'ordre de . . . don Antonio de Mendoza.

Ternaux, IX (Cibola volume), 299–348. From Ramusio's text.

Alarcon, Hernando—Continued.

— Relacion del armada del Marqués del Valle, capitaneada de Francisco de Ulloa . . . y de la que el virey de Nueva España envió con un Alarcon.

Doc. de España, IV, 218–219. A very brief, probably contemporary, mention of the discovery of Colorado river.

Alvarado, Hernando de.

Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla descubrieron en demanda de la mar del Sur.—Agosto de 1540.

Doc. de Indias, III, 511–513. B. Smith's *Florida*, 65–66. Translated in the *Boston Transcript*, 14 Oct., 1893, and on page 594 *ante*.

Alvarado, Pedro de.

Asiento y capitulaciones, entre el virey de Nueva España, D. Antonio de Mendoza, y el adelantado, D. Pedro de Alvarado, para la prosecucion del descubrimiento de tierra nueva, hecho por Fr. Márcos de Niza.—Pueblo de Tiripitio de la Nueva España, 29 Noviembre, 1540.

Doc. de Indias, III, 351–362. Also in the same collection, XVI, 342–355. See page 353 *ante*.

— Proceso de residencia contra Pedro de Alvarado, . . . sacadas de los antiguos codices mexicanos, y notas y noticias . . . por D. Jose Fernando

Alvarado, Pedro de—Continued.
Ramirez. Lo publica paleografiado del MS. original el Lic. Ignacio L. Rayon.—Mexico, 1847.
A collection of documents of considerable interest; with facsimile illustrations and portrait.

— *See* Carta del Obispo de Guatemala.

Ardoino, Antonio.
Examen apologetico de la historica narracion de los naufragios, peregrinaciones, i milagros de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Baca, en las tierras de la Florida, i del Nuevo Mexico.—Madrid, 1736.
Barcia, *Historiadores Primitivos*, I (VI), pp. 50. See note under Cabeza de Vaca *Relacion*.

Ayllon, Lucas Vazquez de.
Testimonio de la capitulacion que hizo con el Rey, el Licenciado Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, para descubrir la tierra que está á la parte del Norte Sur, de la Isla Española, 35 á 37 grados.—Valladolid, 12 Junio, 1523.—Presentó en Madrid, 31 Marzo, 1541.
Doc. de Indias, XIV, 503-515.

Bancroft, George.
History of the United States. Author's latest revision.—New York, 1883.
For *Coronado* see Vol. I, 32-37. Written from the documents translated in Ternaux, *Cibola*.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe.
History of the Pacific states of North America.—San Francisco, 1882-1890.
34 volumes. Vol. V, Mexico, II, 1521-1600. Vol. X, North Mexican States, 1531-1800. Vol. XII, Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888; pages 1-73 are devoted to Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado. The range of Mr H. H. Bancroft's extensive literary labors has seriously interfered with the accuracy in statement and the soundness of judgment which are so essential to satisfactory historical writing. His volumes, however, contain an immense number of references, often mentioning documentary sources and manuscript materials which are as yet practically beyond the reach of other students.

Bandelier, Adolph Francis (Alphonse).
Historical introduction to studies among the sedentary Indians of New Mexico.—Santa Fé, N. M., Sept. 19, 1880.
Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American series, I, Boston, 1881. 2d edition, 1883, pp. 1-33. Relates especially to the Coronado expedition. Cited in the preceding pages as Bandelier's *Introduction*.

— A visit to the aboriginal ruins in the valley of the Rio Pecos.
Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American series, I, 1881, pp. 37-133. In the same volume as the preceding entry.

— Ein Brief über Akoma.
Das Ausland, 1884, No. XIII, pp. 241-243.

— Report of an archæological tour in Mexico in 1881.
Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American series, II, Boston, 1884.

— Report by A. F. Bandelier on his investigations in New Mexico in the spring and summer of 1882.—Highland, Ill., Aug. 15, 1882.
Bulletin of the Archæological Institute of America, I, Boston, Jan., 1883, pp. 13-33.

— The historical archives of the Hemenway southwestern archæological expedition.
Congrès International des Américanistes, 1888, pp. 450-459.—Berlin, 1890.

— Contributions to the history of the southwestern portion of the United States.
Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, Am. series, V, and *The Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition*, Cambridge, 1890. Cited in the preceding pages as Bandelier's *Contributions*. An invaluable work, the result of careful documentary study and of much experience in field work in the southwest. It will always serve as the foundation of all satisfactory study of the history of the Spaniards in that portion of the United States.

— Quivira.
Nation, N. Y., 31 Oct. and 7 Nov., 1889. (Nos. 1270, 1271.) Letters dated Santa Fé, October 15, 1889.

— The ruins of Casas Grandes.
Nation, N. Y., 28 Aug. and 4 Sept., 1890 (Nos. 1313, 1314). Letters dated Santa Fé, Aug. 1, 11, 1890.

— The Delight Makers.—New York, 1890.
A story, in which Mr Bandelier has portrayed, with considerable success, the ways of life and of thinking among the Indians of the New Mexican pueblos, before the advent of Europeans.

— Fray Juan de Padilla, the first Catholic missionary and martyr in eastern Kansas. 1542.
American Catholic Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, July, 1890, XV, 551-565.

— An outline of the documentary history of the Zuñi tribe.
Journal American Ethnology and Archæology, III, Boston, 1892, pp. 1-115. This work remained in manuscript for some years before it was printed. It contains many extracts from the contemporary narratives, in translation; that of Castañeda being taken from Ternaux's version. See note on page 389.

— Final report of investigations among the Indians of the southwestern United States, carried on mainly in the years from 1880 to 1885.
Papers of the Archæological Institute of America. Cambridge; Part I, 1890; Part II, 1892.
The most valuable of all of Bandelier's memoirs on southwestern history and ethnology. It bears the same relation to the work of the American ethnologist as his *Contributions* do to that of the historical student.

— The "Montezuma" of the pueblo Indians.
American Anthropologist, Washington, Oct., 1892, V, 319.

— The Gilded Man.—New York, 1893.
This work contains much valuable material concerning the early history of the southwest, but should be used with care, as it was edited and published during the author's absence in Peru.

Bandelier, Adolph Francis (Alphonse)—Continued.

— La découverte du Nouveau-Mexique par le moine franciscain frère Marcos de Nice en 1539.
Revue d'Ethnographie, V (1886), 31, 117, 193 (50 pages).

— The discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza.
Magazine of Western History, IV, Cleveland, Sept., 1886, pp. 659–670. The same material was used in the articles in the *Revue d'Ethnographie*.

— Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the first overland traveler of European descent, and his journey from Florida to the Pacific coast—1528–1536.
Magazine of Western History, IV, Cleveland, July, 1886, pp. 327–336.

Barcia, Andres Gonzales.

Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, que juntó, traduxo en parte, y sacó á luz, ilustrados con eruditas notas, y copiosos indices, el ilustrissimo Señor D. Andres Gonzalez Barcia, del Consejo, y Camara de S. M. Divididos en tres tomos.—Madrid, año MDCCXLIX.
These three folio volumes are made up of very satisfactory reprints of a number of the narratives of the early Spanish conquerors of America. The *Naufragios* and *Comentarios* of Cabeza de Vaca are in the first volume.

— Ensayo cronologico, para la historia general de la Florida . . . desde 1512 hasta 1722, escrito por Don Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano.—Madrid, CIↃIↃCCXXIII.
The name on the title page is an anagram for that of Sr Gonzalez Barcia. Florida, in this work, comprises all of America north of Mexico. The Ensayo was published with the *Florida del Ynca* of 1723.

Baxter, Sylvester.

The father of the pueblos.
Harper's Magazine, LXV, June, 1882, pp. 72–91.

— An aboriginal pilgrimage.
Century Magazine, II (XXIV), August, 1882, pp. 526–536.

—The old new world. An account of the explorations of the Hemenway southwestern archæological expedition.—Salem, Mass., 1888.
Reprinted from the *Boston Herald*, April 15, 1888.

Begert, or Baegert, Jacob.

Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten. Geschrieben von einem Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu, welcher lang darinn diese letztere Jahr gelebet hat. Mit Erlaubnuss der Oberen.—Mannheim, 1773.
Translated and arranged for the Smithsonian Institution by Charles Rau, of New York City, in the *Smithsonian Reports*, 1863, pp. 352–369; 1864, pp. 378–399. Reprinted by Rau in *Papers on Anthropological Subjects*, pp. 1–40.

Benavides, Alonso de.

Memorial qve Fray Ivan de Santander de la Orden de san Francisco, presenta á Felipe Qvarto, hecho por el Padre Fray Alonso de Benauides, Custodio qve ha sido de las prouincias, y conuersiones del Nueuo-Mexico.—Madrid, M. DC. XXX.
Translations of this valuable work were published in French at Bruxelles, 1631, in Latin at Salzburg, 1634, and in German at Salzburg, probably also in 1634.

Benzoni, Girolamo.

La historia del Mondo Nvovo.—(Colophon) Venetia, MDLXV.
Besides early Latin, Dutch, and German translations of Benzoni, there is an old French edition (Geneva, 1579). An English translation was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1857.

Blackmar, Frank Wilson.

Spanish institutions of the southwest.—Baltimore, 1891.
Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra volume, X.

— Spanish colonization in the southwest.
Johns Hopkins University Studies, VIII, April, 1890, pp. 121–193.

— The conquest of New Spain.
Agora, Lawrence, Kans., beginning Jan., 1896. This series of papers is not yet completed.

Botero, Giovanni.

La prima parte delle relationi vniversali di Giovanni Botero Benese.—Bergamo, MDXCIIII.
For *Ceuola* and *Quiuira*, libro quarto (p. 277). The text was considerably altered and amplified in the successive early editions. In the 1603 Spanish edition, fol. 141.

Bourke, John Gregory.

Snake dance of the Moquis of Arizona.—New York and London, 1884.

Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez.

La relacion que dio Aluar nuñez cabeça de vaca de lo acaescido . . en la armada donde yua por gouernador Pãphilo de narbaez.—(Colophon) Zamora, 6 Octubre, 1542.
This was reprinted, with the addition of the *Comentarios . . . del Rio de la Plata*, at Valladolid in 1555. It was translated by Ramusio, III, fol. 310–330 (ed. 1556), and was paraphrased into English, from Ramusio, by Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, Part IV, lib. VIII, chap. I, pp. 1499–1528. There is a useful note regarding the first edition of the *Naufragios* and its author, in Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 382. The *Naufragios* and *Comentarios* were reprinted at Madrid in 1736, preceded by the *Examen Apologetico* of Ardoino (see entry under his name), and it is this edition which was included in Barcia's collection of 1749, the 1736 title pages being preserved.

— Relacion del viaje de Pánfilo de Narvaez al Rio de las Palmas hasta la punta de la Florida, hecha por el tesorero Cabeza de Vaca.
Doc. de Indias, XIV, 265–279. Instruccion para el factor, por el Rey, pp. 265–269. Apparently an early copy of a fragment of the *Naufragios*.

Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez—Cont'd.
— Relation et naufrages d'Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca—Paris, 1837.
This French translation of the *Naufragios* forms volume VII of Ternaux's *Voyages*. The *Commentaires* are contained in volume VI. The translation is from the 1555 edition.

— Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith.—New York, 1871.
This English translation was printed at Washington in 1851, and was reprinted at New York, with considerable additions and a short sketch of the translator, shortly after Mr Smith's death. Chapters XXX–XXXVI were reprinted in an *Old South Leaflet*, general series, No. 39; Boston.

— Relation of what befel the persons who escaped from the disasters that attended the armament of Captain Pamphilo de Narvaez on the shores and in the countries of the North.
Historical Mag. (Sept.–Dec., 1867), XII, 141, 204, 267, 347. Translated and condensed from an account printed in Oviedo's *Historia General*, Lib. XXXV, cap. i–vi, which was sent to the Real Audiencia of Sancto Domingo by the four survivors of the expedition. See Introduction, p. 349 *ante*.

— Capitulacion que se tomó con Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca.—Madrid, 18 Marzo, 1540.
Doc. de Indias, XXIII, 8–33.

Cabrillo, Juan Rodriguez. *See* Paez, Juan.

Camus, Armand Gaston.
Mémoire sur la collection des grands et petits voyages (de Théodore de Bry).—Paris, Frimaire an XI (1802).
For "Cornado," see p. 176.

Cartas de Indias. Publícalas por primera vez el Ministerio de Fomento.—Madrid, 1877.
This splendid volume contains 108 letters, 29 of which are reproduced in facsimile, written from various portions of Spanish America during the XVI century. The indices contain a large amount of information concerning the people and places mentioned.

Cartas de Religiosos de Nueva España. 1539–1594.—México, 1886.
Volume I of Icazbalceta's *Nueva Colección*. The 26 letters which make up this volume throw much light on the early civil and economical as well as on the ecclesiastical history of New Spain. The second volume of the *Nueva Colección*, entitled *Códice Franciscano Siglo XVI*, contains 14 additional letters.

Castañeda, Pedro de.
Relacion de la jornada de Cibola conpuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados y ritos, y costumbres, la cual fue el año de 1540.
Printed for the first time in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 414–469, from the manuscript in the Lenox Library in New York. This narrative has been known chiefly through the French translation printed in 1838 by Henri Ternaux-Compans, the title of which follows.

Castañeda, Pedro de—Continued.
— Relation du voyage de Cibola entrepris en 1540; ou l'on traite de toutes les peuplades qui habitent cette contrée, de leurs mœurs et coutumes, par Pédro de Castañeda de Nagera.
Ternaux, *Cibola*, 1–246.

Castaño de Sosa, Gaspar.
Memoria del descubrimiento que Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, hizo en el Nuevo México, siendo teniente de gobernador y capitan general del Nuevo Reino de Leon.
Doc. de Indias, vol. XV, pp. 191–261. The exploring party started 27th July, 1590, and this report was presented to the Council 10th November, 1592.

Cervántes Salazar, Francisco.
México en 1554: Tres diálogos latinos que Francisco Cervántes Salazar escribió é imprimió en México en dicho año. Los reimprime, con traduccion castellana y notas, Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta—México, 1875.
Invaluable for anyone who wishes to understand the early social and economic conditions of Spanish America. The bibliography at the end of the volume is not only of great value as a guide to the study of this history, but it is of interest as a partial catalog of the library of Sr Garcia Icazbalceta.

Chapin, Frederick Hastings.
The land of the cliff-dwellers.—Boston, 1892.

Congrès International des Américanistes.
Compte-rendu de la première session.—Nancy, 1875; . . . Actas de la Novena Reunión, Huelva, 1892–Madrid, 1894.
Many of the papers presented at the meetings of the *Congrès des Américanistes*, have been of the very greatest interest to the American ethnologist and to the historian of early Spanish America. Several of the papers presented at Berlin in 1888 are entered under the authors' names in the present list.

Coronado, Francisco Vazquez.
Svmmario di lettere del Capitano Francesco Vazquez di coronado, scritte ad vn Secretario del Illustriss. Don Antonio di Mendozza Vicere della nuoua Spagna, Date à Culnacan, MDXXXIX, alli otto di Marzo.
Ramusio, III, fol. 354, ed. 1556. Translated in Ternaux, *Cibola*, app. V, pp. 349–351. The special value of these Italian translations of Spanish documents, to which reference is made in the present list, is due to the fact that in very many cases where Ramusio used original documents for his work later students have been unable to discover any trace of the manuscript sources.

— Copia delle lettere di Francesco Vazquez di Coronado, gouernatore della nuoua Galitia, al Signor Antonio di Mendozza, Vicere della nuoua Spagna, date in san Michiel di Culnacan, alli otto di Marzo, MDXXXIX.
Ramusio, III, fol. 354 verso, ed. 1556. Translated in Ternaux, *Cibola*, app. V, pp. 352–354.

Coronado, Francisco Vazquez—Cont'd.

— Relatione che mandò Francesco Vazquez di Coronado, Capitano Generale della gente che fu mandata in nome di Sua Maesta al paese nouamente scoperto, quel che successe nel viaggio dalli ventidua d' Aprile di questo anno MDXL, che parti da Culiacan per innanzi, & di quel che trouò nel paese doue andaua.—Dalla prouincia di Cenola & da questa città di Granata il terzo di Agosto, 1540.

Ramusio, III, fol. 359 (verso)–363, ed. 1556. This letter is translated on pages 552–563 of the present volume. See note on page 386. An earlier English translation by Hakluyt has the following title:

— The relation of Francis Vazquez de Coronado, Captaine generall of the people which were sent to the Countrey of Cibola newly discouered, which he sent to Don Antonio de Mendoça viceroy of Mexico, of . . his voyage from the 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from Culiacan forward, and of such things as hee found in the Countrey which he passed. (August 3, 1540.)

Hakluyt, III, 373–380 (ed. 1600), or III, 446 (ed. 1800). Reprinted in *Old South Leaflet*, gen. series, No. 20. Boston.

— Carta de Francisco Vazquez Coronado al Emperador, dándole cuenta de la espedicion á la provincia de Quivira, y de la inexactitud de lo referido á Fr. Márcos de Niza, acerca de aquel pais.—Desta provincia de Tiguex, 20 Octubre, 1541.

Doc. de Indias, III, 363–369, and also XIII, 261–268. Translated on pages 580–583 of the present volume, and also in *American History Leaflet*, No. 13. There is a French translation in Ternaux, *Cibola*, app. V, p. 355–363. See note on page 580 *ante*.

— Traslado de las nuevas y noticias que dieron sobre el descobrimiento de una cibdad, que llamaron de Cibola, situada en la tierra nueva.—Año de 1531 [1541].

Doc. de Indias, XIX, pp. 529–532. Translated on pages 564–565 of the present volume.

— Relacion del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cibola.—Año de 1531 [1541].

B. Smith, *Florida*, 147–154; *Doc. de Indias*, XIV, 318–329. Translated on pages 572–579 of the present volume. See the notes to that translation. Also translated in *American History Leaflet*, No. 13.

Cortés, Hernan.

Copia y relacion de los gastos y espensas que . . . Fernando Cortés hizo en el armada de que fué por capitan Cristóbal Dolid al Cabo de las Higueras . . . Se hizo á primero de Agosto de 1523.—Fecho en México, 9 Hebrero 1529.

Doc. de Indias, XII, 386–403. This document is printed again in the same volume, pp. 497–510.

Cortés, Hernan—Continued.

— Título de capitan general de la Nueva-España y Costa del Sur, expedido á favor de Hernan-Cortés por el Emperador Cárlos V.—Dada en Barcelona, á 6 Julio, 1529.

Doc. de Indias, IV, 572–574, and also XII, 384–386.

— Título de marqués del Valle (de Guaxaca) otorgado á Hernando Cortés.—Barcelona, 6 Julio, 1529.

Doc. de Indias, XII, 381–383.

— Merced de ciertas tierras y solares en la Nueva España, hecha á Fernan Cortés, marqués del Valle, por el Emperador.—Barcelona, 27 Julio, 1529.

Doc. de Indias, XII, 376–378. It is printed also in Icazbalceta's *Mexico*, II, 28–29.

— Testimonio de una informacion hecha en México por el presidente y oydores de aquella audiencia, sobre el modo de contar los 23.000 indios, vasallos del Marqués del Valle, de que el Rey le habia hecho merced.—Temixtitan, 23 Febrero, 1531.

Doc. de Indias, XVI, 548–555.

— Real provision sobre descubrimientos en el mar del Sur, y respuesta de Cortés á la notificacion que se le hizo de ella.—México, 19 Agosto, 1534; y respuesta, México, 26 Setiembre, 1534.

Icazbalceta's *Mexico*, II, 31–40.

— Traslado de una provision de la Audiencia de México, dirigida á Hernan-Cortés, mandándole que no vaya á pacificar y poblar cierta isla del mar del Sur, insertando otra provision que con igual fecha se envió á Nuño de Guzman, gobernador de la Nueva Galicia, para el mismo efecto, y diligencias hechas en apelacion de la misma.—Fecho en México, 2–26 Setiembre, 1534.

Doc. de Indias, XII, 417–429.

— Carta de Hernan Cortés al emperador, enviando un hijo suyo para servicio del príncipe.—Desta Nueva Spaña, diez de Hebrero, 1537.

Doc. de Indias, II, 568–569.

— Carta de Hernan Cortés, al Consejo de Indias, pidiendo ayuda para continuar sus armadas, y recompensa para sus servicios, y dando algunas noticias sobre la constitucion de la propiedad de las tierras entre los indios.—México, 20 Setiembre, 1538.

Doc. de Indias, III, 535–543.

— Carta de Hernan Cortés al Emperador.—De Madrid á xxvi de Junio de 1540.

Doc. Inéd. España, CIV, 491–492.

— Memorial que dió al Rey el Marqués del Valle en Madrid á 25 de junio de 1540 sobre agravios que le habia hecho el Virey de Nueva España D. Antonio de Mendoza, estorbándole la prosecucion del descubrimiento de las costas é islas del mar del Sur que le pertene-

Cortés, Hernan—Continued.
cia al mismo Marqués segun la capitulacion hecha con S. M. el año de 1529, á cuyo efecto habia despachado ya cuatro armadas, y descubierto con ellas por sí y por sus capitanes muchas tierras é islas, de cuyos viajes y el suceso que tuvo hace una relacion sucinta.
Doc. Inéd. España, IV, 209–217.

— Memorial dado á la Magestad del Cesar D. Cárlos Quinto, Primero de España, por el Sr. D. Hernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle, hallándose en estos reinos, en que hace presentes sus dilatados servicios en la conquista de Nueva España por los que pide las mercedes que contiene el mismo.
Doc. Inéd. España, IV, 219–232. "No tiene fecha. . . . despues de 1541."

— Peticion que dió Don Hernando Cortés contra Don Antonio de Mendoza, Virey, pidiendo residencia contre él.
Icazbalceta, *Mexico*, II, 62–71. About 1542–43.

— Historia de Nueva-España, escrita por Hernan Cortés, aumentada con otros documentos, y notas, por Don Francisco Antonio Lorenzana.—México, 1770.
See page 325 and the map; "Domingo del Castillo Piloto me Fecit en Mexico año . . . M. D. XLI." This volume contains the letters of Cortes to the Spanish King, for a bibliographic account of which see Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books*. These dispatches may also be conveniently consulted in volume I of Barcia, *Historiadores*.

The above entries are chiefly such as are of interest for their bearing on the troubles between Cortes and Mendoza, which were very closely connected with the history of the Coronado expedition. The best guide to the study of the personal history and the conquests of Cortes is found in Winsor's *America*, II, pages 397–430.

Cushing, Frank Hamilton.
Zuñi fetiches.
Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1880–81, pp. 9–45.

— A study of pueblo pottery as illustrative of Zuñi culture growth.
Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1882–83, pp. 467–521.

— Preliminary notes on the origin, working hypothesis and primary researches of the Hemenway southwestern archæological expedition.
Congrès International des Américanistes, 7me session, 1888, pp. 151–194. Berlin, 1890.

— Zuñi breadstuff.
The *Millstone*, Indianapolis, Jan., 1884, to Aug., 1885.

— Outlines of Zuñi creation myths.
Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1891–92, pp. 321–447.

Davila, Gil Gonzalez.
Teatro eclesiastico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, vidas de svs arzobispos, obispos, y cosas memorables de svs sedes.—Madrid, M.DC.XLIX.
These two volumes are a valuable source of biographical and other ecclesiastical information, for much of which this is perhaps the only authority.

Davis, William Watts Hart.
The Spanish conquest of New Mexico.—Doylestown, Pa., 1869.
The first 230 pages of this volume contain a very good outline of the narratives of the explorations of Cabeza de Vaca, Fray Marcos, and Coronado.

— The Spaniard in New Mexico.
Papers of the *American Historical Association*, III, 1889, pp. 164–176. A paper read before the association, at Boston, May 24, 1887.

De Bry, Theodore. *See* Abelin.

Diaz del Castillo, Bernal.
Historia verdadera de la conqvista de la Nveva España, escrita por . . . vno de sus conquistadores.—Madrid, 1632.
This interesting work, which counteracts many of the impressions given by the dispatches of Cortes, was reprinted in 1632 and again in 1795, 1837, 1854, and in volume XXVI (Madrid, 1853) of the *Bibl. de Autores Españoles*. It was translated into English by Keating, London, 1800, reprinted at Salem, Mass., 1803; and by Lockhart, London, 1844.

Discurso y proposicion que se hace á Vuestra Magestad de lo tocante á los descubrimientos del Nuevo México por sus capítulos de puntos diferentes.
Doc. de Indias, XVI, 38–66.

Documentos de España.
Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.—Madrid, 1842 (–1895).
There are now (1895) 112 volumes in this series, and two or three volumes are usually added each year. A finding list of the titles relating to America, in volumes I–CX, prepared by G. P. Winship, was printed in the *Bulletin of the Boston Public Library* for October, 1894. A similar list of titles in the Pacheco y Cardenas Coleccion is in preparation. Cited as *Doc. Inéd. España*.

Documentos de Indias. *See* Pacheco-Cardenas.

Donaldson, Thomas.
Moqui Pueblo Indians of Arizona and Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.
Extra Census Bulletin, Washington, 1893. This "special expert" report on the numbers and the life of the southwestern village Indians contains a large number of reproductions from photographs showing the people and their homes, which render it of very considerable interest and usefulness. The text is not reliable.

Drake, Francis. *See* Fletcher, Francis.

Emory, William Hemsley.
Notes of a military reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California.—Washington, 1848.
Ex. Doc. 41, Thirtieth Congress, first session.

Espejo, Antonio de.
Expediente y relacion del viaje que hizo Antonio de Espejo con catorce soldados y un religioso de la órden de San Francisco, llamado Fray Augustin Rodriguez; el cual debía de entender en la predicacion de aquella gente.
Doc. de Indias, XV, 151–191. See also page 101 of the same volume.

— El viaie qve hizo Antonio de Espeio en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con sus companneros descubrieron vna tierra en que hallaron quinze Prouincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de casas de quatro y cinco altos, a quien pusieron por nombre El nueuo Mexico.
Hakluyt, III, 383–389 (ed. 1600). The Spanish text is followed by an English translation, pp. 390–396. A satisfactory monograph on the expedition of Espejo, with annotated translations of the original narratives, would be a most desirable addition to the literature of the southwest.

Evans, S. B.
Observations on the Aztecs and their probable relations to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.
Congrès International des Américanistes, 7me session, 1888, pp. 226–230. Berlin, 1890.

Fernández Duro, Cesáreo.
Don Diego de Peñalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Quivira. Informe presentado á la Real Academia de la Historia.—Madrid, 1882.
On page 123 the author accepts the date 1531 as that of an expedition under Coronado, from the title of the *Relacion del Suceso*, misprinted in volume XIV, 318, of the *Doc. de Indias*.

Ferrelo, Bartolome. *See* Paez, Juan.

Fewkes, Jesse Walter.
A few summer ceremonials at Zuñi pueblo.
Journal American Ethnology and Archæology, I, Boston, 1891, pp. 1–61.

— A few summer ceremonials at the Tusayan pueblos.
Ibid., II, Boston, 1892, pp. 1–159.

— Reconnoissance of ruins in or near the Zuñi reservation.
Ibid., I, pp. 95–132; with map and plan.

— A report on the present condition of a ruin in Arizona called Casa Grande.
Ibid, II, pp. 179–193.

— The snake ceremonials at Walpi.
Journal American Ethnology and Archæology, IV, 1894.
With map, illustrations, and an excellent bibliography of this peculiar ceremonial, which Dr Fewkes has studied with much care, under most favorable circumstances.
The four volumes of the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology* represent the main results of Dr Fewkes' studies at Zuñi and Tusayan, under the auspices of the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition, of which he was the head from 1889 to 1895. Besides the *Journal*, the Hemenway expedition resulted in a large collection of Pueblo pottery and ceremonial

Fewkes, Jesse Walter—Continued.
articles, which are, in part, now displayed in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

— The Wa-wac-ka-tci-na. A Tusayan foot race.
Bulletin Essex Institute, XXIV, Nos. 7–9, Salem, July–Sept., 1892, pp. 113–133.

— A-wá-to-bi: An archæological verification of a Tusayan legend.
American Anthropologist, Oct., 1893.

— The prehistoric culture of Tusayan.
American Anthropologist, May, 1896.

— A study of summer ceremonials at Zuñi and Moqui pueblos.
Bulletin Essex Institute, XXII, Nos. 7–9, Salem, July–Sept., 1890, pp. 89–113.
Consult, also, many other papers by this authority on all that pertains to the ceremonial life of the Pueblo Indians, in the *American Anthropologist*, Washington, and *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Boston.

Fiske, John.
The discovery of America, with some account of ancient America and the Spanish conquest.—Cambridge, 1892.
Coronado and *Cibola*, II, 500-510.

Fletcher, Francis.
The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake. . . . Carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher preacher in this imployment.—London, 1628.
Reprinted in 1635 and 1652, and in 1854 by the *Hakluyt Society*, edited by W. S. W. Vaux.

Gallatin, Albert.
Ancient semi-civilization of New Mexico, Rio Gila, and its vicinity.
Transactions American Ethnological Society, II, New York, 1848, pp. liii–xcvii.

Galvano, Antonio.
Tratado . . dos diuersos & desuayrados caminhos, . . . & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos, que são feitos ate a era de mil & quinhentos & cincoenta.—(Colophon, 1563.)
This work was reprinted at Lisboa in 1731. An English translation was published by Hakluyt, London, 1601. The Portuguese and English texts were reprinted by the *Hakluyt Society*, edited by vice-admiral Bethune, London, 1862. For Coronado's expedition, see pages 226–229 of the 1862 edition.

Garcilaso de la Vega, el Ynca.
La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado de Soto . . . y de otros heroicos caualleros Españoles è Indios.—Lisbona, 1605.
For an English version, see Barnard Shipp's *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*, Philadelphia, 1881. There were several early French editions. The Spanish was reprinted at Madrid in 1723, and again in 1803

— Primera parte de los commentarios reales, qve tratan del origen de los Yncas, reyes qve fveron del Perv, de sv idolatria, leyes, y gouierno en paz

Garcilaso de la Vega, el Ynca—Cont'd.
y en guerra: de sus vidas y conquistas, y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su Republica, antes que los Españoles passaran a el.—Lisboa, M.DCIX.

— Historia general del Perv. Trata el descvbrimiento del, y como lo ganaron los Españoles. Las guerras ciuiles que huuo entre Piçarros, y Almagros, sobre la partija de la tierra. Castigo y leuantamiento de tiranos: y otros sucessos particulares que en la historia se contienen.—Cordoua, 1616.
La II parte de los commentarios reales del Perú. Segunda impresion; Madrid, 1721–23. The two parts were "rendred into English, by Sir Pavl Rycavt, Kt." London, 1688. A new translation, with notes by Clements R. Markham, was published by the *Hakluyt Society*, London, 1869 and 1871.

Gatschet, Albert Samuel.
Classification into seven linguistic stocks of western Indian dialects contained in forty vocabularies.
U. S. Geol. Survey West of the 100th Meridian, VII, 399–485, Washington, 1879.

— Zwölf sprachen aus dem südwesten Nordamerikas.—Weimar, 1876.

Girava, Hieronymo.
Dos libros de cosmographia compuestos nueuamente por Hieronymo Giraua Tarragones, —en Milan, M. D. LVI.
See p. 230 for *Ciuola*.

Gomara, Francisco Lopez de.
Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias con todo el descubrimiento y cosas notables que han acaecido dende que se ganaron ata el año de 1551. Con la cõquista de Mexico y de la nueua España.—En Caragoça, 1553 (1552).
There were at least fifteen editions of Gomara's three works printed during the years 1552 to 1555. Before the end of the century translations into French and Italian had been reprinted a score of times. English translations of the *Conquest of the Indies* were printed in 1578 and 1596. For *Coronado*, see cap. CCXII–CCXV of the *Historia de las Indias*. Chapters 214–215 were translated by *Hakluyt*, III, 380–382 (ed. 1600), or III, 454 (ed. 1810).

Gottfriedt, Johann Ludwig. *See* **Abelin, Johann Phillip.**

Guatemala, Obispo de.
Carta del Obispo de Guatemala á Su Magestad, en que se refiere á lo que de México escribirán sobre la muerte del adelantado Alvarado, y habla de la gobernacion que se le encomendó y de los cargos de su mitra.—De Santiago de Guatemala 20 Febrero, 1542.
Doc. de Indias, XIII, 268–280.

Guzman, Diego.
Relacion de lo que yo Diego de Guzman he descobierto en la costa de la mar del Sur, por Su Magestad y por el ilustre señor Nuño de Guzman, gobernador de la Nueva Galicia.—Presentó en el Consejo de Indias, 16 Marzo 1540.
Doc. de Indias, XV, 325–340. This expedition was made during the autumn of 1533.

Guzman, Nuño de.
Provanza ad perpetuan, sobre lo de la villa de la Purificacion, de la gente que alli vino con mano armada.—En Madrid á 16 de Marzo de 1540 la presentó en el Consejo de las Indias de Su Magestad, Nuño de Guzman.
Doc. de Indias, XVI, 539–547.

— Fragmentos del proceso de residencia instruido contra Nuño de Guzman, en averiguacion del tormento y muerte que mandó dar á Caltzontzin, rey de Mechoacan.
In Proceso. . . Alvarado (ed. Ramirez y Rayon) pp. 185–276. The full title is entered under Alvarado.

Hakluyt, Richard.
The principal navigations, voiages, traffiqves and discoueries of the English nation . . . Deuided into three seuerall volumes.—London, 1598.
The third volume (1600) contains the narratives which relate to Cibola, as well as those which refer to other portions of New Spain. There was an excellent reprint, London, 1809–1812, which contained all the pieces which were omitted in some of the earlier editions, with a fifth volume containing a number of rare pieces not easily available elsewhere. The changes made by the editor of the 1890 edition render it almost a new work. The title is as follows:

— The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques, and discoveries of the English nation. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, preacher, and edited by Edmund Goldsmid.—Edinburg, 1885–1890.
Sixteen volumes. Vol. XIV; America, part iii, pp. 59–137, contains the Cibola narratives.

Hakluyt Society, London.
This most useful society began in 1847 the publication of a series of volumes containing careful, annotated translations or reprints of works relating to the "navigations, voyages, traffics, and discoveries" of Europeans during the period of colonial expansion. The work has been continued without serious interruption since that date. Ninety-seven volumes have been issued with the society's imprint, including the issues for 1895. Several of these are entered in the present list under the names of the respective authors.

Hale, Edward Everett.
Coronado's discovery of the seven cities.
Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, new series I, 236–245. (April, 1881.) Includes a letter from Lieut. John G. Bourke, arguing that the Cibola pueblos were the Moki villages of Tusayan, in Arizona.

Haynes, Henry Williamson.
Early explorations of New Mexico.
Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 473–503.

Haynes, Henry Williamson—Continued.
-- What is the true site of "the seven cities of Cibola" visited by Coronado in 1540?
Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, new series, I, 421–435 (Oct., 1881).

The revival of interest in the early history of the southwestern United States has been, in no slight measure, due to the impetus given by Professor Haynes of Boston. He was most active in furthering the researches of Mr Bandelier, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute of America, and to his careful editorial supervision a large part of the accuracy and the value of Mr Bandelier's printed reports and communications are due.

Herrera, Antonio de.
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There is a French translation of three Decades of Herrera, printed between 1659 and 1671, and an English translation of the same three decades, by Captain John Stevens, London, 1725–26, and reissued in 1740, in which the arrangement of the work is altered. The most available and also the best edition of the Spanish is the admirable reprint issued at Madrid by Barcia, in 1730. Some titles are dated as early as 1726, being altered as successive delays hindered the completion of the work. For *Coronado*, see decada VI, libro V, cap. IX, and dec. VI, lib. IX, cap. XI–XV.

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A Zuñi foot race.
Am. Anthropologist, III, Washington, July, 1890.

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— The first discovered city of Cibola.
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— Pottery of the ancient Pueblos.
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Cited in the preceding pages as *Icazbalceta's Mexico*.

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Cited as *Icazbalceta's Nueva coleccion*.

Icazbalceta, Joaquin Garcia—Continued.
— Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga primer obispo y arzobispo de México. Estudio biográfico y bibligráfico. Con un apéndice de documentos inéditos ó raros.—México, 1881.
See also the entries under **Cervantes de Salazar, Mendieta, Mota Padilla**, for works edited by Señor Icazbalceta. Possessed of ample means and scholarly tastes, untiring industry and great historical and literary ability, Señor Garcia Icazbalceta will always be one of the masters of Spanish-American history. The extent of his researches, the accuracy and care which characterize all of his work, and the breadth and insight with which he treated whatever subject attracted him, leave little for future students to desire. The more intimate the student becomes with the first century of the history of New Spain, the greater is his appreciation of the loss caused by the death of Señor Garcia Icazbalceta.

Informacion del virrey de Nueva España, D. Antonio de Mendoza, de la gente que va á poblar la Nueva Galicia con Francisco Vazquez Coronado, Gobernador de ella.— Compostella, 21–26 Febrero 1540.
Doc. de Indias, XIV, 373–384. Partly translated on pp. 596–597 *ante*.

Informacion habida ante la justicia de la villa de San Cristóbal de la Habana, por do consta, el visorey (Mendoza) haber mandado ó personado que navíos algunos de los quél embíaba [no] tocasen en la dicha villa, á fin ó causa que no diesen noticia del nuevo descobrimiento al Adelantado (de Soto).—12 Noviembre, 1539 en Habana. Presentó en Madrid, 23 Diciembre, 1540.
Doc. de Indias, XV, 392–398. See page 370 *ante*.

Jaramillo, Juan.
Relacion hecha por el capitan Juan Jaramillo, de la jornada que habia hecho á la tierra nueva en Nueva España y al descubrimiento de Cibola, yendo por general Francisco Vazquez Coronado.
Doc. de Indias, XIV, 304–317. B. Smith's *Florida*, 154–163. Translated on pages 584–593 *ante*. There is a French translation in Ternaux, *Cibola*, app. VI, 364–382.

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Nine vols. Besides the reproductions of Mexican hieroglyphic writings, for which this magnificent work is best known, the later volumes contain a number of works printed from Spanish manuscripts. Despite the statement on the last page of many copies, the work was never completed, Motolinia's *Historia* breaking off abruptly in the midst of the text. See the note under *King*, in Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books*.

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Die Entdeckung Amerika's in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Weltbildes.—Berlin, 1892.
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Ladd, Horatio Oliver.
The story of New Mexico.—Boston, (1892).
For *Niça* and *Coronado*, see pp. 19–72.

Leyes y ordenanças nueuamẽte hechas por su magestad pa la gouernacion de las Indias y buen tratamiento y conseruacion de los Indios: que se han de guardar en el consejo y audiẽcias reales q̃ en ellas residen: y por todos los otros gouernadores, juezes y personas particulares dellas.—(Colophon) Alcala de Henares, M. D. XLIII.
These "New Laws" were reprinted in 1585 and again in 1603. A new edition, with English translation and an introduction by Henry Stevens and F. W. Lucas, was issued in London, 1893. The Laws are printed in Icazbalceta, *Mexico*, II, 204–227.

—*See* Recopilacion.

Lummis, Charles F.
— Some strange corners of our country.—New York, 1892.

— The land of poco tiempo.—New York, 1893.

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Sign language among North American Indians compared with that among other peoples and deaf mutes.
First Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, 1879–80, pp. 263–552. Fully illustrated.

Matthews, Washington.
Human bones of the Hemenway collection in the United States Army Medical Museum.
Memoirs National Academy of Sciences, vol. VI, pp. 139–286, LIX plates. Washington, 1893.

Mendieta, Fray Gerónimo de.
Historia eclesiástica Indiana; obra escrita á fines del siglo XVI, . . . la publica por primera vez Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta.—México, 1870.

Mendoza, Antonio de.
— Lo que D. Antonio de Mendoza, virey y gobernador de la Nueva Spaña y presidente en la nueva audiencia y chancillería real que en ella reside, demas de lo que por otra instruccion se le ha mandado hacer por mandado de S. M.—Barcelona, 17 Abril, 1535.
Doc. de Indias, XXIII, 423–425.

— Lo que D. Antonio de Mendoza visorey y gobernador de la provincia de la Nueva Spaña, ha de hacer en servicio de Dios y de esta república, demas de lo contenido en sus poderes y comisiones, por mandado de S. M.—Barcelona, 25 Abril, 1535.
Doc. de Indias, XXIII, 426–445.

— Lo que don Antonio de Mendoza virey é gobernador de la Nueva Spaña y presidente de la real audiencia, ha de hacer en la dicha tierra, por mandado de S. M.—Madrid, 14 Julio, 1536.
Doc. de Indias, XXIII, 454–467.

—Carta de D. Antonio de Mendoza á la emperatriz, participando que vienen a España Cabeza de Vaca y Francisco Dorantes, que se escaparon de la armada de Pánfilo de Narvaez, á hacer relacion de lo que en ella sucedió.—Méjico, 11 Hebrero 1537.
Doc. de Indias, XIV, 235–236.

— Provision dada por el virey don Antonio de Mendoza al reverendo y magnífico señor Don Vasco de Quiroga, obispo electo de Mechoacan y oidor de Méjico, para contar los vasallos del marqués del Valle, Don Hernando Cortés.—Méjico, á 30 Noviembre, 1537.
Doc. de Indias, XII, 314–318.

— Carta de D. Antonio de Mendoza, virey de Nueva España, al Emperador, dándole cuenta de varios asuntos de su gobierno.—De México, 10 Diciembre, 1537.
Doc. de Indias, II, 179–211. B. Smith, *Florida*, 119–139, with facsimile of Mendoza's signature.

— Instruccion de don Antonio de Mendoza, visorey de Nueva España, (al Fray Marcos de Niza).
Doc. de Indias, III, 325–328, written previous to December, 1538. There is a French translation in Ternaux, *Cibola*, 249–253. A modern English translation is in Bandelier, *Contributions*, 109–112.

— Lettere scritte dal illvstrissimo signor don Antonio di Mendozza, vice re della nuoua Spagna, alla maesta dell' Imperadore. Delli cauallieri quali con lor gran danno si sono affaticati per scoprire il capo della terra ferma della nuoua Spagna verso tramontana, il gionger del Vazquez con fra Marco à san Michiel di Culnacan con commissione à quelli regenti di assicurare & non far piu schiaui gli Indiani.
Ramusio, III, fol. 355 (1556 ed.). There is a French translation in Ternaux, *Cibola*, 285–290. This appears to be the letter which Mendoza sent to the king to accompany the report of Fray Marcos de Niza.

Mendoza, Antonio de—Continued.

— Carta del virey Don Antonio de Mendoza al Emperador.—De Jacona, 17 Abril, 1540.

Doc. de Indias, II, 356–362. A French translation is in Ternaux, *Cibola*, 290–298. For an English translation, see pp. 547–551 *ante*.

— Instruccion que debia observar el capitan Hernando de Alarcon en la expedicion á la California que iba á emprender de órden del virey D. Antonio de Mendoza.—México, postrero dia del mes de mayo de myll y quinientos y quarenta é uno.

B. Smith, *Florida*, 1–6.

— Carta de D. Antonio de Mendoza á Juan de Aguilar, pidiendo se la autorizase para avenirse con los portugueses, sobre la posesion de territorios conquistados . . . para que dello haga relacion á S. A. y á los señores de su consejo.

Doc. de Indias, III, 506–511. B. Smith, *Florida*, 7–10. "Acerca del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades de Poniente." Circa 1543.

— Carta de Don Antonio de Mendoza virey de la Nueva España, al comendador mayor de Leon, participándole la muerte del adelantado de Guatemala y Honduras, y el estado de otros varios asuntos.—Mexico, 10 marzo, 1542.

Cartas de Indias, pp. 253–255, and in facsimile.

— Carta del virey Don Antonio de Mendoza, dando cuenta al príncipe Don Felipe de haber hecho el reparto de la tierra de Nueva España, y exponiendo la necesidad que tenia de pasar á Castilla, para tratar verbalmente con S. M. de ciertos negocios de gobernacion y hacienda.—Mexico, 30 octubre, 1548.

Cartas de Indias, pp. 256–257.

— Carta del virey Don Antonio de Mendoza al Emperador Don Carlos, contestando á un mandato de S. M. relativo al repartimiento de los servicios personales en la Nueva España.—Guastepeque, 10 junio, 1549.

Cartas de Indies, pp. 258–259.

— Fragmento de la visita hecha á don Antonio de Mendoza. Interrogatorio por el cual han de ser examinados los testigos que presente por su parte don Antonio de Mendoza.—8 Enero, 1547.

XLIV cargos, 303 paragrafos. Icazbalceta's *Mexico*, II, 72–140.

— See the *Asiento y Capitulaciones con* Alvarado above.

Mindeleff, Cosmos.

Casa grande ruin.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1891–92, pp. 295–319.

— Aboriginal remains in Verde valley, Arizona.

Ibid, pp. 179–261.

Mindeleff, Victor.

A study of pueblo architecture: Tusayan and Cibola.

Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1886–87, pp. 1–228, CXI plates. The text and illustrations of this admirable paper convey a very clear idea of the pueblo dwellings of New Mexico and Arizona, and make it, on this account, of great value to students who have never visited these regions.

Molina, Alonso de.

Aqui comiença vn vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana—(Colophon) Mexico, 1555.

Father Molina prepared a *Vocabulario*, *Arte*, and *Confessionario* in the Mexican languages, which are very valuable as a means of interpreting the native words adopted by the conquistadores. The originals, and the later editions as well, of all three works are of very considerable rarity.

Morgan, Lewis Henry.

Houses and house life of the American aborigines.—Washington, 1881.

Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. IV. Houses of the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico, cap. VI–VIII, pp. 132–197.

— On the ruins of a stone pueblo on the Animas river, in New Mexico, with a ground plan.

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— The seven cities of Cibola.

North American Review, April, 1869, CVIII, 457–498.

Moses, Bernard.

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Report of the American Historical Association for 1894, Washington, 1895, pp. 93–123. This paper is a very useful outline of the legal constitution and functions of the Casa de Contratacion, derived for the most part from Capt. John Stevens' English version (London, 1702) of Don Joseph de Veitia Linage's *Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales*. (Seville, 1672.)

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Mota Padilla, Matias de la.

Historia de la conquista de la provincia de la Nueva-Galicia, escrita en 1742.—Mexico, 1870.

Published in the *Boletin* of the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografia y Estadistica, and also issued separately with *Noticias Biograficas* by Señor Garcia Icazbalceta, dated Marzo 12 de 1872. It is an extensive work of the greatest value, although there are reasons for fearing that the printed text is not an accurate copy of the original manuscript. Cited as *Mota Padilla*.

Motolinia, Fray Toribio de Benavente ó.

Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España.

Icazbalceta's *Mexico*, I, pp. 249, with an introduction of 100 pp. by Sr José Fernando Ramirez; in *Doc. de España*, LIII, 297–574; and also printed in Lord Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. IX. See note under King.

Motolinia, Fray Toribio de Benavente ó—Continued.
— Esta es la relación postrera de Sívola, y de más de cuatrocientas leguas adelante.
A manuscript found among the "Memoriales" de Motolinia, now in the archives of the late Sr Icazbalceta. Printed for the first time in the present volume. See pages 566–571 *ante*.

Muriel, Domingo.
Fasti Novi Orbis et ordinationum apostolicarum, . . . opera D. Cyriaci Morelli.—Venetiis, MDCCLXXVI.
See page 23 for a mention of events in 1539-1542.

Niza, Fray Marcos de.
Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, por el P. Fr. Márcos de Niza.—2 Setiembre 1539.
Doc. de Indias, III, 325–351. Translated into Italian by *Ramusio*, III, fol. 356–359 (1556 ed.), and thence into English by *Hakluyt*, III, 366–373 (1600 ed.). A French translation is in Ternaux, *Cibola*, app. I and II, 249–284.

Nordenskiöld, Gustav.
The cliff dwellers of the Mesa Verde, southwestern Colorado, their pottery and implements. Translated by D. Lloyd Morgan.—Stockholm, 1894.
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Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernandez de.
La historia general de las Indias.—(Colophon) Seuilla, 1535.
Reprinted at Salamanca in 1547, and at Madrid in 1851, as follows:

—Historia general y natural de las Indias, por el Capitan Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, primer cronista del Nuevo Mundo. Publícala la Real Academia de la Historia, con las enmiendas y adiciones del autor, é ilustrada . . por D. José Amador de los Rios.—Madrid, 1851–1855.
These four volumes form the definitive edition of Oviedo. They were printed from the author's manuscript, and include the fourth volume, which had not hitherto been printed.

Owens, John G.
Natal ceremonies of the Hopi Indians.
Journal Am. Ethnology and Archæology (Boston, 1893), II, 163–175.

Pacheco-Cardenas Coleccion.
Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y colonizacion de las posesiones españolas en América y Occeanía, sacados . . bajo la direccion de D. Joaquin F. Pacheco y D. Francisco de Cárdenas.—Madrid, 1864–1884.
In 42 volumes. The title-page varies much from year to year. There is as yet no useful index in print. Cited as *Doc. de Indias*.

Paez, Juan.
Relacion del descubrimiento que hizo Juan Rodriguez [Cabrillo] navegando por la contracosta del mar del Sur al Norte, hecha por Juan Paez.
Doc. de Indias, XIV, 165–191; B. Smith, *Florida*, 173–189. Partió 27 Junio 1542. This report, which was probably written by the pilot Bartolome Ferrel or Ferrelo, has been translated in the *Report of the U. S. Geol. Survey West of the 100th Meridian*, VII, 293–314. See note on page 412 *ante*.

Peralta. *See* Suarez de Peralta.

Prince, Le Baron Bradford.
Historical sketches of New Mexico from the earliest records to the American occupation.—New York and Kansas City, 1883.
For *Cabeza de Baca*, *Marcos de Niza*, and *Coronado*, see pp. 40–148.

Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Nuño de Guzman y los adelantados Soto y Alvarado, sobre el descubrimiento de la tierra nueva—en Madrid, 3 Marzo, 1540; 10 Junio, 1541.
Doc. de Indias, XV, 300–408. See page 380 *ante*.

Proctor, Edna Dean.
The song of the ancient people.—Boston 1893.
Contains preface and note by John Fiske and commentary by F. H. Cushing.

Ptolemy, C.
La Geografia di Clavdio Ptolemeo, con alcuni comenti & aggiunti fatteui da Sebastiano munstero, con le tauole non solamente antiche & moderne solite di stāparsi, ma altre nuoue.—In Venetia, M. D. XLVIII.
The maps in this edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* for the first time present the results of Coronado's explorations. See plate XLI *ante*. The bibliography of Ptolemy has been set forth with great clearness and in most convenient form by Dr Justin Winsor in the *Bibliographical Contributions* of the Harvard College Library, No. 18; and with greater detail by Mr Wilberforce Eames, in volume XVI of Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books*.

Purchas, Samuel.
Pvrchas his pilgrimage. Or relations of the world and the religions observed and places discouered . . .—London, 1613.
The eighth book, America, chap. VIII, *Of Cibola, Tiguex, Quivira, and Noua Albion*, pp. 648–653. There were two editions of this work in 1614, one in 1617, and one, the best, in 1626, forming the fifth volume of the *Pilgrimes*.

— Haklvytvs posthumus or Purchas, his pilgrimes. Contayning a history of the world, in sea voyages, & lande-trauells, by Englishmen & others . . . In fower parts, each containing fiue bookes. By Samvel Pvrchas.—London, 1625.
Part (volume) IV, pp. 1560–1562, gives a sketch of the discovery of Cibola and Quivira, abridged from Ramusio. The best guide to the confused bibliography of Purchas is that of Mr Wilberforce Eames, in vol. XVI of Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books*.

Putnam, Frederick Ward.
The pueblo ruins and the interior tribes. Edited by Frederick W. Putnam.
U. S. Geog. Survey West 100th Meridian, VII, Archæology pt. ii, p. 315, Washington, 1879. Appendix (p. 399) contains Albert S. Gatschet's classification into seven linguistic stocks, etc.

Ramusio, Giovanni Battista.
Terzo volvme delle navigationi et viaggi.—In Venetia, MDLVI.
In this, the first edition of the third volume of Ramusio's collection, folios 354–370 contain the narratives which relate to the discoveries in the territory of the present southwestern United States. The volumes of Ramusio have an especial value, because in many cases the editor and translator used the originals of documents which have not since been found by investigators. Ramusio's Italian text furnished one chief reliance of Hakluyt, and of nearly all the collectors and translators who followed him, including, in the present century, Henri Ternaux-Compans. The best guide to the various issues and editions of Ramusio is that of Mr Wilberforce Eames, in Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books*. The most complete single edition of the three volumes is that of 1606.

Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias. Mandadas imprimir, y pvblicar por la magestad catolica del rey don Carlos II. Tomo I (–IV).—Madrid, 1681.
New editions were issued in 1756, 1774, and 1791.

Ribas, Andres Perez de.
Historia de los trivmphos de nvestra Santa Fee entre gentes del nueuo Orbe: refierense assimismo las costvmbres, ritos, y supersticiones que vsauan estas gentes; sus puestos, y temples: . . .—Madrid, 1645.
The mass of facts collected into this heavy volume throw much light on the civil as well as the ecclesiastical history of New Spain.

Rudo Ensayo, tentativa de una prevencional descripcion geographica de la provincia de Sonora, . . . compilada así de noticias adquiridas por el colector en sus viajes por casi toda ella, como subministradas por los padres missioneros y practicos de la tierra.—San Augustin de la Florida, 1863.
Edited by Buckingham Smith. An English translation by Eusebio Guitéras is in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Philadelphia, June, 1894.

Ruge, Sophus.
Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen.—Berlin, 1881.
In *Allgemeine Geschichte*, von Wilhelm Oncken. *Coronado's Feldzug nach Cibola und Quivira*, pp. 415–423. The map on page 417 is one of the best suggestions of Coronado's probable route.

—Die Entdeckungs-Geschichte der Neuen Welt.
In *Hamburgische Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Entdeckung Amerika's*, Hamburg, 1892. I Band. *Coronado's Zug nach Cibola und Quivira*, pp. 87–89.

Ruge, Sophus—Continued.
—Die Entwickelung der Kartographie von America bis 1570.—Gotha, 1892.
Festschrift zur 400jährigen Feier der Entdeckung Amerikas. Ergänzungsheft no. 106 zu "Petermann's Mitteilungen." An admirable outline of the early history of the geographical unfolding of America.

Salazar, Francisco Cervantes. *See* Cervantes Salazar.

Santisteban, Fray Gerónimo de.
Carta escrita por Fr. Gerónimo de Santisteban á don Antonio Mendoza, virey de Nueva España, relacionando la pérdida de la armada que salió en 1542 para las islas del poniente, al cargo de Ruy Lopez de Villalobos. —De Cochin, de la India del Rey de Portugal. 22 Henero 1547.
Doc. de Indias, XIV, 151–165. See page 412 *ante*.

Savage, James Woodruff.
The discovery of Nebraska.
Nebraska Historical Society Transactions, I, 180–202. Read before the Society, April 16, 1880. In this paper Judge Savage accepts the statements that Quivira was situated in latitude 40 degrees north as convincing evidence that Coronado's Spaniards explored the territory of the present State of Nebraska. This paper, together with one by the same author on "A visit to Nebraska in 1662" (by Peñalosa), was reprinted by the Government Printing Office (Washington, 1893) for the use of the United States Senate, for what purpose the resolution ordering the reprint does not state. It forms Senate Mis. Doc. No. 14, 53d Congress, 2d session.

Schmidt, Emil.
Vorgeschichte Nordamerikas im Gebiet der Vereinigten Staaten.—Braunschweig, 1894.
Die vorgeschichtlichen Indianer im Südwesten der Vereinigten Staaten, pp. 177–216. Compiled in large part from Nordenskiöld and V. Mindeleff.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe.
Historical and statistical information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States.—Philadelphia, 1851–1855.
For *Coronado's expedition* see vol. IV, pp. 21–40. Schoolcraft's map of Coronado's route is opposite p. 38.

Shipp, Barnard.
The history of Hernando de Soto and Florida; or, record of the events of fifty-six years, from 1512 to 1568.—Philadelphia, 1881.
For *Coronado*, see pp. 121–132.

Simpson, James Hervey.
Journal of a military reconnaissance from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the Navajo country.
Senate Ex. Doc. 64, 31st Congress, 1st sess., Washington, 1850, pp. 56–168.

—Coronado's march in search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," and discussion of their probable location.
Smithsonian Report for 1869, pp. 309–340. Reprinted by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1884. Contains an excellent map of Coronado's route.

Smith, (Thomas) Buckingham.
Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes. Tomo I [1516–1794].—Londres (Madrid, 1857).
Only one volume was ever published. Cited as B. Smith's *Florida*. These documents are printed, for the most part, from copies made by Muñoz or by Navarrete. See note to the English translation of Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios*, and see also Rudo Ensayo and Soto.

Sosa, Gaspar Castaño de. *See* Castaño de Sosa.

Soto, Hernando de.
Asiento y capitulacion hechos por el capitan Hernando de Soto con el Emperador Carlos V para la conquista y poblacion de la provincia de la Florida, y encomienda de la gobernacion de la isla de Cuba.—Valladolid, 20 Abril, 1537.
Doc. de Indias, XV, 354–363. B. Smith, *Florida*, 140–146.

— Narratives of the career of Hernando de Soto in the conquest of Florida, as told by a Knight of Elvas and in a relation by Luys Hernandez de Biedma, factor of the expedition. Translated by Buckingham Smith.—New York, 1866.
Bradford Club series, V.

— Letter of Hernando de Soto [in Florida, to the Justice and Board of Magistrates in Santiago de Cuba. July 9, 1539] and memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda. Translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith.—Washington, 1854.
This is not the place for an extensive list of the sources for the history of de Soto's expedition, and no effort has been made to do more than mention two volumes which have proved useful during the study of the Coronado expedition. The best guide for the student of the travels of de Soto and Narvaez is the critical portions of John Gilmary Shea's chapter in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. II, pp. 283–298.

Squier, Ephraim George.
New Mexico and California. The ancient monuments, and the aboriginal, semicivilized nations, . . . with an abstract of the early Spanish explorations and conquests.
American Review, VIII, Nov., 1848, pp. 503–528. Also issued separately.

Stevens, John.
A new dictionary, Spanish and English. . . . Much more copious than any hitherto extant, with . . . proper names, the surnames of families, the geography of Spain and the West Indies.—London, 1726.
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